Philosopher, Practitioner, Politician: The Many Lives of Fazang (643–712)

by

Jinhua Chen



BRILL

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On the cover: Portrait of Fazang (643-712), 13th century. Hanging scroll, color on silk; 152 cm x 81.4 cm. Tōdaiji, Nara, Japan. Reproduced by courtesy of Tōdaiji and Asahi Shimbun.

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PREFACE

The idea of writing an intellectual biography of Fazang 法藏 (643-712) was first suggested by T. H. Barrett in the summer of 2001. While I could not agree more about the need for a study of someone of Fazang's complexity and importance as more than just a Buddhist philosopher, at the time I did not think I could do it for a variety of reasons. However, less than a year later I became convinced (or perhaps merely deluded) that Fazang and I shared karmic ties, and I thus felt obliged to go ahead.

This sense of karmic ties occurred when I learned about the circumstances under which the world's earliest-known xylographic specimen was discovered in 1966 in a Buddhist temple named Pulguksa 佛國寺 (Monastery of Buddha Land) in South Korea. Like other major archaeological finds that have caused excitement, the Pulguksa discovery was made in a manner that was both accidental and somewhat dramatic. On August 29, 1966, an earthquake hit the eastern part of Kyŏngju, causing minor damage to the Śākyamuni Pagoda within Pulguksa. Taking advantage of this, thieves attempted (in vain) to steal the treasures stored in the second story of the pagoda on the nights of September 3 and September 6, 1966. Their crimes injured the pagoda, prompting the Korean National Committee for Preserving Cultural Properties to dispatch a team headed by the renowned Buddhologist Kim Sanggi 金庠基 to investigate. After confirming the natural and human damages, the committee started a refurbishment project, during which, on October 13, 1966, someone found a reliquary enshrined in the second story. Inside the reliquary was, among other objects, a printed text wrapped in a silk package. (The source-accounts for the discovery can be found in Chapter 8, note 2.) The fact that this printed text was a *dhāraṇī* that Fazang had translated in collaboration with a Tokharian monk immediately brought Fazang into the spotlight as a central figure behind the religious and sociopolitical movement that was, among other things, responsible for the printing and distribution.

When I first read about the discovery, I was less impressed by the larger implications than by the two dates—the August 29 earthquake and the October 13 discovery of a text that had been interred for over twelve centuries. It so happens that October 13, 1966, is the date of my birth, and the other date reflects my birth as given on all of my official documents. I was born in a rather remote and isolated village in Fujian Province, where custom, as in most rural areas of China, called for birth dates to be figured through the lunar calendar. Mine computed out to the

twenty-ninth day of the eighth lunar month of the *bingwu* 丙午 year. Thus, when she registered me at the local elementary school, my mother, who had never bothered to check the Western calendar, converted the lunar month "eight" to the modern international month of "August," yielding August 29. Although I succeeded in working out my birth date in the Western calendar as soon as I knew how, my mother has nonetheless insisted that I celebrate my birthday according to the lunar calendar, which naturally makes the Western date vary from year to year.

Taking up the Fazang book sprung from much more than this coincidence. I was also growing increasingly concerned to solve uncertainties surrounding Fazang's life. Thus, in retrospect, my first and foremost thanks go to T. H. Barrett for having given me the initial push. James Benn, a former student of T. H. Barrett, has remained the most loyal reader of my work since we first met in the summer of 1999. My deep gratitude goes to James for all kinds of help he has so generously provided over the past few years. Many of the insights he shared with me in the course of his comments on different drafts have been included.

My former teachers at McMaster University Shinohara Koichi 篠原亨一, Phyllis Granoff, and Robert Sharf have offered continuing attention and support of my work. They read a part of the manuscript and made numerous refreshing suggestions, which were instrumental in improving the book. My former supervisors in China and Japan, Du Jiwen 杜繼文, Lou Yulie 樓宇烈 and Aramaki Noritoshi 荒牧典俊, have also kept encouraging and supporting me, generously sharing their perspectives on Sui-Tang Buddhism.

Alan Cole, Imre Hamar, Mary Ngai, James Robson, Tansen Sen, Rosanna Tse, Stuart Young, and Zhang Dewei 張德偉 read the manuscript partly or wholly and made very useful comments. The main body of this book was written in 2004, when I taught at the University of Tokyo. I am indebted to Sueki Fumihiko 末木文美士 for inviting me to teach and conduct research in such an intellectually stimulating environment, which afforded the privilege of contact with knowledgeable colleagues, primarily Okayama Hajime 丘山新 and Shimoda Mashiro 下田正弘, and numerous talented students, mainly Chi Limei 池麗梅 (Venerable Xiaoshun 孝順), Fujii Jun 藤井俊, Wang Fang 王芳, Zhang Xin 張昕, and Zhuang Kunmu 莊昆木.

Other scholars and friends who assisted in different ways include Chen Jidong 陳繼東, Hubert Durt, Erika Forte, Funayama Tōru 船山徹, Ibuki Atsushi 伊吹敦, Ishii Kōsei 石井公成, Kajiura Susumu 梶浦晋, Kanno Hiroshi 菅野博史, Karashima Seishi 辛島靜志, Kimura Kiyotaka 木村清孝, Katherine Ludvic, Ochiai Toshinori 落合俊典, Pan Zheyi 潘哲毅, Sueki Yasuhiro 末木康弘, Takata Tokio 高田時雄, Silvio Vita, Wang Song 王頌 in Japan; Ch'oe Yeonshik 崔鈆植 and Ch'on

Hyebong 千惠鳳 in Korea; Fang Litian 方立天, He Keren 何可人, Hou Chong 侯沖, Li Jining 李際寧, Li Silong 李四龍, Liu Yi 劉屹, Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, Shen Weirong 沈衛榮, Wang Bangwei 王邦維, Xu Wenming 徐文明, Yang Zeng 楊增, Zhang Fenglei 張風雷, Zhang Naizhu 張乃翥, and Zhang Wenliang 张文良 in China; Cho Sungwu 趙晟佑, Max Deeg, Michael Friedrich, John Kieschnick, Christoph Kleine, Lothar Ledderose, Antonello Palumbo, Jörg Plassen, Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, Vladimir Tikhonov, Tom Tillemans, Wang Ding 王丁, and Stefano Zacchetti in Europe; John Jorgenson in Australia; and finally, back to North America, Robert Buswell, Ian Chapman, Paul Groner, Victor Mair, John McRae, Linda Penkower, Harry Nothschild, Jonathan Silk, Stephen Teiser, Eugene Wang 汪悅進, and Michael Welch.

Publication has been greatly facilitated by the hard work of three editors: Barend ter Haar and Patricia Radder, who are, respectively, the series editor and executive editor of the *Sinica Leidensia*, and Howard Goodman, acting as separate editorial adviser. A thirteenth-century portrait of Fazang lends luster to this humble book. I am grateful to its owner, Tōdaiji 東大寺, for granting permission to print a copy of the photograph provided by the Nara National Museum (Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan 奈良国立博物館). My former student Chi Limei deserves special thanks for the work required in order to secure this permission. Her efforts were joined by a staff member at Tōdaiji, Suzuki Kōsei 鈴木公成, whose kindness and professionalism I appreciated .

Parts of Chapters 2, 10, 12, Conclusion and Appendixes C and K are rewritten on the basis of sections of the following six articles: (1) "More Than a Philosopher," (2) "The Location and Chief Members of Śikṣānanda's (652-710) Avataṃsaka Translation Office," (3) "Fazang the Holy Man," (4) "Fazang and Wuzhen si," (5) "A Daoist Princess and a Buddhist Temple," and (6) "A Korean Biography of a Sogdian Monk in China," published in *History of Religions*, *Journal of Asian History*, *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*. I thank the editors of these journals for allowing me to avail myself of the published articles. I also want to acknowledge an online source that I failed to note in the book itself due to some unpredictable technical difficulties. Note 26 of Chapter 10 refers to a rubbing bearing one of Empress Wu's titles *shengshen huangdi* 聖神皇帝. It is made available electronically thanks to the good office of the database of epigraphic sources provided by the Institute for Research in Humanities of Kyoto University: http://kanji.zinbun.kyoto-u.ac.jp.

This book is the result of a three-year project sponsored by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) of Canada. It also includes research conducted by the aid from the program of Canada

Research Chairs (CRC). I extend my heartfelt thanks to the Canadian taxpayers, whose foresight has helped maintain these two highly efficient academic organizations.

I dedicate this book to Antonino Forte, not only because of his unique contribution to the studies of Tang Buddhism in general and Fazang in particular, but also for his impact on my own intellectual life and our one-decade long friendship. He is deeply missed as an inspiring mentor and a caring friend.

My son, Nathan Chen, helped me design most of the tables and charts. Nathan showed admirable patience and intelligence in listening to my explanations of the relationships between people and matters that appear so foreign to him. As I finish the book, I feel doubly grateful to my parents, first for their love and unflagging support of my career as a researcher, and particularly for having given birth to me on such a special date. I doubt that I would have written such a book had I been born a few days earlier or later.

December 12, 2006
Panjiayuan 潘家園, Beijing

CONVENTIONS

1. Reign dates are presented in the following way:

NAME OF REIGN-ERA REIGN-YEAR.LUNAR-MONTH.DAY

E.g., "Zhenguan 3.9.20" is day 20 of the 9th lunar month of the 3rd year of the Zhenguan reign. The conversion of traditional Chinese lunar dates into western ones is based on the service provided by the Academia Sinica Computer Center. See Zhongyang yanjiu yuan jisuan zhongxin 中央研究院計算中心 (Academica Sinica Computer Center), *Liangqian nian Zhong-Xili zhuanhuan* 兩千年中西曆轉換 (Multi-directional conversion of the two thousand years of Chinese and Western calendar systems):

http://www.sinica.edu.tw/~tdbproj/sinocal/luso.html (June 10, 2006).

However, for converting dates under the reign of Empress Wu, which, due to the numerous changes that are not well presented in the above resource, I have used *Tōdai no koyomi* 唐代の暦, compiled by Hiraoka Takeo 平岡武夫 (Kyōto: Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo Sakuin Henshū Iinkai, 1954).

2. Citation Style

References to texts in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經, edited by Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaikyoku 渡邊海旭 (Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai, 1924-1932), are indicated by the volume number, followed by *juan* number (when the work is of multiple *juan*), page, register, and, when appropriate, line. Exceptions to this general rule are "Da Tang Da Jianfusi gu dade Kang Zang fashi zhi bei" 大唐大薦福寺故大德康藏法師之碑 ("Kang Zang bei") and *Tang Tae Ch'ŏnboksa kosaju pŏn'gyŏng taedŏk Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn* 唐大薦福寺故寺主翻經大德法藏和尙傳 (*Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn* 法藏和尙傳, abbreviated as *PHC*), for which I provide only their page, column and line numbers, without giving volume number, which in every case is *T* 50.

References to texts in *Han'guk Pulgyo chŏnsŏ* 韓國佛教全書, compiled by Tongguk taehakkyo pulchŏn kanhaeng wiwŏnhoe nae han'guk pulgyo chŏnsŏ pyŏnch'an wiwŏn (Seoul: Tongguk taehakkyo ch'ulp'anbu, 1979-1996), are cited by the volume number, *juan*, page, register, and line.

References to texts in *(Wan) xu zangjing* (卍)續藏經, the Xin wenfeng reprint of *Dai Nihon zokuzōkyō* 大日本續藏經 (compiled by Nakano Tatsue 中野達慧, Kyoto: Zōkyō shoin, 1905-1912), are indicated by volume number, *juan*, page, register, and line.

3. Abbreviations

Abbreviations exclusively used in the bibliography and footnotes are given at the beginning of Bibliography, while those used throughout the book include:

a.k.a.	also known as
annot.	annotator (annotated by)
ed.	editor (edited by)
Ch.	Chinese
coll.	collator (collated by)
comp.	compiler (compiled by)
Jp.	Japanese
Kor.	Korean
r.	reigned
Skt.	Sanskrit
suppl.	supplement (supplemented by)
trans.	translator (translated by)

INTRODUCTION

Anyone with only the briefest acquaintance with Chinese Buddhism will know that Fazang was one of the greatest Buddhist metaphysicians in medieval Asia. Undoubtedly the most talented disciple of the Avataṃsaka master Zhiyan 智儼 (602-668), he was recognized as the third patriarch of the Avataṃsaka tradition in China, the so-called Huayan zong 華嚴宗. This tradition of thought was based on an Indian text, the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, known primarily for a sophisticated and often difficult philosophical system that was developed through its commentaries. The text itself is both abstruse and voluminous, and because of Fazang's brilliant work in systematizing Zhiyan's theoretical legacy and his decisive role in recasting the Avataṃsaka system in terms of characteristically Chinese Buddhist doctrines derived from the influential apocryphon, *Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論 (Treatise on Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna), modern Buddhist scholars have unanimously accepted Fazang as the *de facto* founder of the Huayan school.

Fazang was a third-generation Sogdian immigrant in China, and perhaps partly for that reason, his influence extended far beyond the borders of the Tang imperium. It seems that he had significant impact on a Korean fellow-disciple under Zhiyan—Ŭisang 義湘 (625-702), who was, in turn, the initiator of the Avataṃsaka tradition in Korea (Hwaŏm). Although younger, Fazang seems to have exercised decisive influence on Ŭisang's interpretation of the Avataṃsaka tradition and in particular Zhiyan's teachings.[1] Fazang was also closely associated with another Korean monk, Simsang 審詳 (?-744+), who became his disciple. It was this Simsang (Jp. Shinjō) who was credited with the transmission of Chinese Huayan to Japan, and during his stay in Japan he secured a gifted Japanese monk Ryōben (var. Rōben) 良辯 (689-773) as his own disciple. In time Ryōben became a leader of Nara Buddhism and founded the Japanese Avataṃsaka tradition, known as Kegon.

Fazang is regarded today primarily as a scholastic monk who composed a variety of technical and philosophical texts. That modern scholars have focused on Fazang's philosophical contributions can, no doubt, be attributed to his importance in founding the Avataṃsaka tradition in East Asia. It can also be justified by the fact that many of Fazang's extant writings are indeed philosophical texts, some of which have been

[1] Chapter 5.2.3.

productively studied by scholars.[2] This "Avataṃsaka-only" vision of Fazang gives the impression that he was an armchair philosopher, who was almost exclusively preoccupied with metaphysical speculation and who had little or no interest in other forms of religion or other aspects of creativity, such as rites, arts, and technologies. This view of Fazang appears to derive from the positivist and rationalist bias of modern historiography, which ignores "nonrational" elements in the sources as legends not of any use to historians, and focuses on more "rational" elements such as philosophy. It also derives from a tendency to privilege doctrine over practice, and to marginalize or ignore altogether the charisma and magical powers of monks.

Because of the significance of Fazang's ideas in the history of East Asian Buddhism, his life has already attracted a great deal of scholarly attention, giving us a number of important works in recent decades. Covering a great deal of primary sources on Fazang's life, modern scholars have succeeded in retrieving an immense body of data relating to Fazang's biography and hagiography from sources scattered throughout the vast library of Chinese Buddhist literature. The complicated relationships between some of these primary sources have emerged from obscurity thanks to the arduous textual and historical studies that a number of researchers have so painstakingly undertaken, and I hold nothing but high praise for the revealing light that they have shed on Fazang's complex life.

However, some major primary sources, both textual and epigraphic, have been either neglected or misinterpreted, thus producing an incomplete picture of Fazang and obscuring important aspects of his life. Moreover, many details that have caught scholarly attention have been uncritically accepted. Legendary elements have thus crept into the account of Fazang's life. Similarly disturbing is the way scholars have dealt with the rich hagiographical materials on Fazang. Admittedly, most of them cannot be used for reconstructing historical facts. My study will investigate the ways they were composed so as to gain clues to the religious concerns and motivations of those who furthered their use.[3]

A biography is a description of an individual's life and therefore is at first concerned with aspects of career that reveal social and political standpoints and ethical and intellectual views, whereas a hagiography, an account of the idealized life of a saint, aims at prescribing

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[2] E.g., Chang, *The Buddhist Teaching of Totality*; Cook, *Hua-yen Buddhism*; Fung, *A History of Chinese Philosophy*; Sakamoto, *Kegon kyōgaku no kenkyū*; Takamine, *Kegon shisō shi*; Yoshizu, *Kegon ichijō shisō no kenkyū*; and most recently, Vorenkamp, *Fa-tsang's Commentary on the Awakening of Faith*.

[3] The progress modern scholarship has made on Fazang's life and its limitations are surveyed in detail in Chapter 1.3.

the spiritual paradigms exemplified by (or attributed to) the saint. However, it seems that there is no biographical account that is purely descriptive, just as there is no hagiographical account which only prescribes and does not describe. The biography-hagiography dilemma is determined by an intrinsic feature of discursive activity: any description implies a certain kind of prescription, no matter how subtle; and vice versa, any prescription cannot avoid taking on a certain degree of detail. In this sense, perhaps we can say that the coexistence of biographical and hagiographical factors is a universal phenomenon in the biographical literature of any time and culture, and not exclusive to Chinese monastic biography. Although it may sound radical to propose that the terms biography and hagiography be replaced with hagio-biography, it is hard to exaggerate the mutual implication and the intertextuality of hagiographical and biographical elements in any account.

While a lot of biographers and hagiographers seems to have been to write between biography and hagiography, a reader interested in reconstructing historical reality needs to separate—as much as possible—the descriptive from the prescriptive. The former pertains to data concerning the subject of a biography. I attempt to narrate, for example, Fazang's familial and intellectual background and his activities as a Buddhist figure—such as where and how he built or renovated temples, what *sūtra*s he lectured on, what rituals he performed, what lay supporters he associated with, what kinds of disciples he trained, and so on. I try, then, to distinguish those from legends and miracle stories featuring Fazang's supernatural powers and his mysterious experiences with deities that resulted from and bore testimony to his advanced spiritual cultivation.

Many sources that I use come from monastic biographies, epigraphy (both contemporary to Fazang and later), colophons to the Buddhist translations in which Fazang participated, and relevant materials from secular sources. These writings cannot be entirely free of ideological intent; for example, he is portrayed in terms of spiritual paradigms exemplified by the saint. This said, we should also recognize that our sources do contain historical facts that can be verified (or at least, not contradicted) by other sources. We cannot assume that a portrait of a religious figure in medieval China could have been painted completely without reference to some basic facts in his life—especially if the accounts were composed when contemporaries of his subject were still alive. This is particularly true of the biographies belonging to the so-called *gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 ("Eminent Monks") genre, most of which were written on the basis of funeral epitaphs composed for the subjects right after their death.[4] This tacit and informal "censoring institution"

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[4] Shinohara, "Two Sources of Chinese Buddhist Biographies."

dictated that a monastic biography must convey basic biographical and historical information.[5] Thus, while remaining fully aware of the high degree to which factual and idealized factors intermingle in any particular biographical account of Fazang, I still believe that historical elements can be effectively distilled from this vast store of hagio-biographical literature.

We should determine which elements can be accepted as historically plausible and which cannot, although our hagio-biographers have attempted to pass off the latter as historical facts too. There is no universally applicable rule or criterion for making such a distinction, which is usually rather subtle and should be judged case by case. Generally speaking, we need to cover all the relevant materials—textual and epigraphic, Buddhist or non-Buddhist—and subject them to rigorous checks and cross-references, so as to solve or at least lay open all the discrepancies. My goal is to dig out the long-hidden stories that exist beyond the discrepancies. These stories will prove instrumental in recovering missing pieces of the historical puzzle.

Next, elements that do not pass historical scrutiny can be divided into two types—those derived from innocent errors and those fabricated by the narrator out of sectarian, polemic, or other ideological purposes.

Robert Campany has said that "hagiography intends to inspire belief, veneration, and perhaps emulation, its depictions of the contexts of religious life must be, for the most part, realistic, which is to say, recognizable and familiar to readers."[6] What I am trying to accomplish is to add to this, by examining instances in which a hagiographical account contains detailed information that is historically verifiable, especially if the hagiographer happened to be personally close to the subject and his intended readers were the subject's contemporaries, and thus would not have accepted a false spatial and temporal framework, which would have been thought of as fake or as an attempt to transform the subject inappropriately. This is a tricky issue that requires further explanation. I have shown elsewhere that a hagiographical account left by one of Fazang's direct disciples concerning the translation office of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* headed by Śikṣānanda (652-710) contains historical facts verifiable by other historical sources and that these lend crucial support in deciphering other, more shrouded, claims.[7]

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[5] By "censoring institution" I refer to a kind of pressure exerted by contemporaneousness (that between the author and the audience) on the author to abide by basic temporal and spatial frameworks that were common knowledge. Violation of these frameworks would have been immediately recognized to the detriment of the author's credibility.

[6] Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth*, 101.

[7] Chen Jinhua, "Śikṣānanda." A more detailed discussion of this issue can be found in Appendix C.

One more point about the historicity of certain aspects of a hagiography should be made. As an example, one hagiographical account states that in 697 Fazang performed "unconventional" forms of Buddhist ritual (the so-called "left-hand path," and so probably seen as a kind of black magic). He was on the battlefield, and conjured the illusion of Avalokiteśvara floating in the sky, scaring away Khitan soldiers and helping the Chinese army to win a sweeping victory. Although it may be wrong to believe that the effects of Fazang's rituals were hallucinatory or truly magical, several pieces of evidence show that it is probably true that Fazang did engage in such rituals in that specific time and place. First, Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn 崔致遠 (857-904+) quotes from an edict of Empress Wu (Wu Zhao 武曌, var. Wu Zetian 武則天, 623/625-705; the empress of Gaozong: 655-683; regent: 684-690; reign: 690-705) that enthusiastically praises Fazang for his crucial role in quelling the Khitan rebels. Second, Fazang's part in the victory was eulogized by Empress Wu's son Zhongzong several years later in one of his poems dedicated to the monk. Finally, an epigraph of Daoist origins shows that in her efforts to crack down on the Khitan, Empress Wu indeed engaged the assistance of some religious leaders by asking them to go to key sacred sites to pray for divine intervention. Thus, from this hagiographical piece we recover important links to be found in Fazang's life: first, he probably went to the battlefront or nearby in 697; second, under special circumstances he performed esoteric (and semi-shamanic) rituals; third, his service on this occasion gained him a considerable amount of appreciation from Empress Wu.[8]

On the basis of the preceding discussion we might conclude that a hagio-biography contains the following four elements: just as its biographical part can be divided into (i) historically verifiable and (ii) historically unverifiable elements, the hagiographical part includes (iii) purely hagiographical elements and (iv) those containing historical and biographical facts.

In this introduction I have used examples relating to Fazang in order to show a general method for separating these four elements of hagio-biography from one another. Let me end by illustrating this with an example from outside the huge body of Fazang literature. I refer to the biography that the Tang vinaya master, Buddhist historian, and biographer Daoxuan 道宣 (596-667) composed for the Tiantai 天台 master Guanding 灌頂 (561-632), probably on the basis of a memorial inscription written at the request of Guanding's disciples.[9] This biogra-

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[8] This hagiographical account and its value for our study of Fazang's life are discussed in Chapter 5.3.2.

[9] *XGSZ*, *T* 50: 19.584a25-585b11. For the source of this biography, see Chen Jinhua, *Making and Remaking History*, 54n61.

phy is relevant not only because both Guanding and Fazang are considered Buddhist "patriarchs," but also because they were separated by only about eighty years.

Guanding's biography is composed of two parts: a biographical account narrating his life from his birth until his death, followed by a hagiographical section composed of five miracle stories featuring his "supernatural power" (*shentong* 神通).[10] In the first part, at least three events cannot be completely taken as historical facts: Guanding's securing the Sanlun 三論 master Jizang's 吉藏 (549-623) discipleship through his superior Buddhist understanding; lecturing within the imperial palaces in 602; and how Sui Yangdi (r. 604-617), who treated Guanding's teacher Zhiyi 智顗 (538-597) as his own, summoned Guanding to the battlefield in Zhuoye 涿野 (near present-day Beijing), where a massive assault on Korea was being staged. As I have shown elsewhere, these three accounts turn out to be unrestrained exaggeration or deliberate recasting of the situations. Jizang, senior to Guanding by twelve years and a far more prestigious Buddhist leader than Guanding at the time, never studied with Guanding. In 602 Guanding was dispatched by the Tiantai community to the capital in response to an imperial edict ordering collation of a newly copied work of Zhiyi. And as for the alleged audience that Yangdi was said to have bestowed on Guanding, Guanding himself said that he was merely an indicted criminal (i.e., for performing black magic) and was being escorted to Zhuoye at Yangdi's mercy.[11] Clearly the biographical and historical part of Guanding's biography contains both verifiable elements and those that are inaccurate or simply fabricated.[12]

As for the five miracle stories, we have: (i) testimony of Zhixi 智晞 (557-628) on his death-bed in Zhenguan 1 (January 23, 627-February 10, 628) that he was to be reborn in Tuṣita Heaven and could see that a vacant seat there would be filled by Guanding in six years time; (ii) Guanding mysteriously cured a villager by chanting the *Lotus sūtra;* (iii) Guanding's wish to lecture in Anzhou 安洲, an inaccessible river islet in Lean 樂安 (present-day Xianju 仙居, Zhejiang), which caused geographical changes that enabled his lecture audience to reach the place with ease; (iv) bandits, just about to attack Shejingsi 攝靜寺 in Zhang'an 章安 (present-day Wenzhou 溫州, Zhejiang) while Guanding

[10] For these two parts, see, respectively, *XGSZ*, *T* 50: 19.584a25-585a7; 585a7-b2.

[11] Chen Jinhua, *Making and Remaking History*, Chapter 4 (for Jizang's alleged discipleship under Guanding); 46-50 (for Guanding's 602 trip to Chang'an); and 50-53 (for Guanding's meeting with Yangdi in Zhuoye).

[12] Not all of these dubious accounts derived from Daoxuan, or from the source on which he based his work (i.e., Guanding's epitaph commissioned by his disciples). The story of Guanding converting Jizang was, for example, actually added by a later editor. See Chen Jinhua, *Making and Remaking History*, Chapter 4.

was lecturing on the *Nirvāṇa sūtra*, were scared away by celestial warriors; and (v) Guanding broke a huge slab of stone into two pieces by striking it with his staff so that the pieces could be used for a pagoda.

It goes without saying that most of the details in these miracle stories cannot be taken as historical facts. However, they do contain some biographical and historical data. Guanding did have a fellow disciple called Zhixi, who indeed died in early 628.[13] Although it is remotely possible that, as with all sorts of anecdotes about charismatic preaching even in our own time, he may have cured a dying man, still even an apparent outcome like this cannot be determined. But we do know for a fact that his *Lotus* lectures were very intensely preached. His having lectured in Anzhou is also confirmed by his own autobiography,[14] although we would assume that there was no divine change in the landscape to get his audience. Guanding's residence at Shejingsi in this period (i.e., at the end of Sui dynasty) is also probable, given that he had studied with his teacher Huizheng 慧拯 (?-581?) at this temple between the ages of six and nineteen. Finally, it is also likely that Guanding built a pagoda with his disciples, although it would strain one's credibility to accept that his staff was mighty enough to break a stone slab of great size (unless one assumes that Guanding knew a stone artisan who located the vulnerable strike-point on the slab, and it was thus a clever, technical stunt)!

Because the four kinds of biographical/hagiographical elements are variously mixed, matched, and even rejected, there are thus several different approaches to the study of medieval Chinese monastic hagio-biography. One of them is the all-embracing approach, which is adopted by traditional historiographers and some modern sectarian scholars who have taken uncritically the existing traditional (mostly sectarian) accounts at face value and presented them as historical records. But also, scholars relatively more critical of the legendary elements have tried to uncover kernels of historical fact from the shell of legendary accretions. They dismiss much that is of prime interest to scholars of religion: the accounts of miracles and marvels that enliven the biographies. We have a new way of focusing on the hagiographical side of the hagio-biographical account, which "sets aside the historicity of the accounts and accepts them as representations of the image of the monk, of what monks were *supposed* to be," as explicitly stated by John Kieschnick.[15]

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[13] See Zhixi's biography at *XGSZ*, *T* 50: 19.582a24-583a5, where the date of his death is given as Zhenguan 1.12.18 (January 29, 628).

[14] *Da banniepan jing xuanyi*, *T* 38: 2.14c23-15a1.

[15] Kieschnick, *Biographies of Eminent Monks*, 1. In addition to Kieschnick's significant study, other classic studies of medieval Chinese monastic hagio-biography

While this does justice to the hagiographical elements ignored by the other approaches, it may also have a tendency to disregard the historical and biographical function and value of monastic hagio-biography.

These days, except for a few diehard apologists for sectarian ideologies, very few modern scholars fail to distance themselves from the "all-embracing" approach. The other two approaches have their own integral merits, although both run the risk of losing sight of different aspects of monastic hagio-biography. A more balanced (and hopefully, more productive) approach is one that combines the merits of the latter two, while at the same time avoiding their shortcomings. This is what I try to do for the study at hand. I attempt to determine which of any biographical elements are reliable and verifiable, but in fact not throw out the unverifiable ones altogether. Some of those data may have been naive mistakes, and thus explainable or correctable, in various ways, while others turn out to be motivated by profound ideological and sectarian agendas and are worthy of careful deciphering and assessment. Similarly, for hagiography, I attempt to sift off the relatively factual and reliable bits, particularly from those accounts written for contemporaneous religious figures.

By this method, I think I have begun to expose the sectarian and polemical agendas that motivated the manufacturing of what others may perceive as unreliable elements. These agendas prove essential in restoring major pieces of the larger religious and sociopolitical picture that influenced Fazang's career. They need to be read critically and deciphered carefully. As for the hagiographical elements, I will not simply dismiss them as valueless. Rather, I study them as an important source for the complex process through which Fazang was perceived by his followers. I believe that traditional hagiographical sources allow the modern investigator to reconstruct the process by which Fazang's followers cast and recast his image.

All of this is enriched by consistently spreading an international net over the world of Fazang, and by subjecting the results to a critical, comparative method. Not only do I examine all biographies and Fazang's autobiographical writings that are preserved in China, Korea and Japan, but I also make extensive use of epigraphic sources, some of which have been recently made available but have not yet been used or have been misinterpreted. Scrutiny of these materials against the other sources yields significant discrepancies that will require modifying or even discarding longstanding stereotypes of Fazang.

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conducted with such an approach include Shinohara, "Guanding's Biography of Zhiyi"; idem, "Evolution of Chan Biographies."

In addition to a brief Introduction and Conclusion, this book is composed of three parts: a Biographical Reconstruction (Part One), Thematic and Hagiographical Studies (Part Two) and Appendixes (Part Three). While the first part examines the historical and biographical materials related to Fazang's life, the second has two distinct tasks: I examine (in a necessarily limited way) the intellectual and socio-political circumstances under which Fazang played his various roles—that of philosopher, technical inventor, translator, court politician; and second, I investigate hagiographical accounts that cast and recast Fazang's image as a wonderworker.

The first part of this study consists of six chapters. The first, entitled "Fazang's Life: Primary Sources and Secondary Studies," surveys the primary biographical sources (fifty-one in total, including forty-five textual sources plus six epigraphic ones) on Fazang, the materials of which range from the eighth to the eighteenth centuries (including epigraphic and textual sources), and cover both monastic and secular, Chinese and non-Chinese (Korean and Japanese), Huayan and non-Huayan sources. I then briefly take up the modern scholarship on Fazang's life.

I devote a separate chapter (i.e., Chapter Two) to the unparalleled biography of Fazang by the renowned Korean author Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn. After briefly surveying the format and contents, I show the main Buddhist sources that Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn used. The chapter ends with remarks on its major value and limitations.

The textual work of Chapters One and Two lays the basis for the reconstruction that is attempted in the following four chapters. Chapter Three reviews four of the most basic biographical data on Fazang that have not yet received satisfactory discussion in modern scholarship. They include Fazang's names, his places of origin and birth, his family background (in which I discuss the possibility that Fazang had been married before entering the saṃgha), and his dharma lineage, mainly his chief masters, fellow-disciples, and disciples.

Chapter Four takes up an issue also concerning a crucial aspect of Fazang's monastic life—whether or not he was ever fully ordained. This is perhaps an ironic question, given Fazang's reputation as a Buddhist leader, truly "an eminent monk" who perhaps "wasn't" a monk. First, through a close reading of the relevant evidence (or its lack) for Fazang's full ordination in the oldest and best of his biographies (by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn and Yan Chaoyin, respectively), and some later sources, I explain why this matter of full ordination, which has never been doubted, became a problem. Second, in turning to the earliest account about Fazang's full ordination, I supply evidence against its historical veracity, and then discuss the process through which the notion was

formed and developed. Finally, I provide further contrary evidence through sources about his relationship with a Singhalese monk from whom he was alleged to have sought the bodhisattva-precepts.

Part One concludes with two chapters (Five and Six) that attempt to reconstruct Fazang's life as fully as possible. Fazang's seventy-year life is divided into six phases marked by points of time that were critical for his own life and/or the current political and religious worlds: (i) 670, Fazang's entering the saṃgha, (ii) 690, Empress Wu's founding of her dynasty, (iii) 699, a new version of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, (iv) 705, a court coup that resulted in the abdication of Empress Wu and the Tang restoration, and finally (v) 710, Zhongzong's murder and the return of the emperor's younger brother Ruizong to the throne.

Part Two deals with aspects of Fazang's life that come out of Chapters Five and Six and are more appropriately handled as thematic studies. Thus, it starts with two closely related chapters (Chapters Seven and Eight), concerning, respectively, two of his well-known merits—one is his reputation as a Buddhist philosopher and the other his role as a technical inventor and promoter. They are not so much about Fazang's doctrinal contributions as about the compatibility between his Huayan-conceptualized worldview and his passion for technical inventions. Chapter Seven, titled "Fazang the Philosopher," discusses the formation and development of two celebrated stories related to Fazang's effort to propagate his Avataṃsaka worldview: the stories are associated with the images of a "golden lion" and a "hall of mirrors." Chapter Eight ("Fazang the Technical Innovator") brings together new evidence pointing to Fazang's role in the spread of woodblock printing technology in East Asia. It ends with a brief remark on the relationship between philosophical speculation, scientific innovation and religious piety.

Chapter Nine ("Fazang the Translator") is also about a role for which Fazang has long been known. Fazang's cross-cultural background afforded him significant multilingual capacity, which, coupled with his superb Buddhist knowledge, made him an ideal translator to be sought out by the main Buddhist translators at the time, including Divākara (613-688), Devendraprajña (?-690?), Śikṣānanda, Mitrasena (?-704+), Yijing 義淨 (635-713) and Bodhiruci (?-727).

Starting with Chapter Ten, the book turns to other aspects of Fazang's intellectual and religious life that have not been adequately addressed by modern scholars. Chapter Ten focuses on the intellectual and sociopolitical background of his career as a confidant of the Tang and Zhou rulers. Fazang served as an influential court priest for over three decades (ca. 680-712), overlapping the latter half of the period in which Empress Wu ruled (655-705), either through her husband-emperor (655-683) or her son-emperor (684-690), or in her own right

(690-705), and the reigns of her successors Zhongzong (r. 705-710) and Ruizong (r. 710-712). Given the length of time that Fazang spent under the rule of Empress Wu and the magnitude of their mutual influence, the main body of this chapter (three of its four sections) is concerned with their relationship. Fazang lived through a critical moment, when political infighting was intensified so much that it eventually erupted into a court coup that resulted in the deposing of the empress and the re-enthronement of Zhongzong. We also examine his relationship with Empress Wu concerning the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*.

For the latter, I have chosen two foci—the Avataṃsaka Dharma-assembly of 689 and four famous episodes regarding this aspect of their relationship, which although doctrinally influenced, was multi-dimensional and exceedingly political. In particular, we note the political agenda of the 689 assembly and, closely related with this, Fazang's role in preparing the necessary political propaganda leading to the foundation of Empress Wu's own dynasty in place of the Tang. The universal vision of the Huayan tradition was not just a religious innovation; it had profound resonances in the political realm from the very beginning. It is also important to note that Empress Wu's enthusiasm for the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* and its most skillful interpreter did not derive solely from her personal faith, but rather was inextricably bound to her diplomatic agenda in Central Asia. Fazang's international roles also need to be evaluated in this context. This chapter tackles Fazang's political role under Zhongzong and Ruizong as well, and shows the need for reevaluating Fazang's increased political power in his last seven years in terms of his services as a magician for powerful people.

Magic provides a bridge to the following two chapters (Chapters Eleven and Twelve). Fazang was keenly interested in a wide range of Buddhist practices, including self-immolation, relic-veneration, esoteric or even shamanic rituals for the purpose of overcoming enemies, bringing rain or snow, and alleviating drought. Even these disparate practices still fall short of exhausting the world of Fazang's religious life. However, since they are rarely discussed, I have chosen them as the main topics of Chapter Eleven.

Huayan sectarian accounts and modern scholars both give the impression that Fazang's success resulted from his reputation as a great Buddhist philosopher and a skillful Buddhist translator. Evidence shows, however, that the success as an eminent court chaplain actually had much to do with his skill as a wonderworker. Chapter Twelve touches on some evidence pointing to Fazang's possible role as a Central Asian showman who performed the magic of slitting his belly in the course of a high-profile case of relic veneration. It examines further evidence of this role.

The third part of the book consists of twelve appendixes that supplement several of the chapters. Appendix A is a critical edition of Fazang's biography by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn and is relevant to Chapter Two; Appendixes B-D deal with key issues and persons involved in the legends related to Fazang's full ordination, the central topic of Chapter Four; Appendix E is a chronology of Fazang's life that summarizes the reconstruction given in Chapters Five and Six; Appendixes F-J, touching on Fazang's working relationships with four major translators, are related to Chapter Nine; Appendix K analyzes a thorny textual point of Fazang's biography and sheds light on his political roles, as discussed in Chapter Ten; and finally, Appendix L supplements Chapter Eleven with a discussion on a monastery that could be identified as the location for an important ritual that Fazang performed in 711.

In making a much fuller picture of Fazang than has been done heretofore, I wish to correct misinterpretations and fill in neglected areas. Fazang possessed enormous intellectual complexity. The results, I hope, will prove useful to scholars interested in reconstructing the lives of other religious leaders in this or other time periods and places. In fact, scholarly work on the lives of monks has shown in other cases that the dichotomy between the pursuit of philosophy and the practice of spells may well be a modern invention.[16] For example, it is primarily as miracle workers that many philosopher monks were known in India, from Nāgārjuna to the Jain philosophers Haribhadra (459-529) and Siddhasena (5th c.).[17] Furthermore, I wish to open up for discussion the various structures of medieval East Asian monastic hagio-biography and contribute to ongoing discussions on these matters.

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[16] Brown, *Cult of the Saints*.

[17] Granoff, "Jain Biographies of Nāgārjuna"; idem, "The Biographies of Ārya Khapataacārya."

PART ONE
A BIOGRAPHICAL RECONSTRUCTION

CHAPTER ONE

PRIMARY SOURCES AND SECONDARY STUDIES

To reconstruct the life of a person of Fazang's importance is no easy task. We need to contend not only with the enormous cultural and historical distance but also the challenges posed by biographical and hagiographical sources. The latter are particularly vexing not merely because of their volume, but also, more importantly, due to their structure, which melds hagiographical elements inextricably with biographical facts. Thus, in order to ground our investigation, we begin with a detailed survey of the primary sources of Fazang's life.

These primary sources can be divided into two groups of literature—epigraphic and textual. Strictly speaking, an epigraphic source is also a "text." As a matter of fact, most, if not all, were carved into stone or metal steles on the basis of prepared texts. However, an epigraph differs from an "ordinary text" in a particular way. The latter has generally undergone recopying and editing, a process that unavoidably takes in inadvertent errors made by the copyists and/or editors, or some blatant alterations or forgeries committed for some ideological agenda. Texts also are influenced by patronage, gestures, and market forces. An epigraphic source was generally immune to errors/alterations due to the special nature of the materials to which it was committed (either stone or metal, which are durable and resistant to change), and was generally devoid of the layers of change that accumulate upon a text in the course of the long history of its transmission. It also may imply a different type of context of patronage and literary voice, and it could and did contain historically untrue accounts and ideological factors deriving from the agents responsible for its creation (e.g., sponsors and authors of epigraphs). This basic difference between the two calls for distinct methods of interpretation and criticism.

The epigraphic sources on Fazang's life are few, and the textual ones dauntingly large and from a wide variety of provenances. As we soon see, this influential monk elicited biographical materials about him from Korea and Japan; and of the Chinese sources, several came from his own hand and the majority were composed by writers of Tang and later times. The Tang sources themselves can be divided into two groups: those in the Huayan tradition (further divisible into those by his direct disciples and those by other Tang Huayan masters) and non-Huayan sources. Post-Tang sources can also be divided into Huayan and non-Huayan.

Section one of this chapter takes up the relevant epigraphic texts; section two covers the textual, and because the latter reflects a large body of works, it is set out in chronological order. Section three briefly discusses modern scholarship on Fazang's biography, and the Conclusion groups the sources into the various categories, as mentioned, such as Chinese versus non-Chinese, and Huayan versus non-Huayan.

1. Epigraphic sources

We begin this discussion with the four inscriptions that were discovered thirty years ago in Longmen 龍門, Luoyang, by the Chinese art historian Wen Yucheng 溫玉成, who published his findings ten years later.[1] The most noteworthy is that sponsored by five Sogdian brothers, one of which bears the famous name Fazang. Dedicated to the deceased parents and grandparents of the brothers, this inscription was inscribed on the reverse side of an epitaph, ambiguously entitled "Da Zhou futu ming bing xu" 大周浮圖銘並序 (Epitaph, with a Preface, for a Stūpa [Erected under] the Great Zhou). It is written on the bottom of a stūpa that An Sitai 安思泰 (?-703+) built for his "deceased ancestors of ten generations" (*shishi xianwang* 十世先亡) and dated November 10, 703 (Chang'an 3.9.20).[2] Given that it seems that the stele was originally erected for the inscription "Da Zhou futu ming bing xu," containing Fazang's name, which was obviously carved on another occasion, it could have been made at the same time, or sometime later. This inscription has over the past couple of decades become a source of excitement for almost all scholars invested in the East Asian *Avataṃsaka* tradition, and in the history of China's communication with Central Asia during the Sui-Tang periods. Scholars working on Fazang have had good reason to value this epigraphic source for its apparent information on Fazang's family background—information that is unavailable elsewhere.

Wen Yucheng reports three other inscriptions from three caves in Longmen that also bear the famous name Fazang. While the 703 inscription is actually about a Fazang different from the *Avataṃsaka* Fazang, the Fazang in the other three inscriptions might, or might not, have been our Fazang.[3]

Fortunately, we know that yet another inscription does in fact refer to the Avataṃsaka master. This one is included as a postscript to a stone scripture now known among scholars as "Jinci cang Fengyu hua-

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[1] Wen, "Fazang shenshi," 35.

[2] Ding Mingyi, *Fojiao xinchu beizhi jicui*, 186. For a brief study of the An Sitai inscription, see Yang Chao, "Longmen guancang fota yu Guanshiyin shiyuan jing."

[3] These are reviewed in Chapter 3.3.4.

yan shijing" 晉祠藏風峪華嚴石經 (The Fengyu Stone *Avataṃsaka sūtra* Stored in the Jin Museum). Based on a list that was compiled shortly after the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* was completed on September 29, 699, this stone inscription records the translators, Fazang among them, involved in the Śikṣānanda's *Avataṃsaka* translation office.[4]

Again with certainty, we can identify Fazang as recorded in an inscription on a "spirit canopy" manufactured in the spring of 710 for the purpose of enshrining the Famensi 法門寺 relic. It contains thirty-eight characters in total and clearly records the date on which the "spirit canopy" was made, and its purposes. It also attests to Fazang's leading role in manufacturing the "spirit canopy" and accordingly, in the whole relic-veneration in the year.[5]

Unlike the above epigraphic sources, which still exist in their physical form, the next epigraphic source does not. It is preserved only as a transcription. This is none other than Fazang's funeral epitaph composed by a courtier who was an acquaintance (if not friend)—Yan Chaoyin 閻朝隱 (?-713?)—either at the very end of 712 or the very beginning of 713. Entitled "Da Tang Da Jianfusi gu dade Kang Zang fashi zhi bei" 大唐大薦福寺故大德康藏法師之碑 ([Funeral] Epitaph for Dharma Master Kang [Fa]zang, the Late *Bhadanta* [Ch. *dade* 大德, "Great Virtue"] of Great Jianfusi of the Great Tang),[6] it is the earliest biography of Fazang, a text upon which later biographical sources for Fazang frequently drew.

A trace of Fazang's life is found in one more epigraphic source, which was dedicated to one of his female disciples. Titled "Xingsheng sizhu ni Facheng taming bing xu" 興聖寺主尼法澄塔銘並序 (Inscription, with a Preface, for the Pagoda Dedicated to Nun Facheng, the Abbess of Xingshengsi), this inscription was written in 730 by Li Zhijian 李志暕 (?-729+) for the nun Facheng 法澄 (640-729). Before entering the saṃgha, Facheng had been a concubine of the Prince of Jiang

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[4] See Appendix G.

[5] Transcribed in Wu and Han, *Famensi digong*, 70.

[6] Hereafter, "Kang Zang bei." Yan Chaoyin's official biographies are at *JTS* 190.5026 and *XTS* 202.5751-52. He was close to Empress Wu and some of her kinsmen, and a renowned author. *JTS* (47.2076) and *XTS* (60.1601) record a five-*juan* collection of his works. At one point he was a polisher (*runwen* 潤文) in Yijing's translation office, and held other titles as academician, assistant editorial director, and auxiliary academician in the Institute for the Cultivation of Literature. See Appendix I.

We know the timeframe of this epitaph because it mentions December 26, 712 (Xiantian 1.11.24) as the date on which Fazang's burial ceremony was formally performed. Because of his support for Princess Taiping 太平 (?-713), Yan Chaoyin was demoted shortly after she and her group were removed in the court coup staged on July 29, 713 (see *JTS* 78.2708, *ZZTJ* 210.6683ff). Therefore, he must have written it sometime between December 26, 712 and July 29, 713.

蔣, Li Yun 李惲 (?-675), who was, in turn, Li Zhijian's first uncle twice removed.[7] Although there is only a fleeting remark on the association between Fazang and Facheng, it is valuable for clarifying obscure aspects of the early phase of his career. It warrants particular attention given that no scholar interested in Fazang's life has ever made any use of its evidence.[8]

Finally, we have a source dated almost half a century later than the previous one and titled "Da Tang Shengchao Wuyouwangsi Dasheng zhenshen baota beiming bing xu" 大唐聖朝無憂王寺大聖真身寶塔碑銘並序 (Inscription, with a Preface, for the Treasure-Pagoda of the True-Body of the Great Sage at the Wuyouwang Monastery of the Divine Dynasty of the Great Tang). It is a memorial inscription composed by Zhang Yu 張彧 (?-797+) on May 16, 778, with the calligraphy executed by a man called Yang Bo 楊播 (?-778+).[9] It echoes that one cast in 710, mentioning as it does the trip to Famensi that Fazang undertook at the beginning of 705 on the order of Empress Wu. This account, brief as it is, can be productively read with a far fuller description of the same event found in Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's biography of Fazang.[10]

2. Textual sources

We turn to the transmitted textual sources on Fazang's life that did not originate as epigraphic inscriptions, reviewing them, as far as it is possible, in chronological order. Numbers given in square brackets, below, refer to the numbered list found in the concluding section of this chapter.

2.1. *Writings from the Late-Seventh to Ninth Century*

Seven of Fazang's own works mention, though briefly, his own activities. *Dasheng fajie wu chabie lun shu* 大乘法界無差別論疏 (one *juan*) [1] is Fazang's commentary on *Dasheng fajie wu chabie lun* 大乘法界無差別論, translated by the Khotanese monk Devendraprajña. Since

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[7] *QTW* 100.8a-10a (*TMH*, 1362-1363). He was better known as Hereditary Prince of Peng 嗣彭王. His father Li Xuan 李絢 (dates unknown) was originally a son of the Prince of Huo 霍 (Li Yuangui 李元軌 [?-688], the fourteenth son of Gaozu), but was later adopted as the heir to the Prince of Peng, that is, Li Yuanze 李元則 (?-651), the twelfth son of Gaozu. Li Yun was the seventh son of Taizong, therefore, a first uncle twice-removed of Li Zhijian.

[8] It was mentioned, however, as early as 1979; see Zhang Zunliu, "Sui Tang Wudai fojiao dashi nianbiao," 158. I did not notice this evidence until I recently prepared an article on Tang nuns. See Chen Jinhua, "Buddhist Nuns," 59-60.

[9] *Jinshi cuibian*, *Shike shiliao xinbian* I, 3: 1668-70. See also *QTW* 516.8a-13a.

[10] *PHC* 283c25-284a18; a comparative discussion of the two accounts is in Chapter 6.1.2.

this commentary was mentioned in a publication list that Fazang attached to his letter to Ŭisang, which Forte has recently dated January 14, 690, and *Dasheng fajie wu chabie lun shu* was translated, according to Forte, in 689,[11] it must have been composed in 689; it constitutes a major source for Devendraprajña's activities in China, including his collaboration with Fazang.[12]

Huayan jing zhuanji 華嚴經傳記 (Biographies and Accounts Related to *Huayan Jing*) [2] is a five-*juan* work that includes stories and episodes that Fazang believed to have been related to the formation, translation, and transmission of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, as well as the practices and supernatural powers derived from the *sūtra*. While the main body was completed around 690, Fazang added new materials (e.g., a biography of Śikṣānanda) sometime thereafter.[13] Given that Śikṣānanda died in 710 and that Fazang himself died two years later, we know that Fazang edited the text sometime between 710 and 712. Evidence suggests, however, that Fazang at least made an effort to revise it several years earlier, in 704.[14] This collection contains the following seven episodes related to Fazang: (i) Fazang's participation in Śikṣānanda's Avataṃsaka translation bureau;[15] (ii) his supernatural capacity for preaching the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, which was verified by a layman called Guo Shenliang 郭神亮;[16] (iii) Fazang's organization of a high-

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[11] Forte, *Jewel*, 57-58.

[12] See a particular passage in *Dasheng fajie wu chabie lun shu* (*T* 44: 63c-64a), discussed in Chapter 9.1.2, in which Fazang narrates the historical circumstances under which Devendraprajña was invited to China and engaged in translating Buddhist texts.

[13] Forte, *Jewel*, 56.

[14] Fazang remarks in the fourth *juan* of this historio-biographical collection,

> On February 28, 689 (Yongchang 1.2.4), the Khotanese Trepiṭaka, Dharma Master Yintuoluoborere (i.e., Devendraprajña) personally told this to śramaṇa Xianshou at Weiguo dongsi in the Divine Metropolis (*shendu* 神都 [i.e., Luoyang). It has been thirty-five years since that happened. 永昌元年二月四日, 于闐國三藏法師因陀羅波若若在神都魏國東寺, 親向沙門賢首說之云. 此事經今三十五年矣 (*HJZ*, *T*51: 4.167a14-17).

Given that Fazang is here referred to as śramaṇa Xianshou, this appears to have been written by Fazang himself, rather than his disciples (otherwise requiring a more respectful term, like Dharma Master Xianshou 賢首法師) (e.g., *HJZ*, *T*.51: 4.166b). However, the last sentence would mean that it was written thirty-five years after 689, that is, in 724, twelve years after Fazang's death. Thus, the narrator would have been one of his disciples. Therefore I suspect that the character 三 in the expression 三十五年 was an error for 已 (the two characters could have been easily confused due to their similarity in form). If this speculation stands, then we have 已十五年 ("it has been for fifteen years"), which would date the account to 704, when Fazang was sixty-one. The implication is that Fazang added this statement in 704, when he was editing *HJZ*, the main body of which was probably completed about fourteen years earlier (around 690).

[15] *HJZ*, *T* 51: 1.154c18-22.

[16] *HJZ*, *T* 51: 3.164a.

profile dharma-assembly of the Avataṃsaka teaching on February 2, 689;[17] (iv) Devendraprajña, on February 28, 689, telling Fazang a story about a Khotanese Śrāmaṇera Boremiqie 波若彌伽 (Prajñamegha);[18] (v) the Singhalese monk Śākyamitra's (?-670+) visit at Taiyuansi, where (according to later sources) he encountered Fazang;[19] (vi) Fazang's consulting Divākara on a legend about the power of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*;[20] (vii) Fazang's assisting Kang Alushan's 康阿祿山 family in pacifying his troubled spirit with a copy of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*.[21]

Tanxuan ji 探玄記 (i.e., *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記) (Investigating the Mysteries [of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*]) [3], the main body of which (eighteen of the twenty *juan*) was finished by January 14, 690.[22] This is Fazang's commentary on *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, the Chinese version of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* translated by Buddhabhadra (359/360-429). It contains stories about Fazang's collaboration with Divākara.[23] One of them (i.e., Fazang's consulting Divākara on some issues about the classification of Buddhist teachings in India) is repeated in two more of his works—*Dasheng qixin lun yiji* 大乘起信論義記 (Exegesis on *Dasheng Qixin Lun*) [4] and *Shiermen lun zongzhi yiji* 十二門論宗致義記 (Exegesis on the Principles of *Shiermen Lun*) [5].[24]

Bore Boluomiduo xinjing lüeshu 般若波羅蜜多心經略疏 (Brief Commentary on *Bore Boluomiduo Xinjing*) [6], composed in 702. This commentary has a short postscript that briefly surveys the circumstance under which Fazang wrote it. It is important testimony for Fazang's friendship with a scholar-bureaucrat who married a daughter of the future Ruizong. The postscript also tells us the location of a translation project in which he engaged at the time.[25]

Ru Lengqiexin xuanyi 入愣伽心玄義 (Mysterious Meanings in Entering the Heart of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*) [7] is Fazang's commentary on the Chinese version of the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra*, newly translated by Śikṣānanda. It was probably completed sometime between February 24,

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[17] *HJZ, T* 51: 3.164a12-b13.
[18] *HJZ, T* 51: 4.166c24-167a17.
[19] *HJZ, T* 51: 4.169c23-170a5.
[20] *HJZ, T* 51: 4.170a12-28.
[21] *HJZ, T* 51: 5.171c20-172a13.
[22] This is based on Forte's dating of Fazang's letter to Ŭisang and the attached publication list, both of which refer to this commentary. See Forte, *Jewel*.
[23] *Tanxuan ji*, *T* 35: 1.111c7-112a1 (Fazang, in 684, consults Divākara on the Indian system of classifying the Buddha's teachings), 122c24-27 (cf. 20.484c9-15; in Yonglong 1.3 [April 5-May 3, 680], Fazang collates versions of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* with Divākara).
[24] *Dasheng qixin lun yiji*, *T* 44: 1.242b; *Shiermen lun zongzhi yiji*, *T* 42: 1.213.1ff.
[25] *Bore boluomiduo xinjing lüeshu*, *T* 33: 555a17-23.

704 (or shortly before), and February 23, 705.[26] It provides first-hand information on Fazang's cooperation with two of his chief collaborators (Śikṣānanda and Mitrasena) in the last four years of Empress Wu's reign, i.e., from 700 to the beginning of 705.[27]

Of these seven works by Fazang, five are of interest for their references to his activities as a Buddhist translator. This brings us to [8] several colophons to the translations in which Fazang participated, mostly in his capacity as *zhengyi* 證義 ("proofer of meanings"). The historical value of the colophons is significant because they report when and where the translations were done, and the members of the specific translation teams. Since it usually took some time to prepare a translation, the colophons help us to locate Fazang within certain periods of time.[28]

Next, we have two sources that were compiled by a contemporary (and probable friend) of Fazang while he was still alive: *Shimen zijing lu* 釋門自鏡錄 (Record of [Persons and Events to be Used as Mirrors by] the Disciples of Śākya) [9] and *Hongzan Fahua zhuan* 弘贊法華傳 (Accounts of Glorifying the *Lotus Sūtra*) [10]. Although the first work is currently attributed to a monk called Huaixin 懷信, a modern scholar has recently argued that this is none other than Huixiang 慧祥 (?-706+), the author of *Hongzan Fahua zhuan*. This scholar also provides the rough framework for the composition of the two works, namely, sometime between 698 and 704, and shortly after 706, respectively.[29] The evidence provided in them by Huixiang is crucial in recovering Fazang's ties with a mountain temple called Wuzhensi 悟真寺, which seems to have played quite a significant role in his life.[30]

There are several sources provided by his direct disciples, of which we have the following three: *Xu Huayan jing lüeshu kanding ji* and *Huayan zuanling ji*, both by Huiyuan 慧苑 (673?-743?),[31] and *Da Fang-*

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[26] For the dating, see Chapter 6, note 12.

[27] *Ru Lengqiexin xuanyi*, *T* 39: 430b17-23.

[28] Most of these colophons have been conveniently included in a collection of medieval Chinese colophons compiled by Ikeda, *Shikigo*, 246-47, 247, 260-64, 264-65, 266-67. They are dated November 5, 699, and November 17, 703. It should be noted that one of them (Ikeda, *Shikigo*, 266-67) cannot be taken as an original, but was created by a later editor on the basis of a record in *KSL*; see Appendix H, note 9. In addition, we need to note a document, which is the earliest known colophon related to Fazang, that is dated September 29, 699. However, since this is an epigraphic source, I have already discussed it in the first part of this chapter.

[29] Ibuki, "Tō Sō Ejō ni tsuite." Huixiang is also the author of *Gu Qingliang zhuan* 古清涼傳 (*T* no. 2098), a collection of stories about the cult of Mount Wutai.

[30] *Hongzan Fahua zhuan*, *T* 51: 10.47b7-13; *Shimen zijing lu*, *T* 45: 805a22-b8. They are discussed in Chapter 6.2.1 and 12.2.2, respectively.

[31] This tentative dating of Huiyuan is suggested by Sakamoto, *Kegon kyōgaku no kenkyū*, 5-7. Certain sources list Huiyuan and another disciple of Fazang (i.e., Huiying) as co-authors of *Zuanling ji* (see below, note 46).

guangfo huayan jing ganying zhuan, by another of his disciples, Huiying 惠英 (?-712+).[32] While we do not know when Huiyuan and Huiying wrote their works, they were very likely finished sometime after Fazang died in 712.[33]

The first one, *Xu Huayan jing lüeshu kanding ji* 續華嚴經略疏刊定記 (Record of Collating and Verifying [Notes Made in the Course of] Continuing the [Unfinished] *Huayan Jing Lüeshu*) [11], contains accounts (both historically verifiable and purely fictitious) related to Fazang's involvement in the translation of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, most notably the story of Fazang's lecture that caused an earthquake, a propitious sign that captured the attention of Empress Wu.[34]

The third one just mentioned, *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying zhuan* 大方廣佛華嚴經感應傳 (Account of the Stimuli and Responses Related to *Da Fangguangfo Huayan Jing*) [12] was edited by the layman Hu Youzhen 胡幽貞 (?-783+) sometime after 783 on the basis of a two-*juan* text prepared by Huiying sometime after 701 (and more likely, after 712).[35] So, although this one-*juan* collection had not achieved its final form until sometime toward the end of the eighth century, it contains some sources from much earlier (probably only a few years after Fazang's death in 712). In spite of its brevity, it contains as many as seven stories and legends touching different aspects of Fazang's life, although five of them have parallels in *Huayan jing zhuanji* (discussed above), as follows: (i) Fazang's conversation with

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[32] Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn mentions Huiying as one of Fazang's six chief disciples and a resident of Jingxingsi 經行寺, and that the disciples became distinguished after Fazang's death (*luji yu hou* 露跡于後) (*PHC* 285a10-12). For this reason, I assume that Huiying outlived Fazang.

[33] The monk Qianli, who was a likely disciple of Fazang, also compiled a collection of miracle stories related to Fazang entitled "Zanggong bielu" 藏公別錄 (Separate Record of [the Stories of] Honorable [Fa]zang). Since it is not extant, it is impossible to judge if Huiying's *GYZ* had anything to do with *Zanggong bielu*.

[34] *Xu Huayan jing lüeshu kanding ji*, *XZJ* 194: 1.25b-c; see Chapter 12.1.2.

[35] Tsukamoto Zenryū notes that Hu Youzhen edited this text in 783; see Ono (comp.), *Bussho kaisetsu dai jiten* 7: 467. Actually, according to Hu Youzhen himself (*GYZ*, *T* 51: 177c24ff), this was the year in which he vowed to promote the *Avataṃsaka* teachings. It is far from certain that he also tried his hand at the text in the same year. It is more likely that this happened some time later. It is not clear when Huiying compiled *GYZ*. The received text, edited by Hu Youzhen, contains a story dated Chuigong 3 (January 19, 687-February 6, 688) in which Huiying himself was involved (*GYZ*, *T* 51: 176a1-14), while the latest date in the text was the Dazu reign (February 15-November 26, 701) (*GYZ*, *T* 51: 177b13). Huiying must have prepared the draft after February 15, 701, since it is unlikely that Hu Youzhen added the Dazu-era item, because he acknowledges from the very beginning that he "condensed" (*bixue* 筆削) the text from two *juan* to one (*GYZ*, *T* 51: 173b4-7). However, given the extremely respectful tone in which Fazang is spoken of in the collection, I assume that it might have been compiled sometime after Fazang died, when a cult was fostered among his disciples.

Śākyamitra at Taiyuansi;[36] (ii) his consulting Divākara on a legend about the power of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*;[37] (iii) his supernatural capacity for preaching on the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, which was verified by a layman called Guo Shenliang 郭神亮;[38] (iv) Fazang's telling Huiying a legend about the Avataṃsaka preacher Ratnamati (?-513?);[39] (v) Fazang's confrontation with a Daoist priest in 691;[40] (vi) his participation in Śikṣānanda's Avataṃsaka translation project, his subsequent lectures on the *sūtra*, and the earthquake;[41] (vii) Devendraprajña's telling Fazang a legend about a Khotanese śrāmaṇera named Miqie 彌伽, which is probably an abbreviation for Boremiqie 波若彌伽, who appears in a similar legend told by Fazang.[42]

Compared with the above two works, the provenance and fate of *Huayan zuanling ji* 華嚴纂靈記 (Collection of *Avataṃsaka*-related Numinous [Tales]) [13], better known as *Zuanling ji* 纂靈記, appears far more complicated and requires more explanation. Although this text has been out of circulation since the fourteenth century,[43] it was quoted in a number of sources since Chengguan's 澄觀 (738-839) commentary and subcommentary on *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing*.[44] Chengguan

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[36] *GYZ, T* 51: 175a5-14.

[37] *GYZ*, *T* 51: 175b29-c12.

[38] *GYZ*, *T* 51: 175c12-29.

[39] *GYZ*, *T* 51: 176a1-14.

[40] *GYZ*, *T* 51: 176a15-b3.

[41] *GYZ*, *T* 51: 176b4-25.

[42] *GYZ*, *T* 51: 176b26-c24. For Fazang's version of it, see *HJZ*, *T* 51: 4.167a14-17. The *Taishō* editor has punctuated the first sentence of this passage: 于闐國有一沙彌, 名般若彌伽薄, 有戒行, which forms the name of the śrāmaṇera as Boremiqiebao 般若彌伽薄. Funayama Tōru 船山徹 of Kyoto University (private correspondence, April 24, 2006) has suggested to me an alternate way of punctuation: 于闐國有一沙彌, 名般若彌伽, 薄有戒行, giving us Boremiqie 般若彌伽. It is more sensible, given that both Huiying (*GYZ*, *T* 51: 115b4-5) and Zanning (*SGSZ*, *T* 50: 25.871c16-21) refer to this śrāmaṇera as Miqie 彌伽, rather than Miqiebao 彌伽薄. Moreover, a 14th-c. Japanese scholar-monk, Tan'ei 湛叡 (1271-1346) noted that in a Tang edition of Chengguan's subcommentary on *Huayan jing* (i.e., *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao*), the name is given as Boremiqie. See *Kegon engishō sanshaku*, *T* 57: 38.364c29. Finally, whereas *miqie* is a common Chinese transliteration for the Sanskrit word *megha* ("clouds"—*yun* 雲 in Chinese), *miqiebao* was rarely used to transliterate a Sanskrit term.

[43] To the best of my knowledge, the latest source quoting from *Zuanling ji* is a collection compiled in 1324 (see note 44).

[44] *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing shu*, *T* 35: 65.523c13-15; *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao*, *T* 36: 2.13c25; 15.110a14-15, 110a15-17, 110a21-22, 112c23-24, 113a1-2, 116b18-28; 42.324b5-18. In the latter text (116b18-28, 324b5-18), Chengguan twice quotes an anecdote concerning a certain Wang Minggan 王明幹, which is also found in *HJZ* (*T* 51: 4.167a18-29). In addition to some other slight variations, the *HJZ* version differs from the *Zuanling ji* version quoted by Chengguan in one significant point: while the former acknowledges that Mister Wang's personal name is not known (*HJZ*, *T* 51: 4.167a18), the latter gives it as Minggan. For a con-

briefly notes that it was originally compiled by Fazang, although it was edited and polished (*xiushi* 修飾) by someone else.[45] He does not indicate which work by Fazang is meant here, nor the person(s) who "edited and polished" it. Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn, Fazang's Korean biographer, clearly tells us that it was Fazang's two chief disciples, Huiyuan and Huiying, who compiled *Zuanling ji* on the basis of *Huayan jing zhuan-ji*.[46] In addition to its various sentences and passages that were quoted in different texts, *Zuanling ji* was also extensively cited in *Kegon soshi den* 華嚴祖師傳, a biographical collection compiled by the Japanese monk Sōshō 宗性 (1202-1278) in 1276.[47] It seems that the main body, if not the whole, of Fazang's biography in the latter was based on *Zuanling ji*.[48] The *Kegon soshi den* biography therefore must be studied as simply a parallel of the *Zuanling ji* biography.

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venient list of other quotations that Chengguan makes from *Zuanling ji* in the same subcommentary, see Sakamoto, *Kegon kyōgaku no kenkyū*, 32-40. Another Buddhist scholar who extensively quotes from *Zuanling ji* is the Yuan-dynasty Purui 普瑞 (active: 1254-1329); see *Huayan xuantan huixuan ji*, *XZJ* 12: 38.304b9ff, where the same Wang Minggan anecdote is quoted (see note 73 for Purui and his *Huayan xuantan huixuan ji*). For other quotations, see Sakamoto, *Kegon kyōgaku no kenkyū*, 40-45. Other Chinese Buddhist authors who mentioned this text included Zongmi 宗密 (780-841) (*Da fangguang yuanjue xiuduoluo liaoyi jing lüeshu zhu*, *T* 39: 1A.528b29-c1), Yanshou 延壽 (904-975) (see his *Zongjing lu*, *T* 48: 9.461b6ff, where he quotes the Wang Minggan anecdote) and Daoduan 道殿 (?-958+) (*Xianmi Yuantong chengfo xinyao ji*, *T* 46: 2.1004b14). It is also noteworthy that *Zuanling ji* is mentioned in *Pŏpkye togi ch'ongsu rok* (*T* 45: 3B.767c18-19), an anonymous commentary on Ŭisang's *Hwaŏm ilsŭng Pŏpgye to*. Tan'ei also quoted from *Zuanling ji* in his *Kegon engishō sanshaku*, completed in 1324 (*T* 57: 38.361c1ff) (Sakamoto, *Kegon kyōgaku no kenkyū*, 30-31).

[45] *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao*, *T* 36: 15.110a14-15.

[46] Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn seems to have known *Zuanling ji* and *HJZ* very well. Immediately after remarking that Fazang's five-*juan Huayan zhuan* 華嚴傳 (obviously *HJZ*) was also known as "Zuanling ji," he tells us the following in an interlinear note.

> Before this account was completed, [Fazang] died. His disciples Huiyuan, Huiying and others continued it (i.e., the compilation of the account). They added to it "critical evaluations" (*lun* 論) and "comments" (*zan* 贊), which were rather brief. What they added was not much. 此記未畢而逝, 門人慧苑慧英等續之. 別加論贊, 文極省約, 所益無幾 (*PHC* 283a7-8).

This is corroborated by Purui, who nonetheless emphasizes that Huiyuan was the chief editor (*Huayan xuantan huixuan ji*, *XZJ* 12: 37.290b3ff). A comparison of all the quotations (indicated in the previous note) with the corresponding passages in *HJZ* does suggest that the two texts were indeed largely identical, although *Zuanling ji* appears to have been more developed and therefore contained materials absent in *HJZ*. This might have been a major reason why the two texts later circulated as two separate texts, as is shown by a Korean catalogue compiled in 1089, which records *HJZ* and *Zuanling ji* (both in five *juan*) side by side, but attributes them to Fazang and Huiyuan respectively. See *Sinp'yŏn chejong kyojang ch'ongnok*, *T* 55: 1.1167c13-14.

[47] This text is now meticulously edited and annotated by Suzuki Kazuo 鈴木一男 in his "Kegon soshi den."

[48] Attached to the title of the biography is such an identification of the author—"Tō Sai Taigenji Sūfukuji Hōzō" 唐西太原崇福寺法藏 (Fazang of the Western

In addition to the above-mentioned two collections by Huixiang, one more by another of Fazang's contemporaries—*Jin'gang bore jing jiyan ji* 金剛般若經集驗記 (Records of the Miracles of the *Diamond Sūtra*) [14]—also attributes to Fazang a significant role in a legend. The work was compiled in 718 by Meng Xianzhong 孟獻忠 (?-718+), about whom we know nothing other than that he used to be the vice-prefect (*sima* 司馬) of Zizhou 梓州 (in present-day Santai 三台, Sichuan). As suggested by the title, this is an anthology of stories and legends related to the *Diamond sūtra*. Composed of entries written by Meng Xianzhong himself and some passages selected from earlier collections of a similar nature,[49] this three-*juan* collection is in six sections, devoted to the themes of "salvation" (*jiuhu* 救護), "extending one's life-span" (*yanshou* 延壽), "eradicating one's misdeeds" (*miezui* 滅罪), "divine powers" (*shenli* 神力), "merits and virtues" (*gongde* 功德), and "responses through sincerity" (*chengying* 誠應). Unlike the two collections by Huixiang, *Jin'gang bore jing jiyan ji* was not compiled while Fazang was still alive, but the story about Fazang found in this anthology also concerns Fazang's ties with Wuzhensi.[50]

Probably simultaneous with the above was a small composition attributed to the renowned author and statesman Zhang Yue 張說 (667-731). Entitled "Bore xinjing zan xu" 般若心經贊序 [15], it turns out to be a preface to Fazang's commentary on the *Heart sūtra*. Written sometime between 706 and 731, this preface provides some information on the devotion that a scholar-bureaucrat could show to the *Heart sūtra*. Although without direct mention of Fazang, it is relevant to this study given that this scholar-bureaucrat is the same person who requested Fazang to write a commentary on the *sūtra*.[51]

Taiyuan-Chongfusi of the Tang). The expression "Xi Taiyuan Chongfusi" 西太原崇福寺 is rather awkward. As a matter of fact, Chongfusi was a new name for Western Taiyuansi. An interlinear note—華嚴纂靈記, 又有廣傳 ("[based on] *Huayan zuanling ji*. There is also an extended biography")—makes it clear that the biography was based on *Huayan Zuanling ji,* although Sōshō knew of a longer biography of Fazang, which probably indicates *PHC*.

[49] E.g., Xiao Yu's 蕭瑀 (574-647) *Jin'gang bore lingyan ji* 金剛般若靈驗記, Tang Lin's 唐臨 (600-659) *Mingbao ji* 冥報記, and Lang Yuling's 郎余令 (active 604-616) *Mingbao shiyi* 冥報拾遺.

[50] *Jin'gang bore jing jiyan ji, XZJ* 149: 2.47d-48b.

[51] This preface is now preserved in *QTW* 225.10b-11a (with a slightly different title: "Shike bore xinjing xu" 石刻般若心經序), and attached to the *Taishō* edition of *Bore boluomiduo xinjing lüeshu*, *T* 33: 555a24-b9. It ends with these two sentences: 國老張說, 聞而嘉焉. 讚揚佛事, 題之樂石 ("The Elder of the State Zhang Yue commended it when he heard of this. In order to praise and promote Buddhism, he [Zhang Yue] had this recorded on a lithophone"). This suggests that the preface might not have been written by Zhang Yue; otherwise, it would be hard to explain how Zhang Yue could have been so conceited as to call himself "guolao" (a reference to a retired Minister or Grand Minister; cf. Hucker, *Official Titles*, 298 [no.

The year Kaiyuan 18 (January 23, 730-February 10, 731) is memorable for several reasons. It marks not only the death of Zhang Yue, but also the birth of a biblio-biographical work that was to be celebrated as the best of its kind in East Asia, namely, *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 (Catalogue of [the Texts Related to] the Buddhist Teachings, [compiled in] the Kaiyuan Era [713-741]) [16] by the great Buddhist historian and bibliographer Zhisheng 智昇 (fl. 700-740). Given the exceptionally high quality of this work, it is certainly rather odd that *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* does not accord Fazang a separate biography, particularly considering Fazang's active role in contemporary translation projects and the eminence he started to achieve toward the latter part of his career.[52] Zhisheng does, however, repeatedly refer to Fazang's role in the translation projects supervised by several major translators under the reigns of Empress Wu, and emperors Zhongzong and Ruizong, including Śikṣānanda, Mitrasena, Yijing, and Bodiruci.[53] He also provides a short biographical note for Fazang's major disciple Huiyuan.[54] Another catalogue by Zhisheng, *Xu Gujin yijing tuji* 續古今譯經圖紀 (Continuation of *Gujin yijing tuji*) [17], also completed in 730, and one more catalogue completed about seventy years later, *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* 貞元新定釋教目錄 (A Catalogue of [the Texts about] Buddhist Teachings, Newly Collated in the Zhenyuan Era [785-804]) [18], compiled by Yuanzhao 圓照 (727-809) between 799 and 800, contain various references to Fazang too.[55] *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* further provides a biographical note for Huiyuan.[56] But all of these references are largely identical with those found in *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*.

After these three Buddhist catalogues, mention should be made of a couple of commentaries written by two of the most distinguished fol-

3526]). Another possibility is that the last two sentences were added by an editor. Moreover, Zhang Yue's preface gives Zheng Wanjun's title as vice director of the Palace Library (*mishu shaojian* 祕書少監), commandant-escort (*fuma duwei* 駙馬都尉), establishing a post-710 date, since Zheng Wanjun, who married a daughter of Ruizong in 703 (see Chapter 6, note 7), when Ruizong was degraded as a prince, did not achieve the status of a son-in-law of the emperor (*fuma* 駙馬) until 710, when Ruizong was re-enthroned.

52 One explanation for this omission might be that Fazang's reputation as a prolific, commissioned compiler and scholar eclipsed his relatively mundane work as a translator in bureaucratized projects.

53 See *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.566a17-22 (with Śikṣānanda), 566b27-c4 (with Mitrasena), 568c3-7 (with Yijing), and 570c4-5 (with Bodhiruci).

54 *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.571a14-18.

55 See *Xu Gujin yijing tuji*, *T* 55: 369b28-c1 (with Śikṣānanda), 369c23-27 (with Mitrasena), 370c26 (with Yijing), 371c5-8 (with Bodhiruci). *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*, *T* 55: 13.866b24 (with Śikṣānanda); 867a8 (with Mitrasena); 869b8 (with Yijing); and 14.873b25 (with Bodhiruci).

56 *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*, *T* 55: 14.874a.

lowers of Fazang, Chengguan 澄觀 (737-838) and his disciple Zongmi 宗密 (780-841). Chengguan's *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔 (An Exegesis on the Commentary to *Da Fangguangfo Huayan Jing*) [19] was a subcommentary he wrote around 796 on his own commentary to *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing*—namely, *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏 (*T* no. 1735, vol. 36). Chengguan embellishes this sizeable and intricate exegesis with various legends and stories about Fazang.[57] One of these stories (i.e., regarding Fazang's participation in Śikṣānanda's *Avataṃsaka* translation project) is repeated in another of his works, *Da Huayan jing lüece* 大華嚴經略策 (A Brief Commentary on *Da Huayan Jing*) [20].[58]

Zongmi's *Huayan jing xingyuan pin shuchao* 華嚴經行願品疏鈔 (Commentary to the "Xingyuan" Chapter of *Huayan Jing*, 6 *juan*) [21], on the other hand, only contains one reference to Fazang that is pertinent to our discussion—that is, an account concerning the provenance of Fazang's *Jin shizi zhang* 金師子章 (Treatise on the Golden Lion).[59]

The last textual source originating in the Tang era is Duan Chengshi's 段成式 (ca. 803-863) *Sita ji* 寺塔記 (Accounts of Temples and Pagodas) (2 *juan*) [22] included in his *Youyang zazu* 酉陽雜俎 (Miscellanies of Youyang; completed in 860). It contains a piece of evidence not found elsewhere, which will prove decisive in determining Fazang's birth place.[60]

2.2. *Writings from the Tenth to Eighteenth Century*

First, we have Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's *Tang Tae Ch'ŏnboksa kosaju pŏn'gyŏng taedŏk Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn* (Ch. *Tang Da Jianfusi gu sizhu fanjing dade Fazang heshang zhuan*) 唐大薦福寺故寺主翻經大德法藏和尙傳 (Biography of the Preceptor Fazang, the Late Bhadanta-translator and Abbot of Great Jianfusi of the Tang; completed in 904) (hereafter *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn*) [23]. Given its paramount value for our understanding of Fazang's life, we will discuss it fully in Chapter Two.

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[57] *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing shu*, *T* 35: 3.524a8-18 (cf. 5.113b8-23; Fazang's participation in Śikṣānanda's *Avataṃsaka* translation and in particular his collaboration with Śikṣānanda in collating different versions of the *sūtra*); 7.52c7-25 (Fazang, during the Wenming era, consulting Divākara on the division of the Mahāyāna into Yogācāra and Mādhyamika); 15.116a28-b10 (three occasions: when his mother started to conceive him, at the eve of his going to meet with Zhiyan, and when he lectured at Yunhuasi, at which Fazang was believed to have brought up "divine lights" [*shenguang* 神光]).

[58] *Da Huayan jing lüece*, *T* 36: 1.704a12-27.

[59] *Huayan jing xingyuan pin shuchao*, *XZJ* 7: 6.487a7-8.

[60] See Chapter 3.2.

Another Korean source of the tenth century is *Sŏk hwaŏm kyobun ki wŏnt'ong ch'o* 釋華嚴教分記圓通鈔 (Wŏnt'ong's [i.e., Kyunyŏ's] Commentary on *Huayan Jiaofen Ji*) [24], which was compiled on the basis of a series of lectures on Fazang's *Huayan wujiao zhang* 華嚴五教章 that the Korean *Avataṃsaka* scholar-monk Kyunyŏ 均如 (923-973) delivered from 958 to 962. This source is worth particular attention because it preserves evidence of the intense conflicts between Fazang and another Buddhist leader at the time, which eventually implicated Empress Wu and resulted in Fazang's exile (brief though it was) to the south.[61]

Contemporary with Kyunyŏ was the Chinese scholar-monk Zanning 贊寧 (919-1001), two of whose works concern Fazang. First is his *Da Song sengshi lüe* 大宋僧史略 (Short History of the Saṃgha [Compiled in] the Great Song) (3 *juan*, completed in 977) [25]. This is a general history regarding some monastic institutions, and it mentions a remarkable honor that Fazang received from the Tang government in recognition of his much-needed service at a critical turning point in the dynasty.[62] One might expect more information about Fazang in Zanning's [*Da*] *Song gaoseng zhuan* [大]宋高僧傳 (Biographies of Eminent Monks, [Compiled under the Great] Song Dynasty [960-1279]) [26], completed in 988; it is a principal biographical source for Buddhist monks active under the Tang and the Five Dynasties period. However, Zanning's treatment of Fazang is poor. He starts with Fazang's reputed involvement in Xuanzang's 玄奘 (602-664) translation bureau. This is followed by a brief reference to Fazang's participation in Śikṣānanda's translation of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*. He then turns to a description of Fazang's preaching the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* to Empress Wu through the aid of a golden lion, which was used to name his famous essay. This brings the reader to the "mirror-lamp" device, which was, according to Zanning, designed by Fazang for his students. Eventually, Zanning moves to Fazang's *Avataṃsaka* lecture causing an earthquake, which Empress Wu honored with an edict. It seems that in writing this biography Zanning (or one of his assistants) only consulted passages concerning the episodes that are found in such early sources as Chengguan's commentaries without referring to even the basic sources like Fazang's epitaph by Yan Chaoyin. This resulted in a biog-

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[61] *HPC* 256c19-257a11. This dating of Kyunyŏ's lectures on *Huayan wujiao zhang* is provided by Kim Chigyŏn, "Junru Dashi Huayan xue quanshu jieti." For a general study of Kyunyŏ's life and work, see Hyŏngnyŏn et al., *Kyunyo-jon.* For careful studies of *Sŏk hwaŏm kyobun ki wŏnt'ong ch'o*, see Kamata, *Shaku kyō bunki entsū shō no chūshaku teki kenkyū* (1-5); and Yoshizu, *Shaku kyō bunki entsū shō no chūshaku teki kenkyū (roku)*.

[62] *Da Song sengshi lüe*, *T* 54: 3.250b3-8.

raphy that is full of errors and incomplete facts. It does not even record the date of Fazang's death, let alone his age (either biological or monastic).[63] Zanning commits quite a blunder in presenting Fazang as a collaborator of Xuanzang, in spite of the fact that Fazang was only two years old when Xuanzang returned from India and twenty-one when Xuanzang died.[64] Zanning also makes references to Fazang in his biographies of several major translators at the time, references mainly based on Zhisheng.[65] *Song gaoseng zhuan* contains a biographical note of Fazang's disciple Huiyuan, which is almost a verbatim reproduction of a passage in Zhisheng's *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*, and a biography of Fazang's friend Qingxu 清虛 (active 696-712), which was rewritten on the basis of several passages in *Jin'gang bore jing jiyan ji*.[66]

Biographical interest in Fazang seems to have abated in the following two centuries, which give us only two items related to Fazang's life: one of them preserves a literary source, while another including episodes on the life of Fazang. The first is by the renowned Korean prince-monk Ŭichon 義天 (1055-1101), the author of *Wŏnjong mullyu* 圓宗文類 (Encyclopaedia of the Perfect School) [27]. This collection contains a copy of Fazang's letter to Ŭisang.[67] The other item is that of the monk Zuxiu 祖琇 (?-1164+), *Longxing [fojiao] biannian tonglun* 隆興[佛教]編年通論 (A [Buddhist] Chronicle, with General Discussions, [Compiled] during the Longxing Era [1163-1164]) [28], which was completed in 1164. This collection is important as the first known source for Fazang's full ordination, a thorny issue comprising the topic of Chapter Four. In addition, it also mentions several episodes about Fazang, such as the "earthquake," "lecture on the golden lion," and the "mirror hall" device.[68]

In the thirteenth century alone, four Chinese Buddhist texts (three historico-biographical collections and one exegesis) featured Fazang's life and incorporated both historical facts and legends. *Shimen zhengtong* 釋門正統 (True Tradition of Buddhist Teachings) [29], which was

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[63] *SGSZ*, *T* 50: 5.732a-b.

[64] This error has already been noted by Purui in his *Huayan xuantan huixuan ji* (*XZJ* 12: 38.304c-d).

[65] *SGSZ*, *T* 50: 1.710c2 (cf. 4. 727b2-3) (with Yijing); 2.718c27 (with Śikṣānanda); 2.718c27 (with Mitrasena); it is quite remarkable that Zanning makes no mention whatsoever of Fazang's role in Bodhiruci's biography (3.720b3-c12).

[66] For Huiyuan's biography, see *SGSZ*, *T* 50: 6.739a6-20 (cf. *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.571a14-18). For Qingxu's biography, see *SGSZ*, *T* 50: 25.867a12-b10 (the passage about his interaction with Fazang is found in 867a18-b6, and the original in *Jin'gang bore jing jiyan ji*, *XZJ* 149: 260a11-b5, where Meng Xianzhong also tells us that the story is quoted from a text called "Jin'gang lingying" 金剛靈應, which is no longer extant).

[67] *Wŏnjong mullyu*, *HPC* 4: 22.635c-636a.

[68] *Longxing biannian tonglun*, *XZJ* 130: 14.281c.

completed in 1237 by Zongjian 宗鑒 (?-1237+), provides an entry for Fazang.[69] *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 (General Record of the Buddha and [Other] Patriarchs) [30], compiled by Zhipan 志磐 (?-1269+) between 1258 and 1269, occasionally refers to several stories about Fazang, in addition to providing a biography largely based on that in *Song gaoseng zhuan.*[70] *Shishi tongjian* 釋氏通鑑 (General Mirror for Buddhists) [31], which was compiled by the monk Benjue 本覺 (fl. ca.1270) sometime between 1084 (the year in which *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑒, on which it was based, was completed) and 1270 (when the earliest of its prefaces was dated),[71] contains a couple of stories about Fazang.[72] Purui's *Huayan xuantan huixuan ji* 華嚴懸談會玄記 (Account of Combining the Profound Meanings of *Huayan Xuantan*) [32], a commentary on Chengguan's *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* (alternately known as *Huayan xuantan* 華嚴懸談), provides a biographical note on Fazang that is largely based on *Zuanling ji* and *Song gaoseng zhuan* (Purui regretted his inability to gain access to Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's biography).[73]

A Korean collection, *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事 (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms) [33], completed by Iryŏn 一然 (1206-87) sometime between 1281 and 1287, provides biographies of Ŭisang and Sŭngchŏn 勝詮 (?-690+), with information regarding Fazang's association with Ŭisang (particularly a quotation of Fazang's famous letter to his Korean fellow-disciple) and Sŭngchŏn's discipleship under Fazang.[74]

The fourteenth century sees the appearance of two Chinese and two Japanese sources. One of the latter is *Gokyōshō tsūroki* 五教章通路記 (Exegesis of the Comprehending Path to *[Huayan] Wujiao Zhang*) [34], completed by the famous Japanese Kegon monk Gyōnen 凝然 (1240-1321) between 1300 and 1311. A commentary on Fazang's *Huayan wujiao zhang*, it contains a biography of Fazang that is based on, as Gyōnen himself admits, *Zuanling ji* by Huiyuan, whom he refers to as

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[69] *Shimen zhengtong*, *XZJ* 130: 8.456a8-16.

[70] The *Fozu tongji* biography of Fazang is at *T* 49: 29.293a6-26; other references are: *Fozu tongji*, *T* 49: 33.318c22-24 (mirror-lamp); 39.370b6-11 (Śikṣānanda's translation); 370b27-c2 (Fazang's full ordination); 370c6-11 (*Avataṃsaka* lecture causing an earthquake and lecturing in front of Empress Wu by referring to the golden lion); 40.372b21-23 (Zhongzong's rewarding Fazang); 40.372c25-28 (cf. 51.451a20); 373a12-17 (Fazang's death); 51.451a18-19 (provenance of *Jin shizi zhang*); 51.451a20 (Zhongzong's summoning Fazang to confer bodhisattva-precepts on him).

[71] Ono et al. (comp.), *Bussho kaisetsu dai jiten* 5: 15.

[72] *Shishi tongjian*, *XZJ* 131: 8.462b (ordination story), 462d (Golden lion lecture).

[73] *Huayan xuantan huixuan ji*, *XZJ* 12: 38.304c-d. For Purui and his *Huayan xuantan huixuan ji*, see Hou, "Purui."

[74] *Samguk yusa*, *T* 49: 4.1006c20-1007a12, 1009a8-21.

Master Jingfa 靜法,[75] as well as Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's biography and Zanning's biography. However, it contains a story that is found in none of these sources, nor in any other biographical source known to me: Fazang acted as a verifying preceptor (*jōshi* 證師) for Jianzhen (Jp. Ganjin) 鑑真 (688-763) when he was ordained at the age of twenty-one *sui* (in 708).[76] This episode receives a full treatment in another of Gyōnen's works, which was completed seven years later (i.e., 1318), *Bommō kaihon sho nichiju shō* 梵網戒本疏日珠鈔 (Sun-pearl Commentary on *Fanwang Jieben Shu*) [35]. As indicated by its title, this large work of fifty *juan* is a subcommentary on Fazang's commentary on *Fanwang jing*. In it, Gyōnen tells us that Fazang, whom he refers to as a vinaya master, was residing in another temple in Chang'an—Heensi 荷恩寺.[77]

The two Chinese sources are *Fozu lidai tongzai* 佛祖歷代通載 (Comprehensive Account of Buddhist Patriarchs through the Ages) [36], completed in 1344 by Nianchang 念常 (1282-1344+), and *Shishi jigu lüe* 釋氏稽古略 (Investigation of the Historical Facts Related to Buddhism) [37], completed in 1355 by Juean 覺岸 (1286-1355). While we find in the former the stories about Fazang's full ordination, *Jin shizi zhang* and mirror-hall, and his being rewarded by Zhongzong for his contribution to a major politico-religious project,[78] the latter quotes Fazang's *Song gaoseng zhuan* biography.[79]

The fifteenth century gives us only one relevant source—and very slightly so—*Shenseng zhuan* 神僧傳 (Biographies of Divine Monks) [38], attributed to Ming Chengzu (r. 1402-1424), which quotes almost verbatim Qingxu's *Song gaoseng zhuan* biography.[80]

Chronologically next are six texts from the seventeenth century. First is *Bashiba zu daoying zhuanzan* 八十八祖道影傳贊 (Pictures, Biographies, and Praises of the Eighty-eight Patriarchs) [39], compiled by Deqing 德清 (1546-1623) in 1615 and containing a short biography of Fazang, which is largely based on Fazang's *Song gaoseng zhuan* biography, but with occasional references to Fazang's funeral epitaph written by Yan Chaoyin. Three more texts all collect stories and legends related to the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* and its Chinese translations; they are Zhuhong's 袾宏 (1535-1615) *Huayan jing ganying lüeji* 華嚴經感應略記 (Brief Account of the Efficacious Responses Related to *Huayan Jing*) [40],

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[75] Gyōnen refers to Huiyuan this way because Huiyuan was a resident of Jingfasi; see *HPC* 285a11.

[76] This biography is at *Gokyōshō tsūroki*, *T* 72: 1.296b-297a, with Ganjin's story mentioned at 296c19-21.

[77] *Bommō kaihon sho nichiju shō*, *T* 62: 3.21b21-26; discussed in Chapter 6.2.3.

[78] *Fozu lidai tongzai*, *T* 49: 9.584b9-14, 585b-c; 22.729b1-6.

[79] *Shishi jigu lüe*, *T* 49: 3.821a.

[80] *Shenseng zhuan*, *T* 50: 6.991b9-c7.

Hongbi's 弘璧 (1598-1669) *Huayan ganying yuanqi zhuan* 華嚴感應緣起傳 (Causes of the Stimuli and Responses Related to *Huayan Jing*) [41], and Zhou Kefu's 周可復 (Qing era) *Lichao Huayan chiyan ji* 歷朝華嚴持驗記 (Chronological Account of the Efficacies of *Huayan Jing*) [42] (also known as *Huayan jing chiyan* 華嚴經持驗).[81]

Fifth, the Qing-era monk Xufa 續法 (?-1680+) compiled a biography of Fazang and included it in a biographical collection that covered the first five Chinese *Avataṃsaka* masters (Fashun 法順 [a.k.a. Dushun 杜順, 557-640], Zhiyan, Fazang, Chengguan and Zongmi). This was titled "Fajie-zong wuzu lüeji" 法界宗五祖略記 (Brief Record of the Five Patriarchs of the Fajie [i.e., Huayan] School) [43] and was completed in 1680. The main body of this biography of Fazang is based on Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's work, the principal biographical data of which Xufa chronologically arranged. Several of Xufa's unique entries are not supported by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn or by other sources known to us. Though just a chronological compilation of events given by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn, *Fajie-zong wuzu lüeji* has been widely used by modern scholars for its conciseness and clarity.

Sixth, the other contemporary Chinese source, *Jinjiang chandeng* 錦江禪燈 (The Jing River Chan Lamp) [44], compiled by the Chan monk Zhangxue Tongzui 丈雪通醉 (1610-93) shortly before 1693, contributes little to our research into Fazang's life since, like *Shenseng zhuan*, it is not much more than a literary quotation of Qingxu's *Song gaoseng zhuan* biography.[82]

We come, finally, to one Japanese source. The erudite Japanese scholar-monk Mujaku Dōchū 無著道忠 (1653-1744) prepared a corrigendum to a Japanese edition of *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn* that he found unsatisfactory; it is titled "Shinkan Genju hiden shōgo" 新刊賢首碑傳正誤 (Corrigendum to the Newly Printed Epitaph and Biography of Xianshou [i.e., Fazang]) [45].[83] Written sometime between 1699 and 1744, it is particularly helpful in solving the editorial problems presented by the *Taishō* edition of *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn*, which was

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[81] *Huayan jing ganying lüeji* mentions the "earthquake" (284b) and the "divine light" leading Fazang to Zhiyan (*XZJ* 134: 285d-286a); *Huayan ganying yuanqi zhuan* mentions Śikṣānanda's project (*XZJ* 134: 290c-d); earthquake (291a-b), and divine light (293d); *Huayan jing chiyan* also contains Fazang accounts: Śikṣānanda's project (*XZJ* 134: 303d-304a); divine light (304a); earthquake (304a); Yunhuasi lecture (304a); Fazang and Śākyamitra (304a); standoff with a hostile Daoist priest (304a).

[82] *Jinjiang chandeng*, *XZJ* 145: 17.696a18-697a3.

[83] This corrigendum is now conveniently attached to the *Taishō* version of *PHC* (286c-289c).

based on an edition published in Japan in 1699.[84] In addition, it also supplies information on Fazang that is not found in other currently available sources.[85]

3. MODERN STUDIES: CONTRIBUTIONS AND LIMITATIONS

The first scholarly attempt to reconstruct Fazang's life was made by Kobayashi Jitsugen 小林實玄, who published an article in 1976 that aimed to establish a chronology of Fazang's life on the basis of a variety of relevant biographical and hagiographical sources.[86] Kobayashi treats four important issues related to Fazang's life: (i) dating several works attributed to Fazang by means of terms of address for himself (what are termed *zhuanhao* 撰號); (ii) the expansion of *Huayan jing zhuanji*, a major hagio-biographical collection compiled by Fazang; (iii) the provenance of Fazang's best known work *Jin shizi zhang*; and finally (iv) Fazang's names and sobriquets.

Three years later, Yoshizu Yoshihide 吉津宜英 attempted another reconstruction of Fazang's life.[87] Compared with Kobayashi's study, Yoshizu's is more thorough in scope and goes deeper into the original sources, and his methodology is more sophisticated and critical. He covers no less than twenty-three biographical sources on Fazang, and subjects them to close comparison in terms of the individual biographical (or hagiographical) data. More to his credit, not only has Yoshizu analyzed the roles that these biographical sources played in the formation and transformation of different traditions of recounting Fazang's life, but he has also sifted through these sources to categorize them into two major story-telling traditions, one Huayan and the other non-Huayan.

The scholarly effort to reconstruct Fazang's life was not renewed until over a decade later, when Kaginushi Ryōkei 鍵主良敬 and Kimura Kiyotaka 木村清孝 co-authored a book in 1991 that was partly based on the work of Kobayahsi and Yoshizu.[88] Intended as it was for both nonspecialists and specialists, it does not treat primary materials with the meticulousness characterized by Kobayashi's and Yoshizu's work. The 1991 booklet should be commended, however, for its awareness of the epigraphic evidence on Fazang that was recently brought to

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[84] See Chapter 2.3 and Appendix K, which show how crucial Dōchū's commentary is for correcting two errors in the *Taishō* edition of *PHC*.

[85] That is, Fazang's close relationship with Ruizong, discussed in Chapter 6.3.2.

[86] Kobayashi, "Kegon Hōzō no jiden ni tsuite," 25-27, gives fifteen biographical sources, three of which (by Fazang's direct disciples) are not extant.

[87] Yoshizu ("Hōzō den no kenkyū," 187). A revised version was incorporated into his book, *Kegon ichijō shisō no kenkyū*, which emphasizes doctrinal issues.

[88] Kaginushi and Kimura, *Hōzō*.

public attention by Wen Yucheng, although the authors uncritically accepted Wen's flawed interpretations.

In the same year, the Chinese scholar Fang Litian 方立天 also published a book on Fazang.[89] Although its emphasis is on Fazang's doctrinal contributions, the book starts with a biographical account of Fazang, which is arranged into themes and subthemes: (1) basic biographical information (including family background, dharma lineage, and ordination); (2) theoretical preparations for creating a school (including translation activities and writings); and (3) practical preparations for creating a school (including lecturing career, dharma-promotion, teaching and building the network of Huayan monasteries throughout China). It is regrettable that Fang, who had the patience and skill to prepare an excellent critical edition of Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's biography of Fazang eight years earlier (see below), does not meet that high level in reconstructing Fazang's life as to his philosophical thought. Another scholar, Wang Zhongyao 王仲堯, did not bother to consult earlier studies, resulting in serious inaccuracies and mistakes.[90]

In addition to these general studies of Fazang's life, some scholars have chosen to focus on merely certain aspects. Fazang's biography by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn has attracted considerable attention due to its continued significance as a piece of literature and historiography. In 1982, some of Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's descendants sponsored the publication of a complete collection of their ancestor's works (including, of course, his biography of Fazang), all of which were translated into modern Korean.[91] Ten years later, Ch'oe Yŏngsŏng 崔英成 contributed in some sense a more prepared and scholarly effort to make Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's elegant but occasionally obscure writing style more accessible to modern Korean readers.[92] In China, almost simultaneously with the publication of the first Korean translation of Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's works, Fang Litian published a punctuated edition of Fazang's biography by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn, which he included as an appendix to his collated and annotated edition of *Jin shizi zhang*.[93]

Of all the various aspects of Fazang's eventful life, his association with Ŭisang, as evidenced in a letter he sent to Ŭisang, has received the

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[89] Fang Litian, *Fazang*. A revised version appeared four years later; see idem, *Fazang pingzhuan*.

[90] Wang Zhongyao, *Fazang dashi zhuan*. For example, he affirms Zanning's idea about Fazang's role in Xuanzang's translation bureau, after its historical veracity has been so compellingly denied by various scholars, including Fang Litian.

[91] Koun ch'oe ch'iwŏn sŏnsaeng munjip chungkan wiwŏnhoe (ed.), *Koun Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn sŏnsaeng munjip*, 723-96. My thanks to Vladimir Tikhonov (University of Oslo, Norway) for drawing my attention to this collection.

[92] Ch'oe (coll. and annot.), *Yŏkju Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn chŏnjip*.

[93] Fang Litian (coll. and annot.), *Huayan jinshizi zhang jiaozhu*, 171-90.

most sustained scholarly attention. Since Tang Yongtong 湯用彤 first published a short but seminal study on this letter in 1931, it was successively studied by Sakamoto Yukio 坂本幸男 (1955), Takamine Ryōshū 高峰了州 (1942/1963), Peter H. Lee (1962), Kanda Kiichirō 神田喜一郎 (1956, 1971, 1983), Yoshizu Yoshihide (1979), Kaginushi Ryōkei and Kimura Kiyotaka (1991), before Antonino Forte's sophisticated study in 2000.[94] Forte concluded that the letter was written on January 14, 690. A couple of years later, Forte published a study of Fazang's relationship with another foreigner—this time the Singhalese monk Śākyamitra—from whom he was said to have souwght the bodhisattva-precepts before formally entering the saṃgha.[95] Although I am inclined to believe that this story lacks a historical basis, Fazang apparently did have a relationship with Śākyamitra, who was of considerable importance both within and beyond the contemporary Chinese Buddhist world.[96]

Related to the issue of Fazang's association with Ŭisang is another one, with wider implications; that is, Fazang's possible role in spreading (if not inventing) a printing technology of crucial significance for East Asia and indeed for world civilization as a whole. The earliest known example of a xylographic product is a printed scroll of an esoteric Buddhist text translated by Fazang, which has tantalized scholars with the possibility that Fazang played a role in the invention and promotion of xylography, first suggested by Michael Welch and then elaborated on by such scholars as Pan Jixing 潘吉星, T. H. Barrett, and Qiu Ruizhong 邱瑞中. Although Kanda Kiichirō does not indicate that Fazang was involved in the spread of xylography in East Asia, he notes a couple of passages in two of Fazang's works which reveal his familiarity with the basic characteristics and working principles.[97]

Fazang had extensive ties with the most powerful people of his day. Stanley Weinstein has reviewed Fazang's political roles under the reigns of Empress Wu and her two successors Zhongzong and Ruizong. Although his discussion is brief and is heavily informed by the Qing-

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[94] See Tang, "Tang Xianshou guoshi mobao ba"; Sakamoto, "Genju daishi no shokan ni tsuite"; Takamine, *Kegon shisō shi*, 215-16; Lee, "Fa-tsang and Ŭisang"; Kanda, "Tō Genju kokushi shinseki 'Ki Shiragi Gishō hōshi sho' kaisetsu"; idem, "Tō Genju kokushi shinseki 'Ki Shiragi Gishō hōshi sho' kō"; Yoshizu, "Hōzō den no kenkyū"; idem, "Hōzō no chosaku to sono mondaiten"; Kaginushi and Kimura, *Hōzō*, 69-71. These studies are reviewed in Forte, *Jewel*, 45-50.

[95] Forte, "Fazang and Śākyamitra," 371.

[96] Chapter 4 of this book is devoted to the authenticity of this story.

[97] Kanda, "Chūgoku ni okeru insatsujutsu no kigen ni tsuite," 167-70; Welch, *Fa-tsang, Pure Light and Printing*; Barrett, *The Rise and Spread of Printing*; idem, "Stūpa, *Sūtra* and *Śarīra* in China"; Pan, *Zaoqi yinshuashu*; Qiu, "Hanguo faxian de Wugou jingguang da tuoluoni jing wei Wu Zhou chao keben buzheng"; idem, "Zailun Hanguo cang Wugou jingguang da tuoluoni jing wei Wu Zhou chao keben"; idem, "Xuanzang yu yinshuashu zhi chansheng."

dynasty author Xufa's chronology, it is to his credit that he highlights Fazang's involvement in esoteric rituals and his intervention in the military affairs of his day. This line of research has been adopted and extended in my recent study of Fazang's roles as court politician and magician.[98]

A core component of Fazang's political role consists in his long-standing association with Famensi and the relic that it enshrined, which played a significant part in Tang religious and political life, especially under the reigns of Empress Wu and Zhongzong. On this aspect of Fazang's life, Kamata Shigeo 鎌田茂雄 has contributed a unique study. Partly based on Chen Jingfu's 陳景富 study of Famensi, Kamata has succeeded in resolving misunderstandings surrounding the role that Fazang played in the veneration of the Famensi relic.[99] I have recently placed Fazang's Famensi ties in the larger context of Empress Wu's relic-veneration activities.[100]

One more indication of Fazang's influence in the contemporary political world was his prominent position in a cosmopolitan monastery in Chang'an, which was known by a variety of names, including Taiyuansi 太原寺, Western Taiyuansi 西太原寺, Weiguo xisi 魏國西寺, Western Chongfusi 西崇福寺, Great Chongfusi, or just Chongfusi. Fazang's complicated relationship with this monastery was the topic of an exhaustive study by Fujiyoshi Masumi 藤吉真澄.[101] I myself have attempted to correct the longstanding misunderstanding that in his later years Fazang switched his affiliation to another cosmopolitan monastery in Chang'an, Jianfusi 薦福寺, and became its abbot. I have argued that Fazang remained the abbot of Chongfusi until shortly before his death when he was moved to Jianfusi for medical reasons.[102]

4. Concluding remarks: The nature and structure of the primary sources, and the Problems of modern studies

Below is a strictly chronological list of all the textual sources covered. As to the epigraphic sources, I do not list them given their limited number (only six, if we take the three Longmen inscriptions as a group). The numbers are those used to identify works, in the above discussion.

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98 Weinstein, "Imperial Patronage," 265-304; idem, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, 46-47; Chen Jinhua, "More Than a Philosopher"; idem, "Fazang the Holy Man."

99 Kamata, "Genju daishi Hōzō to Hōmonji"; cf. Chen Jingfu, *Famensi*, 164-78.

100 Chen Jinhua, "*Śarīra* and Scepter."

101 Fujiyoshi, "Kegonkyō denki no kanta," 311-33.

102 Chen Jinhua, "Yijing."

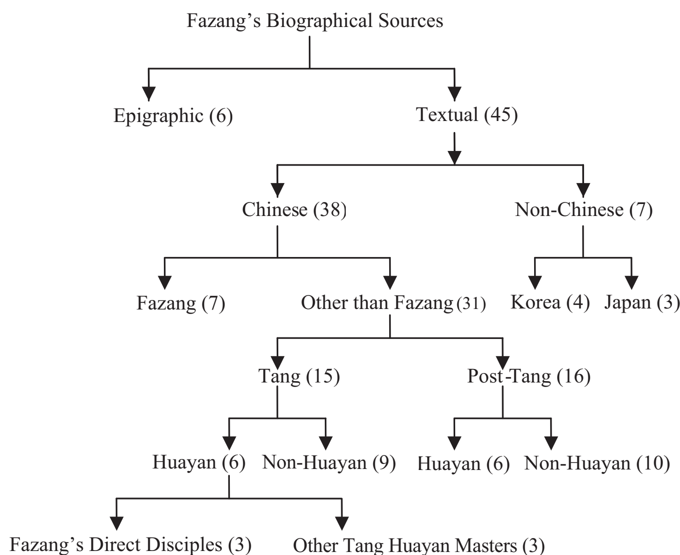
[1] *Dasheng fajie wu chabie lun shu* (689);
[2] *Huayan jing zhuanji* (ca. 690);
[3] *Tanxuan ji* (ca. 690);
[4] *Dasheng qixin lun yiji* (before 712);
[5] *Shiermen lun zongzhi yiji* (before 712);
[6] *Bore boluomiduo xinjing lüeshu* (702);
[7] *Ru Lengqiexin xuanyi* (sometime between February 24, 704-February 23, 705);
[8] Several translation colophons (November 5, 699; November 17, 703);
[9] *Shimen zijing lu* (sometime between 698 and 704);
[10] *Hongzan Fahua zhuan* (shortly after 706);
[11] *Xu Huayan jing lüeshu kanding ji* (sometime after 712);
[12] *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying zhuan* (sometime after 712);
[13] *Zuanling ji* (sometime after 712);
[14] *Jin'gang bore jing jiyan ji* (718);
[15] "Bore xinjing zan xu" (sometime between 706 and 730);
[16] *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* (730);
[17] *Xu Gujin yijing tuji* (730);
[18] *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (between 799 and 800);
[19] *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* (ca. 796);
[20] *Da Huayan jing lüece;*
[21] *Huayan jing xingyuan pin shuchao* (before 841);
[22] *Youyang zazu* (860);
[23] *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn* (904);
[24] *Sŏk hwaŏm kyobun ki wŏnt'ong ch'o* (958-962);
[25] *Da Song sengshi lüe* (977);
[26] *Song gaoseng zhuan* (988);
[27] *Wŏnjong mullyu* (some years before 1101);
[28] *Longxing [fojiao] biannian tonglun* (1164);
[29] *Shimen zhengtong* (1237);
[30] *Fozu tongji* (between 1258 and 1269);
[31] *Shishi tongjian* (sometime between 1084 and 1270);
[32] *Huayan xuantan huixuan ji* (1254?);
[33] *Samguk yusa* (some time between 1281 and 1287);
[34] *Gokyōshō tsūroki* (between 1300 and 1311);
[35] *Bommō kaihon* sho *nichiju shō* (1318)
[36] *Fozu lidai tongzai* (1344);
[37] *Shishi jigu lüe* (1355);
[38] *Shenseng zhuan* (sometime between 1402-1424);
[39] *Bashiba zu daoying zhuanzan* (1615);
[40] *Huayan jing ganying lüeji* (sometime before 1615);
[41] *Huayan ganying yuanqi zhuan* (sometime before 1669);

[42] *Lichao Huayan chiyan ji* (of the Qing dynasty);
[43] *Fajiezong wuzu lüeji* (1680);
[44] *Jinjiang chandeng* (shortly before 1693);
[45] *Shinkan Genju hiden shōgo* (sometime between 1699 and 1744).

Thirty-eight of the forty-five are Chinese. The exceptions are numbers 23, 24, 27, 33, 34, 35, and 45. Seven of the Chinese sources are from Fazang himself (nos. 1-7). The remaining thirty-one are roughly equally divided between the Tang and post-Tang periods. Of the fifteen Tang sources, six are Huayan (three by Fazang's direct disciples, numbers 11-13; three by two major Huayan masters Chengguan and Zongmi, numbers 19-21); and nine are non-Huayan: seven from Fazang contemporaries (or even friends) (nos. 8-10, 14-17), and two (nos.18, 22) written long after Fazang's death.

As to the sixteen post-Tang Chinese textual sources, only six are by Huayan followers (nos. 32, 39-43[103]), while the remaining ten are by non-Huayan Buddhist historians: two (nos. 25-26) by vinaya master Zanning, another two (nos. 29-30) by Tiantai sectarians, two by Chan followers (nos. 36, 44), three (nos. 28, 31, and 37) by Buddhist monks of unclear affiliation, and eventually one (no. 38) by a layman. The overall structure of the textual sources is illustrated by the following chart:

Chart 1. Structure of Fazang's Biographical Sources



Turning to the modern studies on Fazang's life, all the impressive strides notwithstanding, they are marred by serious flaws. First of all,

[103] Deqing's (the compiler of no. 39) thoughts, however, were also based on other non-Huayan traditions, including, e.g., Chan and Pure-land traditions.

six primary sources related to Fazang's life have remained untouched: numbers 9-10, 13-14, 22, 24.

Another valuable body of textual sources—the various translation colophons related to Fazang—has also been poorly used. Except for Forte and myself, no scholar has taken up the colophons. As regards the epigraphic sources, in contrast to the lack of interest shown toward valuable early textual sources for Fazang's life, scholars have rushed to embrace several epigraphic sources that are supposed to relate to the life of Fazang. This groundless enthusiasm has meant that they have been either inappropriately treated (like the Longmen inscription dated 703) or uncritically used (e.g., the three other Longmen inscriptions). On the other hand, they have continued to neglect or ignore an epigraphic source that is certainly about Fazang (i.e., Facheng's funeral epitaph composed in 730).

Such an incomplete treatment of primary sources has prevented scholars from recognizing the multiple facets and dynamism of Fazang's life. One such facet concerns the unfounded assumption that Fazang enjoyed Empress Wu's continuous support throughout their long period of cooperation: modern scholars have simply glossed over the complicated nature of their relationship. To give another example, most scholars have fallen victim to the stereotypical impression that Fazang exerted his influence, by and large, as a cosmopolitan priest. However, some of those primary sources neglected by scholars amply demonstrate that Fazang spent a considerable part of his life as a mountain dweller. We have received quite a bit about Fazang's activities as a translator and scholar, but too little attention has been paid to his engagement in other religious activities, including esoteric ceremonies, relic veneration, self-immolation, and even Daoist practices.

Further, although scholars have exercised a certain amount of prudence in dealing with Fazang's biographical and hagiographical sources, whether Huayan or non-Huayan, some episodes with little or no historical veracity (for example, the story of Fazang's seeking the bodhisattva-precepts from Śākyamitra) have eluded their critical eye and been accepted as historical facts. They have also improperly treated numerous discrepancies among the sources. Fazang's life still contains lacunae and ambiguities that have yet to be sorted out. The remaining parts of this book constitute an effort in this direction.

CHAPTER TWO

CH'OE CH'IWŎN'S BIOGRAPHY OF FAZANG: A TEXTUAL STUDY

The preceding chapter provided a general survey of the primary sources of Fazang's life. At this point we must give a textual analysis of one of those—the Korean biography of Fazang written by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn and which is of primary value for any attempt to reconstruct Fazang's life. Lack of an in-depth investigation of its structure and sources has prevented modern scholarship from approaching the deeper layers of Fazang's career.

Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's work, *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn*, is unique for its richly international characteristics. It was written in Korea by a Korean layman in honor of a Buddhist monk who was a third-generation Sogdian immigrant in China. It was completed in 904 and printed in the year Taian 太安 8 (1092), at Taehŭng'wangsa 大興王寺, in Koryŏ, a state then under the domination of the Liao empire (907-1125).[1] Under the Southern Song dynasty fifty-three years later (in 1145 [Shaoxing 15]), Yihe 義和 (fl. 1160s), a distinguished Huayan master residing at Baitajiao Cloister 白塔教院 in Wujiang xian 吳江縣, Pingjiang fu 平江府 (in present-day Suzhou 蘇州, Jiangsu), was compiling Huayan texts for inclusion in a government-sponsored Buddhist canon.[2] Just as he was becoming worried by the poor quality of the edition of *Pŏpjang*

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[1] This is recorded in the colophon attached to the Song edition of *PHC* (for this edition, see below); see *PHC* 286b9-10, which says that in Daan 8, a *renshen* year, an imperial decree ordered the Taehŭng'wangsa of Koryŏ to cut the woodblocks. Yang Chang 梁璋 (?-1092+), a layman with a dharma-name called Ponchŏk 本寂, donated a copy of the original text as the basis for engraving (大安八年壬申歲高麗國大興王寺奉宣彫造本寂居士梁璋施本鏤板). The original has the reign-name as "Daan" 大安, which could, however, be two different periods—one under the Jin from 1209 to 1211, and the other from 1075 to 1085 under Western Xia. Since the Jin's Daan era lasted for only three years, the "Daan" here could only indicate the Western Xia calendar. Be that as it may, Daan 8 was 1082, which was, however, a *renxu* 壬戌 (not *renshen*) year. Furthermore, Koryŏ, not having submitted to Western Xia, had not used the latter's reign names. For this reason, "Daan" 大安 must be an error for "Taian" 太安, a period under the Liao from 1085 to 1094, the eighth year of which was 1092, and indeed a *renshen* year. My thanks to Choe Yeonshik for calling my attention to the problem involved in the reign-name Daan.

[2] This probably refers to the preparatory work for a part of the Zifu 資福 Canon, which was completed in 1175. For this canon and others, see Li and He, *Dazang jing*, 223-51.

hwasang chŏn at his disposal, an excellent one arrived from Korea, and on the basis of this gift he produced a satisfactory edition, which he had printed shortly before December 2, 1149.

A copy of this printed Song edition was then exported to Japan and stored at Kōzanji 高山寺, in Kyōto 京都. The monk Saiun 齊雲 (1637-1713) made a personal copy in 1670,[3] and this was used twenty-nine years later when the Kegon monk Sōshun 僧濬 (1659-1738) published a Japanese edition of *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn* in the year Genroku 12 (1699).[4] Exasperated by the groundless alterations to the manuscript as copied by Saiun, another monk, Dōchū 道忠 (1653-1744), wrote a commentary entitled "Shinkan Genju hiden shōgo."[5] In addition to correcting Sōshun's mistakes, Dōchū provided useful notes on difficult points in the original text. The Sōshun edition of *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn*, along with Sōshun's preface (dated 1670), Fazang's funeral epitaph written by Yan Chaoyin in 713, a Korean colophon (dated 1082), Yihe's colophon (dated 1149), and Dōchū's commentary (with his preface), were included in the *Taishō* edition of the Buddhist canon, which was published from 1924 to 1932. This ended the long and truly international transmission of one biography—that of Fazang.

The biography is unique for another reason—the eminence of the various figures involved in it. While its subject, Fazang, was without doubt one of the most brilliant spirits of East Asian Buddhism, the biographer Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn was one of the most talented writers of medieval Korean times. The three monks who introduced this Korean text to China and Japan and making it possible for survival down to the present, namely Yihe, Sōshun and Dōchū, were also important in the history of Chinese and Japanese Buddhism. Yihe was a highly regarded Huayan master of his time; and Sōshun and Dōchū were two major representatives of Kegon and Zen Buddhism during their time, the Tokugawa period (1603-1867). Dōchū, in particular, was known as an encyclopedic scholar, a fact that is still commented on.[6]

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[3] A colophon that Saiun left on his copy asserts that he finished copying on December 29, 1670 (Kanbun 10.11.18), and two days later he had his copy collated with the Kōzanji edition.

[4] *PHC* 280a28-29.

[5] Dōchū had a close association with Saiun, as attested in a collection of their dialogue that started in 1698 (one year before Saiun made a copy of *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn*) and lasted until 1713. For a useful study of the relationship based on this collection, see Lin, "Mujaku Dōchū to Bakusō Saiun Dōtō to no kōshō."

[6] For this monk, see App, "Dōchū"; Jorgensen, "Zen Scholarship"; and the Japanese studies listed there.

1. FORMAT AND CONTENTS

The style and format of *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn* are unusual among monastic biographies. Like its secular counterpart, monastic biography in medieval East Asia is generally chronological in the sense that its narrative starts with the family background of the subject, his/her birth, training and intellectual background, and then goes on to describe the subject's establishment as an independent Buddhist master, various accomplishments both inside and outside the monastic world and eventually his/her death (which could be followed by an account of the various miracles accompanying or following his/her death). In contrast, however, *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn* is organized thematically: the main body is composed of ten sections, although entries under each heading are arranged in a chronological order:

1. "Zuxing" 族姓 — Fazang's family and the origin of his names
2. "Youxue" 遊學 — Travel and study
3. "Xueran" 削染 — Entry into the saṃgha
4. "Jiangyan" 講演 — Lecturer
5. "Chuanyi" 傳譯 — Translator and interpreter
6. "Zhushu" 著述 — Author
7. "Xiushen" 修身 — Moral cultivation
8. "Jisu" 濟俗 — Delivering the secular world from suffering
9. "Chuixun" 垂訓 — Transmitting instructions to contemporaries and later generations
10. "Shimie" 示滅 — Signs of extinction, that is, Fazang's death.

Peculiarity of style and format does not end here. Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn correlates these ten categories with the ten kinds of mind (or ten mental states leading towards the Buddhist truth) by which Fazang analyzed the "mind of uprightness" (*zhixin* 直心), one of the three types of mind set forth in *Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論 (Treatise on Awakening Faith in Mahāyāna). Fazang states the tenfold classification of the "mind of uprightness" in his *Huayan sanmei guan* 華嚴三昧觀, currently better known as "Huayan fa puti xin zhang" 華嚴發菩提心章 (Treatise on *Avataṃsaka* Teachings on Awakening *bodhicitta*) as follows:

> First is the question, "What is called 'awakening the *bodhicitta*'?" 初中問曰, "云何名爲發菩提心?"
>
> Answer: According to the [essay] *Dasheng qixin lun* there are three kinds of mind: upright mind, which contemplates the truth in the correct way; profound mind, which takes pleasure in cultivating all good practices; and mind of great compassion, which delivers all the suffering sentient beings. Each of these three minds can be further distinguished by ten accesses. The upright mind can be further distinguished into ten minds: 答曰, "依起信論, 有三種心: 一者直心, 正念真如法故; 二者深心, 樂修一切諸善行故; 三者大悲

心, 救度一切苦眾生故. 依此三心, 各曲開十門. 就初直心中, 具有十心:

First, the broad and magnanimous mind, which consists in the vow to contemplate all dharmas as completely abiding in such-ness. 一者廣大心, 謂誓願觀一切法, 悉如如故.

Second, the extraordinarily profound mind, which consists in the vow to contemplate the truth to the extent that one exhaustively plumbs its depths. 二者甚深心, 謂誓願觀真如, 要盡源底故.

Third, the mind of *upāya* (expedients), which consists in conducting deduction, investigation and selection (of teachings), thus leading to true *upāya*. 三者方便心, 謂推求簡擇, 趣真方便故.

Fourth, the firm and solid mind: the reception of such a contemplative mind will prevent one from discarding or detaching from [the truth] even when one encounters the extremes of suffering and pleasure. 四者堅固心, 謂設逢極苦樂, 受此觀心, 不捨離故.

Fifth, the uninterrupted mind, which consists in contemplating this principle of the truth until the end of the future, without any sense of it being a long time. 五者無間心, 謂觀此真如理, 盡未來際, 不覺其久故.

Sixth, the conquering mind, which consists in an instant realization that conquers and annihilates any afflictions which might temporarily arise due to the failings in one's recollection, and hence to the [unbroken] continuation of one's contemplative mind. 六者折伏心, 謂若失念煩惱暫起, 即覺察折伏令盡, 使觀心相續故.

Seventh, the skillful mind, which consists in contemplating the truth without any hindrance, and skillfully cultivating the myriad practices in accordance with circumstances. 七者善巧心, 謂觀真理, 不礙隨事, 巧修萬行故;

Eighth, the mind of non-duality, which demonstrates itself by myriad deeds in accordance with situations, merging with the single-flavored truth without any duality. 八者不二心, 謂隨事萬行, 與一味真理, 融無二故.

Ninth, the unhindered mind, which means that now that principle and phenomena completely merge together without any duality, the phenomena and the complete principle interpenetrate. 九者無礙心, 謂理事既全融不二, 還令全理之事, 互相即入故.

Tenth, the perfectly brilliant mind, which consists in instantly contemplating that the dharma-realm is completely one and yet completely multiple, which both appear simultaneously, without any hindrances or obstacles. 十者圓明心, 謂頓觀法界, 全一全多, 同時顯現, 無障無礙故."[7]

Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn thus created ten biographical categories that purposefully correlate with the above ten states of mind as articulated by Fazang. First I examine the essential content of each of his categories, and its correspondence to Fazang's ten states. After that I explain how the correlation might have been accomplished logically.

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[7] *Huayan fa putixin zhang*, *T* 45: 651a15-b1.

1.1. *Ten Biographical Categories Correlated with Ten States of Mind*

Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn established the following correlations between each of his biographical sections and one of Fazang’s so-called states of mind. Each category begins with a statement by Ch’oe.

1.1.1. Zuxing=*Fazang’s* guangda xin *(magnanimous mind of broadness)*

> This is called the causes and conditions of his clan background and [origin of] his surname. Isn’t it that he, in virtue of his broad and magnanimous mind, vowed to contemplate all the dharmas as completely abiding in such-ness? 此之謂族姓因緣. 豈非以廣大心, 誓願觀一切法, 悉如如乎?[8]

Under this first category, Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn tells us Fazang’s name and style-name (both in Chinese and Sanskrit: Fazang 法藏 [Skt. Damoduoluo 達摩多羅 ~ Dharmatara?], and Xianshou 賢首 [Skt. Batuoluoshili 跋陀羅室利 ~ Bhadraśrī]),[9] his name of distinction (*biehao* 別號) (Guoyi fashi 國一法師) bestowed by an unspecified emperor, and his surname (Kang 康), which was a common Chinese toponym for Samarqand, that is, Kangguo 康國, the Sogdian state in Central Asia. Then he provides information about ancestors who had served as prime ministers in Samarqand, his grandfather, who arrived in China and took permanent residence in Chang’an, and his father, Kang Mi 康謐, who served as a rank-four military official under the Tang dynasty. Next comes Fazang’s miraculous conception, which led to his birth on December 19, 643. Finally we are introduced to Fazang’s younger brother Baozang 寶藏 (?-706+), who was, according to Ch’oe, renowned for his loyalty and filial piety.

1.1.2. Youxue=*Fazang’s* shenshen xin *(extraordinarily profound mind)*

> This is called the causes and conditions of his travel and study experiences. Isn’t it that he, in virtue of his extraordinarily profound mind, contemplated the truth to the extent that he plumbed its depths? 此之謂遊學因緣. 豈非以甚深心, 誓觀[10]真如, 要盡源底乎?[11]

Here, Ch’oe narrates, in varying degrees of detail, the young Fazang’s experiences in pursuing the Way. Since the age of seventeen *sui*, Fazang was eager to search out a teacher, but he was frustrated with the arrogance of the scholar-monks in the capital. This drove him to Mount

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[8] *PHC* 281a26-27.

[9] For problems about the Sanskrit equivalents that Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn provides for Fazang’s personal name and style-name, see Chapter 3.1.

[10] Fazang has it as 誓願觀 instead of 誓觀.

[11] *PHC* 281b11-12.

Taibai 太白, where he studied the Vaipulya (*fangdeng* 方等 [lit. "broad and universal"]) teachings and practiced Daoist methods of cultivating life. Several years later, he returned to the capital in order to take care of his ailing parent(s). In Chang'an, a miraculous ray of light brought him to Zhiyan, whose disciple he immediately became.

1.1.3. Xueran= *Fazang's* fangbian xin *(mind of* upāya*)*

> This is called the causes and conditions of his entering the saṃgha. Isn't it that he, by virtue of his mind of *upāya*, conducted inducement, investigation and selection (of teachings), until he was led to the true *upāya*? 此之謂削染因緣. 豈非以方便心, 推求簡擇, 趣真方便乎?[12]

For Fazang's "entering the saṃgha," we learn that he was admitted into a major monastery as a *śrāmaṇera*. Shortly before passing away, Zhiyan entrusted Fazang, who was then still a layman, to two senior monks and asked them to assist him in becoming a monk. Such an opportunity came in Xianheng 1 (March 27, 670-February 14, 671), when Empress Wu set up Taiyuansi 太原寺 (to be known as Western Chongfusi 西崇福寺, or Great Chongfusi 大崇福寺) in Chang'an. At the strong recommendation of these two senior monks, Fazang entered the new monastery, marking his formal renunciation of life as a householder.

1.1.4. Jiangyan=*Fazang's* jiangu xin *(firm and solid mind)*

> This is called the causes and conditions of his preaching and lecturing career. Isn't it that he, by virtue of his firm mind of solidity, did not abandon or become detached from [the truth] even when he encountered the extremes of suffering and pleasure since he received such a profound contemplative mind? 此之謂講演因緣. 豈非以牢固心[13], 設逢極苦樂, 受深觀心,[14] 不捨離乎?[15]

Ch'oe supplies five anecdotes: (1) he was first assigned to preach the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* at Taiyuansi; (2) Empress Wu subsequently bestowed upon him a set of monastic robes; (3) his lectures at Yunhuasi 雲華寺 that caused a series of miracles; (4) a lecture at Foshoujisi 佛授記寺, which was accompanied by an earthquake; (5) his reputation as an *Avataṃsaka* preacher allegedly reached Tuṣita heaven, as is verified by a lay follower who spent time there before being sent back to the earth.

1.1.5. Chuanyi=*Fazang's* wujian xin *(uninterrupted mind)*

> This is called the causes and conditions of his career as an interpreter and translator. Isn't it that he, by virtue of his unimpeded mind, con-

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[12] *PHC* 281b20-21.
[13] Fazang has *laoguxin* 牢固心 as *jianguxin* 堅固心.
[14] Fazang has it as 受<u>此</u>觀心, rather than 受<u>深</u>觀心.
[15] *PHC* 281c19-20.

> templated this principle of the truth until the end of the future, without considering it a long time? 此之謂傳譯因緣. 豈非以無間心, 觀其真理,[16] 盡未來際, 不覺其久乎?[17]

The focus is on Fazang's role in three successive translation projects directed by Divākara, Devendraprajña, and Śikṣānanda for translating new parts of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* not included in the old version prepared by Buddhabhadra (359/360?-429). Then, Ch'oe turns to Fazang's participation in the translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra* and others, also under the direction of Śikṣānanda. During the Shenlong era (January 30, 705-September 30, 707), Fazang also cooperated with Śikṣānanda in translating one *hui* 會[18] of *Da baoji jing* 大寶積經 (Skt. *Mahāratnakūṭa sūtra*).

1.1.6. Zhushu=*Fazang's* zhefu xin *(conquering mind)*

> This is called the causes and conditions of his career as an author. Isn't it that he, by virtue of his conquering mind, instantly perceived and conquered any afflictions which temporarily arose due to any failings in his recollection, hence the [unbroken] continuation of his contemplative mind? 此之謂著述因緣. 豈非以折伏心, 或若失念, 煩惱暫起, 即便觀察折伏,[19] 使觀心相續乎?[20]

Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn has a great deal to say about Fazang's career as author; it is roughly divided into the following seven areas. First is the *Avataṃsaka*-related literature, especially the important *Tanxuan ji* 探玄記 (i.e., *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記, Investigating the Mysteries [of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*]) (*T* no. 1733, vol. 35), which Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn compares with Zhiyan's *Souxuan yichao* 搜玄義鈔 (Commentaries [Aiming at] Searching for the Mysteries [of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*]) (i.e., *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing souxuan fenqi tongzhi fanggui* 大方廣佛華嚴經搜玄分齊通智方軌, *T* vol. 35, no. 1732), also several short commentaries—*Jiaofen ji* 教分記 (Account on Classifying [the Buddha's] Teachings) (3 *juan*), *Zhigui* 指歸 (Guides) (1 *juan*), *gangmu* 綱目 (General Outline) (1 *juan*), *Xuanyi zhang* 玄義章 (Treatise on the Mysterious Meanings) (1 *juan*), and *Celin* 策林 (Records) (1 *juan*), all of which, regardless of length, were composed in terms of ten categories (*shike* 十科). (This shows Fazang's, or even the whole *Avataṃsaka* tradition's, obsession with that number.) Next in the *Avataṃsaka*-related literature is a glossary called *Yinyi* 音義 (Pronunciations and Meanings), for the old (Buddhabhadra's) and new (Divākara's and/or

[16] Fazang has 真如理, not 真理.
[17] *PHC* 282b11-13.
[18] Skt. *parṣad*, a group of texts belonging to the same genre, or of a similar nature.
[19] Fazang has this sentence as 即覺察折伏令盡.
[20] *PHC* 283b7-9.

Devendraprajña's) translations of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*; and finally, *Huayan jing zhuanji*, a collection of stories and legends related to the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* and its Chinese versions.

The second area of writings is the commentaries on other *sūtra*s or *śāstra*s, including *Lengqie jing* 楞伽經 (Skt. *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra*), *Miyan jing* 密嚴經 (Skt. *Ghanavyūha sūtra*), *Fanwang jing* 梵網經 (*Sūtra* of the Brahma-net) (a Chinese apocryphon), *[Dasheng] qixin lun* (two commentaries, one *shu* 疏 [commentary] in 2 [or 3] *juan*, a *bieji* 別記 [separate commentary] in 1 *juan*), *Shier men lun* 十二門論 (Skt. *Dvādaśanikāya śāstra*), *Fajie wu chabie lun* 法界無差別論 (Skt. *Dharmadhātvaviśeṣatā śāstra*), and the *Heart sūtra*.

Third, his three works on meditation: *Huayan shijie guan* 華嚴十界觀 (Contemplation on the Ten *Avataṃsaka* Realms), *Wangjin huanyuan guan* 妄盡還源觀 (Contemplation on Returning to the Origin by Ending the Illusions), and the above-mentioned *Huayan sanmei guan*.

Fourth, a text of five *zhou* 軸 (*juan* [scroll]) which was mainly compiled on the basis of three scrolls from the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* (the first two about the names of the Buddhas and the third on those of Bodhisattvas).

Fifth, Fazang's shortest but perforce best-known work—*Jin shizi zhang*. Sixth, the *Sanbao biexing ji* 三寶別行記 (Separate Account of the Three Treasures), which, though not extant, appears to be a historical work judging by its title and Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's brief note. And finally is Fazang's unfinished commentary on the new *Avataṃsaka* version prepared by Śikṣānanda (twelve *juan*), which was edited and expanded into two separate works by two of his disciples Zongyi 宗一 (?-712+)[21] and Huiyuan, in twenty *zhou* and sixteen *pian* 篇 (lit. "pieces"—probably also indicating *juan*, as did *zhou*), respectively.[22]

1.1.7. Xiushen=*Fazang's* shanqiao xin *(skillful mind)*

> This is called the causes and conditions of cultivating his virtues. Isn't it that he, by virtue of his skillful mind, quietly contemplated the truth without any hindrance and skillfully cultivated the myriad practices in accordance with situations? 此之謂修身因緣. 豈非以善巧心, 靜觀真理,[23] 不礙隨事, 巧修萬行乎?[24]

Four stories serve to illustrate Fazang's "cultivating his virtues": (1) rushing home from his practice of the Way on Mount Taibai in order to

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[21] For Zongyi, see Chapter 3, note 81.

[22] These two commentaries were probably those attributed to Huiyuan and Zongyi by Uichŏn 義天 (1055-1101) (see *Sinp'yŏn chejong kyojang ch'ongnok*, *T* 55: 1166a18, 20).

[23] Fazang has this sentence as 謂觀真理.

[24] *PHC* 283c5-6.

take care of his stricken parents for a long period of time (*mianyan suishi* 綿延歲時); (2) early in the Zongzhang reign (April 17, 668-March 26, 670), when he was still a layman, he sought the bodhisattva-precepts from an anonymous Indian monk-physician, only to be assured that he was already fully possessed of the precepts thanks to the merits accrued through his efforts in reciting and preaching the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*; (3) in 690, on the way back to Xiazhou 夏州 (present-day Baichengzi 白城子, in Shaanxi) to visit his parents, he was welcomed by governors and magistrates of the prefectures and subprefectures that he passed through; (4) during the court coup at the turn of 705, he played a crucial role in cracking down on the clique of the two Zhang brothers, which led to the restoration of Zhongzong to the throne.

1.1.8. Jisu=*Fazang's* buer xin *(non-dual mind)*

> This is called the causes and conditions of his delivering lay people. Isn't it that he, by virtue of his non-dual mind, interacted with the myriad practices in accordance with circumstances, merging himself with the single-flavored truth without any duality? 此之謂濟俗因緣. 豈非以不二心, 隨事萬行, 與一味真理, 融無二乎?[25]

For Fazang's "delivering the secular world [from sufferings]," Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn highlights twelve examples: (1) Chuigong 3 (January 19, 687-February 6, 688): he effectively supervised a rain-prayer ritual at Ximingsi 西明寺; (2) during the Tiancewansui reign-period (October 14, 695-January 9, 696) he lent a hand to a kinsman of Empress Wu in order to alleviate severe draught damage; (3) at an unspecified time, he defeated the challenges posed by a hostile Daoist priest; (4) in the year Shengong 1 (September 29-December 19, 697), he helped the Great Zhou army defeat the rebellious Khitans; (5) at the turn of 705, he directed a relic-veneration ritual centering around the Buddha's finger-bone enshrined in the Famensi pagoda; (6) in the winter of Shenlong 1 (January 30, 705-January 18, 706), shortly after Zhongzong was restored on January 23, 705, the emperor commissioned a portrait of Fazang, on which he composed four laudatory verses; (7) in the fifth month of Jinglong 2 (May 24-June 22, 708), Fazang convened one hundred dharma-masters at Great Jianfusi 大薦福寺 to pray for rain, with great success; (8) when another drought occurred, Fazang intervened with similar success; (9) because of this, he became highly respected by Zhongzong and Ruizong, who courted him as their bodhisattva-preceptor; (10) sensing that the time was ripe to widely promote *Avataṃsaka* teachings, Fazang proposed to the court that five Huayan monasteries be set up in different parts of the country (his

[25] *PHC* 284c14-16.

proposal was accepted); (11) in the winter of Jingyun 2 (November 15, 711-February 11, 712), shortly before his death, Fazang, at the request of Ruizong, went to a pond beside Wuzhensi on Mount Zhongnan to perform an esoteric snow-prayer ritual, which, as before, met with great success; (12) on December 4, 712 (Xiantian 1.11.2), Ruizong sent Fazang a congratulatory message and some gifts to celebrate his seventieth birthday. Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn closes this part with a general comment that Fazang did a great service in converting the impious and intellectually indolent by tracing down and compiling the sources of miraculous stories. This probably refers to the writing of *Huayan jing zhuanji*.

1.1.9. Chuixun=*Fazang's* wuai xin *(unimpeded mind)*

> This is called the causes and conditions of his handing down his instructions. Isn't it that he, by virtue of his mind of non-hindrance, caused the interpenetration of various phenomena each containing the complete principle so that the principle and phenomena completely merge together without any duality? 此之謂垂訓因緣. 豈非以無礙心, 理事既全融不二, 還令全理之事, 互相即入乎?[26]

Compared with the relatively unreserved portrayals of Fazang as a "trouble-shooter and savior," Ch'oe somewhat conservatively describes Fazang's contributions to "handing down instructions [for later generations]." After mentioning Fazang's consultation with Śikṣānanda on the classification of Buddhist teachings in India,[27] which inspired Fazang to create his own fivefold classification of teachings (namely, Hīnayāna [*xiao* 小], introductory [*shi* 始], ending [*zhong* 終], sudden [*dun* 頓] and perfect [*yuan* 圓]), Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn mentions six of the most important disciples of Fazang—Hongguan 宏觀, Wenchao 文超, Zhiguang 智光 (of Huayansi in Luoyang), the above-mentioned Zongyi (of Heensi 荷恩寺) and Huiyuan (of Jingfasi 靜法寺), and finally Huiying (of Jingxingsi 經行寺). Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn concludes with a lengthy discussion of Fazang's communication with Ŭisang.

1.1.10. Shimie=*Fazang's* yuanming xin *(perfectly brilliant mind)*

> This is called the causes and conditions of his extinction. Isn't it that he, in virtue of his mind of non-hindrance, instantly reached the contemplation that the dharma-realm is free of any hindrances and obstacles? 此之謂示滅因緣. 豈非以圓明心, 頓觀法界, 無障無礙乎?[28]

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[26] *PHC* 285b4-6.

[27] In response to Fazang's inquiry, Śikṣānanda mentioned that there were two major traditions within Indian Buddhism—Yogācāra and Mādhyamika.

[28] *PHC* 285b26-27. Between these two sentences, Fazang places another one: 同時顯現.

Concerning Fazang's death on December 16, 712, Ch'oe quotes an edict that Ruizong issued to honor his spirit five days later. He also depicts the magnificence of Fazang's burial ceremony.

1.2. *Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's Logic in Creating the Ten Categories*

What method or allegorical system might Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn have used in correlating his ten biographical categories with the ten states of mind? More than likely, there was no rigid system, other than that Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn studied Fazang's list, and thought carefully about the wording of each one, in order to create a verbal connection to a stage in the man's life. Perhaps the first and the last categories (family origins and death) are an exception to this, and were just automatically matched to "broad and magnanimous mind" and "perfect brilliance," respectively, probably because these states happen to have been Fazang's first (the birth) and last (the death) nodes in the tenfold process.

Ch'oe presented the phrase "travel and study" as reflecting a step-by-step progress and a method of induction, something easily related to the "mind of extraordinary profundity," which for Fazang indicated the increasingly deepening search for the truth, and eventually to ability to "plumb" it. Fazang's "entering the saṃgha" had been accomplished under extraordinary circumstances: some time after he was entrusted by his dying teacher to two senior monks, a group of monks were needed to fill a newly established cosmopolitan monastery. This crucial turn in Fazang's life was brought about through particular expedients (*upāya*) skillfully employed by him and his new guarantors, hence the correlation of "entering the saṃgha" with the "mind of *upāya*."

Although it is natural to link the above two biographical categories with Fazang's two particular mental states, I cannot see any justification for correlating "lecturing career" with "firm and solid mind." For Fazang as lecturer, perhaps it was that a powerful lecturer must focus and organize his thinking in order to accommodate each specific, and always differing, audience; or else Ch'oe was thinking of the miracles that Fazang narrated for his audiences, which would firm up their minds towards the Buddhist truth.

The notion of *chuanyi* 傳譯 (translator and interpreter) could correspond with "uninterrupted mind" probably based on the notion that translation was an intermediary event in the process of cross-cultural religious transplantation—an act of bringing an idea from one place to another without a break; and *zhushu* 著述 ("career as author") could be the "conquering mind" for the fact that a major aim of Fazang's numerous writings was to resolve troubling doubts and to defeat attacks on Buddhism.

Ch'oe may have chosen *xiushen* 修身 (cultivating virtues through a number of practices, Buddhist and non-Buddhist) to match with "skillful mind" for an obvious reason: both notions were about working to create good deeds. The biographical category *jisu* 濟俗 (delivering the secular world) is related to *xiushen* and is linked with the "mind of nonduality," since the latter also emphatically points to a dynamic merging of phenomena with the single-flavored truth (*yiwei zhenli* 一味真理).

Just before number ten (Fazang's death) comes *chuixun* ("handing down instructions"). This idea suits Fazang's "unhindered mind" because according to Ch'oe elsewhere in *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn*, Fazang's theory of classifying Buddhist teachings generally aimed at harmonizing the differences and conflicts between various Buddhist traditions.

2. Sources of *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn*

Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn is an elegant piece of literature, giving copious quotations from a number of Chinese classics, both Buddhist and non-Buddhist, or simply alluding to phrases and stories from those classics. It is at this point that I examine those sources. The following is a chronological list of the Buddhist texts from which it quotes:

(A) *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集 (Collection of Records Concerning the Translations of the Threefold Canon), 15 *juan*, initially compiled by Sengyou 僧祐 (445-518) in 515. Ch'oe cites [A.1] a passage about the friendship that Huiyuan 慧遠 (334-416) extended to Buddhabhadra, when the latter had to leave Chang'an due to the hostile attitude that some of Kumārajīva's (344-413 [var. 409]) disciples held toward him.[29]

(B) *Huayan fa putixin zhang*, written by Fazang, probably sometime before 690. As has become clear before, Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn makes use of a passage from this short treatise eleven times, first for the ten kinds of mind, which he correlates with the ten biographical categories, and then, at the end of each of the ten biographical categories, he successively applies Fazang's brief remarks on the ten mental states to the ten biographical categories.[30]

(C) *Huayan jing zhuanji* is quoted eleven times: [C.1] a miracle story about Guo Shenliang's experiences in Tuṣita heaven where the

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[29] See Appendix A, *PHC* (5.1.2.2) 281c26-28. The relevant passage is found in *Chu sanzang ji ji*, *T* 55: 14.103c29-104a2. Cf. *GSZ*, *T* 50: 2.335b12-15. Compared with the *GSZ* passage, this passage in *Chu sanzang ji ji* appears closer to this *PHC* passage, and therefore seems more likely to be its source.

[30] Chapter 2.1.1.

deities assure him of Fazang's superiority as an *Avataṃsaka* preacher;[31] [C.2] the provenance of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*;[32] [C.3] Huiyuan's dispatching of two disciples to India to retrieve the text of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*;[33] [C.4] Bhudhabhadra's translation of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*;[34] [C.5] a legend in which Daoying 道英 (560/550-636), an *Avataṃsaka* expert, manipulates a *nāgarāja* (dragon-king [*longwang* 龍王]) to bring down rain during a drought;[35] [C.6] Śākyamitra extolling the merit of reciting the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*;[36] [C.7] a miracle allegedly set in a south Indian city, Campā: a copy of *Avataṃsaka sūtra* emits light from a well in which it is dropped;[37] [C.8] a miracle story from the 689 *Avataṃsaka* assembly in Luoyang during which the shape of a *stūpa* appears within a piece of ice;[38] [C.9] a miracle story about a Mister Wang 王: right before he receives punishment from King Yama in hell, he saves numerous people from hell by reciting a *gāthā* from the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*;[39] [C.10] the miracle story of Kang Alushan 康阿祿山 and A Rongshi 阿容師 (probably an error for He Rongshi 何容師);[40] and [C.11] a reference to the devotion that Xiao Ziliang 蕭子良 (460-494) and a Dharma Master Hong 宏 of Yizhou 益州 showed to the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*.[41]

(D) *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* (twenty *juan*), the main body of which completed by Fazang around 690, is quoted three times: [D.1] Divākara's arrival in China and Fazang's participation in his translation bureau;[42] [D.2] a legend related to Buddhabhadra's translation of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* (i.e., of how the dragon-king attends the translation himself in the disguise of two green-clad boys);[43] and [D.3] Fazang

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[31] *PHC* (4.4) 281c11-16; cf. *HJZ*, *T* 51: 3.164.1. The Guo Shenliang story is discussed in Chapter 12.1.1.

[32] *PHC* (5.1.1) 281c21-23; cf. *HJZ*, *T* 51: 1.153a15-b4.

[33] *PHC* (5.1.2.1) 281c23-26; cf. *HJZ*, *T* 51: 1.153c5-8.

[34] *PHC* (5.1.2.3) 281c28-282a4; cf. *HJZ*, *T* 51: 1.154c1-4.

[35] *PHC* (6.4.2) 282c24-25; cf. *HJZ*, *T* 51: 3.162b3-14.

[36] *PHC* (6.4.2) 282c24-25; cf. *HJZ*, *T* 51: 4.169c23-170a5. In *PHC*, the Indian Brahmin remains anonymous, while *HJZ* gives his name as Śākyamitra. Further, *PHC*'s emphasis is on Fazang seeking the bodhisattva-precepts from the anonymous Brahmin, while *HJZ* emphasizes the merit of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*. For the complex problems involved in the story of Fazang's association with Śākyamitra, see Chapter 4.3.

[37] *PHC* (8.12.1) 284c9-10; cf. *HJZ*, *T* 51: 4.170a12-28.

[38] *PHC* (8.12.2) 284c10; cf. *HJZ*, *T* 51: 3.164a26-29.

[39] *PHC* (8.12.3) 284c10-11; cf. *HJZ*, *T* 51: 4.167a18-29.

[40] *PHC* (8.12.4) 284c11-12; cf. *HJZ*, *T* 51: 5.171c20- a13. The A Rongshi story is discussed in Chapter 12.1.1.

[41] *PHC* (8.9) 284b15-16; Cf. *HJZ*, *T* 51: 5.172a23-b1.

[42] *PHC* (5.1.5) 282a10-14; *Huayan jing tanxuan ji*, *T* 35: 1.123c24-27; *Xu huayan jing lüeshu kanding ji*, *XZJ* 5: 1.24d12-13; *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing shu*, *T* 35: 3.524a1-9.

[43] *PHC* (6.4.1) 282c22-24; cf. *Huayan jing tanxuan ji*, *T* 35: 1.122c13-18.

consulting Divākara in Wenming 1 (February 27-October 18, 684) about the classification of Buddhist teachings in India.[44]

(E) "Kang Zang bei" is quoted frequently (no less than twelve times): [E.1] Fazang's surname and personal name;[45] [E.2] his family background (his father and grandfather);[46] [E.3] his entering Taiyuansi in 670;[47] [E.4] his participation in Śikṣānanda's *Avataṃsaka* translation bureau;[48] [E.5] his assisting Śikṣānanda in translating one *parṣad* of the *Mahāratnakūṭa sūtra* during the Shenlong era (January 30, 705-September 30, 707);[49] [E.6] his burning off a finger in front of the Famensi pagoda before entering Mount Taibai in search of the Way;[50] [E.7] his being courted by Zhongzong and Ruizong for conferring bodhisattva-precepts;[51] [E.8] his close relationship with Ruizong;[52] [E.9] his death on December 16, 712;[53] [E.10] Ruizong's edict honoring Fazang's spirit;[54] [E.11] the attention drawn to his burial ceremony;[55] and [E.12] his burial ceremony being formally executed on December 26, 712.[56]

(F) *Huayan zuanling ji* is used twelve times, although all very briefly: [F.1] a comment on Qianli's 千里 (otherwise unknown) biography (*Zanggong bielu* 藏公別錄) as a source of miracles about Fazang; [F.2] Fazang's surname, style-name and his ancestral country;[57] [F.3] Fazang's miraculous birth;[58] [F.4] Fazang entering Mount Taibai to pursue the Way at seventeen;[59] [F.5] Fazang's encounter with Zhiyan and becoming his disciple;[60] [F.6] Zhiyan entrusting Fazang to several senior Buddhist monks (including Daocheng 道成 and Baochen 薄塵) shortly before Zhiyan's death;[61] [F.7] Fazang entering the saṃgha in 670 or early 671;[62] [F.8] Fazang being assigned to Taiyuansi as an *Ava-*

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[44] *PHC* (9.2) 284c22-29; cf. *Huayan jing tanxuan ji*, *T* 35: 1.111c9-112a3.
[45] *PHC* (1.1) 281a12-19; cf. "Kang Zang bei" (280b7-8).
[46] *PHC* (1.2) 281a19-26; cf. "Kang Zang bei" (280b8-9).
[47] *PHC* (3.2) 281b16-20; cf. "Kang Zang bei" (280b15-17).
[48] *PHC* (5.1.6.1) 282a14-22; cf. "Kang Zang bei" (280b17-18).
[49] *PHC* (5.3) 282b6-8; cf. "Kang Zang bei" (280b18-19).
[50] *PHC* (7.1.1) 283b10-11; cf. "Kang Zang bei" (280b11-12).
[51] *PHC* (8.8) 284b5-9; cf. "Kang Zang bei" (280b20).
[52] *PHC* (8.11) 284ab29-c9; cf. "Kang Zang bei" (280b20-22).
[53] *PHC* (10.1) 285b7-13; cf. "Kang Zang bei" (280c3-4).
[54] *PHC* (10.2) 285b13-18; cf. "Kang Zang bei" (280c6-11).
[55] *PHC* (10.3.1) 285b18-21; cf. "Kang Zang bei" (280c11-12).
[56] *PHC* (10.3.1) 285b18-21; cf. "Kang Zang bei" (280c4-5).
[57] *PHC* (0.1) 280c25-28; cf. "Kegon soshi den," 52.
[58] *PHC* (1.2) 281a19-26; cf. "Kegon soshi den," 52.
[59] *PHC* (2.1) 281a28-b1; cf. "Kegon soshi den," 52.
[60] *PHC* (2.2) 281b1-11; cf. "Kegon soshi den," 52. *Da Fangguang fo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao*, *T* 36: 15.116b2-5.
[61] *PHC* (3.1) 281b13-16; cf. "Kegon soshi den," 52.
[62] *PHC* (3.2) 281b16-20; cf. "Kegon soshi den," 52.

taṃsaka preacher;[63] [F.9] miracles related to Fazang's lectures at Yunhuasi (i.e., light emitting from his mouth and the rain of heavenly flowers);[64] [F.10] earthquakes associated with Fazang's *Avataṃsaka* lectures at Foshoujisi;[65] [F.11] Fazang attending to his parents when they fell ill;[66] [F.12] Fazang's involvement in the relic veneration at the beginning of 705.[67]

(G) *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying zhuan* is quoted four times: [G.1] Fazang's participation in Śikṣānanda's *Avataṃsaka* translation bureau and the miracle story of a one-hundred leaf lotus flower;[68] [G.2] his seeking the bodhisattva-precepts from an anonymous Indian monk;[69] [G.3] his visiting his parents in Xiazhou in 690;[70] [G.4] his standoff with a Daoist priest in 691.[71]

(H) *Xu Huayan jing lüeshu kanding ji* quoted twice: [H.1] an earthquake associated with Fazang's Foshoujisi lectures;[72] [H.2] two missing passages in Buddhabhadra's translation of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*.[73]

(I) *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing shu*: an exegesis by Chengguan, which is quoted once: [I.1] a comment of Chengguan on the Chinese translations of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*.[74]

(J) *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* written by Chengguan around 796 concerning his own commentary to *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing*, namely, *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing shu*. Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn quotes three times: [J.1] two miraculous phenomena (the rise of five-colored clouds in the sky and six kinds of earthquakes) associ-

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[63] *PHC* (4.1) 281b22-28; cf. "Kegon soshi den," 52-53.

[64] *PHC* (4.2) 281b28-c2; cf. "Kegon soshi den," 53. Cf. *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao*, *T* 36: 15.116b6-7. This legend, with a different focus, is also found in Duan Chengshi's *Sita ji*; see Fang Yan (coll. and annot.), *Youyang zazu* II.6.250; and Soper, "A Vacation Glimpse," 25.

[65] *PHC* (4.3) 281c2-11; cf. "Kegon soshi den," 53.

[66] *PHC* (7.1.2) 283b11-12; cf. "Kegon soshi den," 53; *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao*, *T* 36: 15.116b1-2.

[67] *PHC* (8.5.1) 283c25-284a6; cf. "Kegon soshi den," 53.

[68] *PHC* (5.1.6.1) 282a14-22; cf. *GYZ*, *T* 51: 176b4-19. In *PHC* this miraculous flower appears on the ground in front of the translation hall, while in *GYZ* it emerges from a pond within the imperial park.

[69] *PHC* (7.2) 283b12-17; cf. *GYZ*, *T* 51: 175a5-14. In *GYZ*, the Indian monk also remains anonymous (as in *PHC*). It also has two focuses—Fazang seeking the bodhisattva-precepts and the anonymous monk extolling the merits of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*—as in *PHC*. A comparison of the *GYZ* version with that in *HJZ* reveals that the anonymous monk was Śākyamitra; see Chapter 4.3.2.

[70] *PHC* (7.3) 283b17-18; cf. *GYZ*, *T* 51: 176a15-16.

[71] *PHC* (8.3) 283c11-16; cf. *GYZ*, *T* 51: 176a16- b03.

[72] *PHC* (4.3) 281c2-11; cf. *Xu Huayan jing lüeshu kanding ji*, *XZJ* 5: 5.25b-c.

[73] *PHC* (5.1.3) 282a4-6; cf. *Xu Huayan jing lüeshu kanding ji*, *XZJ* 5: 5.24d9-12; cf. *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing shu*, *T* 35: 3.524a1-9.

[74] *PHC* (5.1.8) 282a27-b1; cf. *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing shu*, *T* 35: 3.524a19-20.

ated with Fazang's lectures;[75] [J.2] Fazang's unfinished commentary on Śikṣānanda's new version of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*;[76] [J.3] Huiyuan's departure from Fazang's teachings.[77]

(K) *Huayan jing xingyuan pin shuchao* by Zongmi: Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn seems to have based himself on this commentary regarding [K.1] the provenance of Fazang's *Jin shizi zhang*.[78]

3. Values and Limitations

Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's biography is remarkable, as already stated, for its format and style. Instead of the usual sort of chronological style of monastic biographies in medieval East Asia, he has woven a text by reversing the conventional structure of woofs and warps: the main body is thematic and individual entries under different categories are, by and large, chronological. This revolutionary style perhaps is to be considered successful simply because, combined with Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's literary stature, it apparently discouraged later authors from making a similar attempt. To the best of my knowledge, *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn* is the only thematically arranged monastic biography in East Asia of this general time.

The excellence of Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's work as a historical and biographical document is widely acclaimed. Note, for example, Antonino Forte's endorsement:

> … the Korean scholar Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn had sufficient information to enable him to write an accurate and well documented biography of Fazang, a work which is up to the highest standard of the genre in East Asia and which is to date, after all, the best biography of Fazang, …[79]

Without any doubt, the historical information from Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's biography alone exceeds all other biographical sources on Fazang combined, although parts of the biography are based on earlier sources, as listed in the last section. It is not, however, merely because of the amount of information it supplies that this work deserves attention, but also for the exceptional degree of historical accuracy.

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[75] *PHC* (4.4.2) 281c16-19; cf. *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao*, *T* 36: 2.17a21-23.

[76] *PHC* (6.10) 283a27-b3; cf. *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao*, *T* 36: 2.16b12-15.

[77] *PHC* (6.11) 283b3-7; cf. *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao*, *T* 36: 2.16b16- 29.

[78] *PHC* (6.8) 283a17-24; cf. *Huayan jing xingyuan pin shuchao*, *XZJ* 7: 7.487a7-8.

[79] Forte, *Jewel*, 16.

Part of the historical value of *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn* is derived from the historical and biographical sources quoted in it that are not found elsewhere. They include (1) Empress Wu's letter to Fazang accompanying her gift of a set of monastic robes;[80] (2) a quotation from Empress Wu's edict congratulating Śikṣānanda and his group for their completion of a new Chinese version of the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra*;[81] (3) Fazang's role in the 705 court coup (especially Zhongzong's edict issued in 706 in recognition of his merits);[82] (4) Fazang supervising a rain-prayer ritual at Ximingsi in 687;[83] (5) Wu Youyi requesting Fazang to facilitate the end of a drought in 695;[84] (6) Fazang's role in suppressing the Khitan rebellion;[85] (7) Fazang's role in the Famensi relic veneration at the turn of 705;[86] (8) Zhongzong's four laudatory verses for Fazang;[87] (9) Fazang's rain-prayer ritual at Jianfusi sometime between May 24 and June 22, 708, and a subsequent similar effort, which were respectively rewarded by two laudatory edicts from Zhongzong;[88] (10) Fazang's proposal to establish five Huayan monasteries in different parts of China;[89] (11) Fazang's Wuzhensi rain-prayer ritual in late 711 or early 712;[90] (12) Ruizong's congratulatory message to Fazang on his seventieth birthday;[91] and (13) Fazang's communication with Ŭisang.[92]

Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn also throws revealing light on Fazang's non-exegetical (or "non-scholarly") life, especially his activities as a politician and wonderworker, two images that modern scholars are still reluctant to associate with a religious philosopher of Fazang's importance and reputation. Here it will suffice to highlight some of the most remarkable examples.

The biography gives a clear idea of how influential an actor Fazang was in the political world of his time, especially the attention he re-

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[80] *PHC* (4.1.2) 281b23-28.
[81] *PHC* (5.2) 282b1-6.
[82] *PHC* (7.4) 283b18-c5.
[83] *PHC* (8.1) 283c7-9.
[84] *PHC* (8.2) 283c9-11.
[85] *PHC* (8.4) 283c16-25.
[86] *PHC* (8.5.1) 283c25-284a18. Although this seems partly based on *Zuanling ji*, it contains a great deal of information not found in other sources.
[87] *PHC* (8.6) 284a18-28.
[88] *PHC* (8.7) 284a28-b5; (8.8) 284b5-9.
[89] *PHC* (8.9) 284b9-16.
[90] *PHC* (8.10) 284b16-29.
[91] *PHC* (10.2) 285b13-18.
[92] *PHC* (9.5) 285a15-b4. Although Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn only quotes 70 of the 319 characters in the letter, his biography constitutes the earliest source for such a communication between these two Korean and Chinese monks, earlier than both *Wŏnjong mullyu* (late-11th c.) and *Samguk yusa* (ca. 1280), which quote the letter in full; see *Wŏnjong mullyu*, *HPC* 4: 22.422b-c; *Samguk yusa*, *T* 51: 4.1006c21-1007a10; Forte, *Jewel,* 21.

ceived from Empress Wu. Although not all of the stories and episodes regarding his association with Empress Wu can be accepted as historically veritable, the closeness of their relationship seems of little doubt. More to Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's credit is his nuanced description of Fazang's multiple roles in the course of political infighting at the turn of 705, which brings to light an aspect of Fazang's relationship with the empress that has been obscured in modern scholarship: Fazang ended up a traitor to Empress Wu.[93]

As for Fazang's relationship with two of the empress's sons and successors, Zhongzong and Ruizong, *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn* is similarly revealing. It is interesting to note that with Ruizong, almost twenty years his junior, Fazang seems to have maintained a rather close friendship that went far beyond the typically polite but lukewarm relationship between a monarch and an eminent monk in medieval China. Fazang even established friendships with several of Ruizong's relatives, including one of his daughters and sons-in-law.[94]

According to Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn, or more accurately the sources on which he was based, Fazang's popularity with the three monarchs was to a great extent derived from his capacity as a miracle worker, including his putative ability to bring down rain and snow, or his magical (shamanic) prowess in conquering enemy warriors. Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn presents a Buddhist "holy man" who was able repeatedly to conjure up miracles to alleviate the damage caused by natural disasters, to overawe (and convert) the impious, to prevail on the battleground, and so on.[95]

Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn also shows us religious practices like relic-veneration, self-immolation, and even some Daoist practices. Several critical phases of Fazang's life were intertwined with relic-veneration and self-immolation simultaneously. Ch'oe also records a rain-prayer ritual that Fazang performed shortly before his death; it incorporated both Daoist and Esoteric Buddhist elements.[96] It seems that he was exposed to Daoism while he was practicing as a teenager at Mount Zhongnan (Taibai). As noted above, Fazang's career as a religious seeker started with the act of setting ablaze one of his fingers in front of the Famensi pagoga, which enshrined a relic that was believed to have been a finger-bone of the Buddha. Fazang later returned to Famensi twice. First, at the turn of 705, when Empress Wu was entering a critical phase of her career, she ordered Fazang, along with nine other

[93] For details of Fazang's role at this political and religious turning point, see Chen Jinhua, "More Than a Philosopher," 341-52; and Appendix K.

[94] Chapter 10.4.2.

[95] These stories/legends featuring Fazang's image as a wonderworker are discussed in Chapter 12.

[96] Chapter 11.2.

leading Buddhist monks and several court officials, to bring the Famensi relic to court for veneration, and its presence there incited a boom in self-immolations.[97] The second occasion is not recorded by Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn, but is known through recently revealed epigraphic sources. In the spring of 708, Fazang escorted the Famensi relic, which had then been enshrined in the imperial palace for over three years, back to its home at Famensi. On this special occasion, Fazang made a "spirit canopy" for the benefit of the relic.[98]

Aside from carrying such facts, which illuminate Fazang's life with rich detail, *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn* has limitations as well; and it might be added that numerous harsh factors worked against Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn himself, who suffered from illness, poverty, and even cold and hunger, as he prepared the biography at a bandit-infested mountain monastery.[99]

One blunder that Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn makes is in the title of the biography, which identifies Fazang as the abbot of Great Jianfusi. I have argued elsewhere against the possibility of Fazang having served in this important position. It seems more likely that Fazang served as the abbot of another monastery, Great Chongfusi (i.e., the former Western Taiyuansi), until sometime shortly before his death, when he was transferred to Great Jianfusi apparently in the hope that he would receive better medical care at this imperial monastery.[100]

Second, regarding Fazang's relationship with Empress Wu, we have noted Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's value as a writer who reveals Fazang's act of betrayal in the 705 court coup. It turns out, however, that he left out a previous negative turn in their long relationship. From another Korean source we learn of an instance of Fazang's falling out with Empress Wu, resulting in his brief exile to southern China. He regained the empress's trust through his service in the 696-697 suppression of the Khitan rebellion.[101]

Finally, I note two minor errors that Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn committed. First, both Yan Chaoyin and Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn report that during the Shenlong era (January 30, 705-October 4, 707), Fazang, working in Linguang 林光 Palace, assisted Śikṣānanda in translating *Mañjuśrībuddhakṣetraguṇavyūha* (*Wenshushili shouji hui* 文殊師利授記會, in three *juan*), a *parṣad* of texts belonging to the *Mahāratnakūṭa sūtra*. This is not true.[102] His second error is that he misidentifies the regent of

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[97] Chen Jinhua, "*Śarīra* and Scepter," 97-100.
[98] Chen Jinhua, "*Śarīra* and Scepter," 102-3; see also Chapter 6.2.2.
[99] Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn describes his difficult living circumstances at the end of *PHC* (285c27-286a5).
[100] Chen Jinhua, "Yijing," 12ff.
[101] Chapter 5.3.2.
[102] Appendix F.

Chang'an at the end of 704 who cooperated with Fazang in a high-profile relic veneration. Ch'oe identifies the regent as the Prince of Kuaiji 會稽, a first-cousin-first removed of Empress Wu named Wu Youwang 武攸望, but evidence shows that it was another nephew of the empress, Wu Youyi, the Prince Jian'an 建安.[103]

Related to Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's biography, a few words are in order on the merits of its Japanese commentary *Shinkan Genju hiden shōgo*, by Dōchū, which to the best of my knowledge is the only commentary. It provides two brilliant editorial corrections to the *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn* edition published by Sōshun in 1699. This was, as noted above, used later as the base-text for the version printed in the *Taishō* canon. Because one of these corrections will be discussed in Appendix K, let me focus on the second, a passage in the Sōshun-*Taishō* edition:

> 總章初藏猶爲居士就婆羅門長年請授菩薩戒或謂西僧曰是行者誦華嚴兼善講梵網叟愕且喈曰但持華嚴功用難測矧解義耶若有人誦百四十願已爲得大士具足戒者無煩別授號天授師及後曆曰永隆元年覲親于夏州道次郡牧邑宰靡不郊迎緇侶爲榮[104]

These lines, as presented in the *Taishō* edition, can be punctuated and broken into two phrases:

> 總章初, 藏猶爲居士. 就婆羅門長年, 請授菩薩戒. 或謂西僧曰: "是行者誦華嚴, 兼善講梵網." 叟愕且喈曰: "但持華嚴, 功用難測, 矧解義耶?若有人誦百四十願已, 爲得大士具足戒者. 無煩別授, 號天授師."
>
> 及後曆, 曰永隆元年, 覲親于夏州, 道次, 郡牧邑宰, 靡不郊迎, 緇侶爲榮.

Obviously, the two phrases refer, respectively, to Fazang's seeking the bodhisattva-precepts from the unnamed foreign monk and his visit to his hometown in Yonglong 1 (September 21, 680-January 24, 681). Although they contain one obscure expression, 及後曆, they generally make sense as they are punctuated here. However, Dōchū found the sentence "授號天授師及後曆曰永隆元年" problematic:

> In the original text (i.e., the Song edition that Dōchū checked), after the character 授 are three characters 後及曆. In place of 後及曆 in the current edition (i.e., 後及曆[105] of the 及後曆曰永隆元年) the original text has 名. It also does not have the character 永. Thus, the original has 授後及曆號天授師名曰隆元年 [instead of 授號天授師及後曆曰永隆元年]. On the edition possessed by Saiun, Sōshun attached a note saying, "This line contains a lacuna, and maybe that is why it does not make sense. I should ask for [Master Saiun's] advice some day."

[103] Chapter 6, note 22.
[104] *PHC* 283b12-18.
[105] In the current edition, 後及曆 is presented as 及後曆, which is a mistake given that the Miyoshi copy does have 後及曆. See Appendix A, 7.3.

> Master Saiun scribbled a note in ink. However, up until the blocks for printing the text were carved, Sōshun was never able to seek instruction from Master Saiun. He therefore could do no more than make whimsical additions and changes. He further left a note on the top of the page saying, "Are there missing words in this line, preventing its meanings from coming out smoothly?" As the original text is not readable, Sōshun attempted a capricious change—didn't he try to make the text easier to read? Even as altered by him, the text remains unreadable. What then was the good of emending the text? It is fine to leave it intact. Now, if the text is read as I punctuate it, its meaning becomes clear. Another possibility is that 曰 should be read as 日 (as in the phrase 日月 [sun and moon]), which is used to parallel the character 天 in the above (i.e., the preceding line). This is made because of the author's obsession with parallelism. Read this way, the text means that the master's [i.e., Fazang's] reputation had become more and more eminent. Yuannian 元年 refers to the first year of the Tianshou era. 元本授下有"後及暦"三字. 此"後及暦"作"名"一字, 無"永"字. 元本曰: 授後及暦, 號天授, 師名曰隆. 元年(云云). 濬貼雲本云: "此一行文有漏處, 義不疏通歟. 他日請領教示." 雲師以墨抹貼紙. 然濬及開板, 未領教示, 妄加妄改. 又書上方曰: "此一行文, 有漏處歟?" 抑元本不可讀. 而濬妄改者, 非爲令易讀耶? 今雖改, 猶似有漏處, 而不可讀, 則妄改何所益? 但存元本不可讀而可也. 今如予之所點, 則義亦明白也. 或曰字作日月之日, 則對上天字, 此編貪對語故. 然言師道名日日隆盛也. 元年者天授元年也.[106]

Dōchū's report of the Song edition is verified by the copy that Miyoshi Shikao 三好鹿雄 made of the Song edition stored in the Kōzanji (exactly the same copy that Dōchū consulted) in 1934 (Shōwa 9).[107]

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[106] *Shinkan Genju hiden shōgo*, *PHC* 288a11-22.

[107] The copy Miyoshi made of the Kōzanji edition of *PHC* is currently preserved in the library of Tōyō bunka kenkyūsho 東洋文化研究所 at Tokyo University. I am grateful to Chi Limei 池麗梅 (Ven. Xiaoshun 孝順) for her kindness in securing a digitized version of this valuable document, especially because I have not been able to check the original stored in the library of Kōzanji (the library is, unfortunately, opened to the public only occasionally every year).

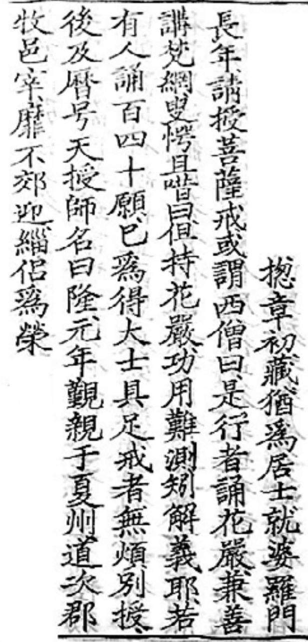

總章初藏猶爲居士就婆羅門
長年請授菩薩戒或謂西僧曰是行者誦花嚴兼善
講梵網叟愕且嘖曰但持花嚴功用難測矧解義耶若
有人誦百四十願已爲得大士具足戒者無煩別授
後及曆号天授師名曰隆元年覲親于夏州道次郡
牧邑宰靡不郊迎緇侶爲榮

Figure 1. Miyoshi Copy of *Pŏpjang Hwasang Chŏn* Detail 1 (see App. A); Miyoshi copy of the Kōzanji-Song edition of *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn*, *I*; reproduced courtesy Tōyō bunka kenkyūsho, Tokyo University.

Thus, according to Dōchū, "授號天授師及後曆曰永隆元年" in the Sōshun-*Taishō* edition should be emended to "授後及曆號天授師名曰隆元年"; furthermore, the character 曰 is an error for 日. With these two changes, the set of sentences (in two phrases) would run like this:

> 總章初, 藏猶爲居士. 就婆羅門長年, 請授菩薩戒. 或謂西僧曰: "是行者誦華嚴, 兼善講梵網." 叟愕且嘖曰: "但持華嚴, 功用難測, 矧解義耶?若有人誦百四十願已, 爲得大士具足戒者, 無煩別授."
>
> 後及曆, 號天授, 師名曰隆. 元年, 覲親于夏州, 道次, 郡牧邑宰, 靡不郊迎, 緇侶爲榮 (emended part underlined).

According to this new reading, the lines still break into two passages, about the same two themes, although Fazang's visit is dated to Tianshou 1 (October 16-December 5, 690), rather than Yonglong (August 30-September 27, 680), resulting in a ten-year gap. As I will show below, this emendation is supported by a statement in *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying zhuan*. Dōchū thus helps us to clarify a couple of events that are significant in Fazang's career. This is seen more clearly

when we turn to a reconstruction of several aspects of Fazang's life, in the following chapter.[108]

4. Concluding remarks

Fazang's Korean biography provides an excellent example of Buddhism's international and cross-cultural nature. We cannot imagine what would have become of Fazang, a third generation Sogdian immigrant in China, had Buddhism not been evolving as a pan-Asian religion. Although it was in Tang China that Fazang enjoyed his brilliant career as a Buddhist philosopher (and much more), he and his school became so obscure in that country that only in a Korean biography did his complex life receive the most detailed and sophisticated account. This is parallel evidence for the observation that many Indian Buddhist masters, despite their importance in their own time, left so few traces in their homeland that the scant information about their lives comes mainly from biographical and hagiographical accounts written in China. The difference is, however, that while the biographies of Indian masters were composed in Chinese, a language that their Indian subjects could not read, Fazang's Korean biography was written in Chinese. As remarkable as the Korean provenance of Fazang's best biography is, even more is the fact that the only commentary on it was of Japanese origin. The case of Fazang's biography reminds us of how necessary and rewarding it is to transcend borders in studying the religious figures of medieval East Asia, and to view East Asian Buddhism as a whole, rather then breaking it down into individual countries.

[108] Chapter 3.2, where I also translate the second passage quoted here and its corresponding part in *GYZ*. The first passage is translated and discussed in Chapter 4.3.1, in connection with the matter of Fazang's full ordination.

CHAPTER THREE

FAZANG'S BASIC BIOGRAPHICAL DATA: NAMES, NATIVE LAND, FAMILIAL AND DHARMA BACKGROUNDS

After reviewing biographical sources, we are in a position to attempt the fullest possible reconstruction of Fazang's life. Right away we are faced with uncertainty. For example, recent research has failed to establish with any certainty where he was born and raised (although the consensus is that his family was originally from Samarqand in Central Asia); we do not even know Fazang's lay name (let alone the relationship between his different names, including Fazang, Kangzang 康藏, and Xianshou 賢首). Although we have at our disposal some historical sources about Fazang's family background, some touching on his father and brother, they are nonetheless scarce and inadequate. It is understandable that scholars were excited about the discovery of a funeral epitaph that seemed to contain a substantial amount of information about Fazang's family background, including the names of his grandparents, parents and his five brothers, and also the dates when his parents and grandparents died. However, as we shall see, they may have expended energy in vain on this inscription. This chapter will try to clarify major ambiguities, or misunderstandings, centering on some of Fazang's fundamental biographical data.

1. NAMES

In the first part of his biography of Fazang, subtitled "Zuxing yinyuan" 族姓因緣 ("Causes and conditions of his clan and family"), Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn supplies valuable information on Fazang's names, native land, and family (e.g., its provenance and chief members, including his ancestors, his grandfather, his parents, and younger brother). Some parts of this account are vague and inaccurate, and are in need of clarification. Let us first treat Fazang's names:

> Shi Fazang's name is Dharmatrāta in Sanskrit. His style-name is Xianshou, Bhadraśrī in Sanskrit. The emperor bestowed [on him] a special title, Dharma Master Guoyi 國一 ("Number One in the Kingdom").[1] His secular name is Kang and he was originally a native of Kangju.

[1] *Fozu tongji* (*T* 51: 49.451a25-26) states that Jingshan Qin 徑山欽, that is, the Niutou 牛頭 Chan master Jingshan Faqin 徑山法欽 (714-92), was also conferred with the same title by Tang Daizong (r. 762-779).

> 釋法藏者, 梵言達摩多羅, 字賢首, 梵言跋陀羅室利. 帝賜別號國一法師. 俗姓康氏, 本康居國人.[2]

Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn makes four points. First, Fazang's surname was Kang, which was derived from the name of his place of origin—Kangjuguo 康居國 (or, Kangguo 康國, Samarqand). Second, his dharma-name was Fazang. We know that Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn has understood "Fazang" as Fazang's dharma-name since he precedes it with "Shi" 釋, which stands for Śākya, the clan name of the Buddha, which all Buddhist monks and nuns in East Asia have taken as their surname since Daoan 道安 (b. 312/314, d. 385/389). Thus, it is almost always the case that the name after the character *shi* is a dharma-name. Third, his style-name (*zi* 字) was Xianshou, which might have been given by his parents or adopted by himself. Finally, he had a "special title" (*biehao* 別號), which was given to him by an unnamed emperor, who was either Zhongzong or Ruizong, but could not have been Empress Wu, considering the way in which Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn refers to her throughout the biography.[3] In addition to these four explicit points, we can make one inference: given that his younger brother was named Baozang 寶藏,[4] Fazang was probably also his secular name, which he continued to use as his dharma-name.

Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn identifies the Sanskrit origins of Fazang's name (Fazang 法藏) and style name (Xianshou 賢首) as Damoduoluo 達摩多羅 and Batuoluoshili 跋陀羅室利. Since Damoduoluo and Batuoluoshili can be, respectively, reconstructed as Dharmatrāta (translated as Fajiu 法救 or Faji 法濟), and Bhadraśrī, I suspect that they are mistakes for Dharmākara and Bhadramukha, which were generally translated as *Fazang* and *xianshou* in Chinese. Regarding Fazang's style-name Xianshou, it is noteworthy that the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* includes a major bodhisattva by that name, which also names a *parivarta* in the *sūtra*.[5] In explaining this name, Fazang gives a rather etymological lecture:

> First, explaining the name. According to its Sanskrit original, *xian* 賢 (wise) is called *bhadra*. *Srī* means *jixiang* 吉祥 (auspicious), *de* 德 (virtue), *shou* 首 (superior), or *sheng* 勝 (excellent). Therefore, *śrī* here does not mean *shou* as in the *chushou* 初首 ("beginning"), nor *shou* in the *shangshou* 上首 ("head")—for all of these terms (*chushou* and

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[2] *PHC* 281a13-14.

[3] According to Xufa, it was Zhongzong who bestowed this title on Fazang (*Fajiezong wuzu lüeji*, *XZJ* 134: 274a12). In his biography, Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn uses *di* 帝 for Gaozong, Zhongzong or Ruizong, but not for Empress Wu, for whom he reserves appellations like *tianhou* 天后 (Heavenly Empress), *Wahuang* 媧皇 or *nühuang* 女皇 (both "Female Emperor"), Zetian huanghou 則天皇后 (Empress Zetian) or simply Zetian 則天 (one of Empress Wu's self-chosen names); see *PHC* 281b17, 281b23, 281c6, 282a14-15, 283a17, 283c22, 283c27, 284a11.

[4] See below (3.1) for the information on Fazang's only known brother.

[5] *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing*, *T* 9: 6.432c-441b (Buddhabhadra's version); *Da Fangguanfo huayan jing*, *T* 9: 14.72a-80c (Śikṣānanda's version).

> *shangshou*) there are different corresponding words in Sanskrit. Here, [the name of Xianshou] just shows that his superior, auspicious virtues are excellent, absolute and paramount. Because his substance itself is extremely deferential, harmonious and tender, it is called *xian*. *Xian* refers to [his] substance and nature, while *shou* refers to [his] virtue and function. 一釋名者, 依梵本, 名跋陀羅, 此云賢. 室利, 此云吉祥. 或云德, 或云首, 或云勝. 是故, 非是初首之首, 亦非上首之首. 此等梵語, 皆有別名故. 此但爲顯吉祥勝德, 超越爲首. 當體至順調柔曰賢. 賢約體性, 首約德用.[6]

For Fazang, it is important to understand the character *shou* in Xianshou not as "beginning" or "head" ("leader"); rather, he emphasizes that *shou* here just means superiority (in virtue). In addition, it is also interesting to note that here he attempts to interpret the two components of Xianshou (*xian* and *shou*) in terms of a pair of categories of the utmost importance in both Chinese philosophy and Buddhism, *ti* 體 (or *xingti* 性體, substance or essence) and *yong* 用 (or *deyong* 德用, function).

That Ch'oe presents Xianshou as Fazang's style-name suggests that he did not know or believe that Xianshou was bestowed on him by any ruler, otherwise he would have reported this exceptional honor. In contrast, later Buddhist sources fostered the idea that Xianshou was a title that Empress Wu conferred on Fazang in recognition of his expertise in *Huayan jing* and of his supernatural power. As far as I know, *Longxing biannian tonglun* represents the earliest source for this idea about the provenance of Xianshou.[7]

In addition to the evidence provided by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn, Fazang's own use of the title Xianshou also strongly suggests that it was his courtesy-name, rather than an imperially-given honorific. In his *Huayan jing zhuanji* Fazang refers to himself as Xianshou, or even Śramaṇa Xianshou.[8] It is highly unlikely that a Buddhist monk would address himself with an honorific title conferred by the emperor. For example, one could not imagine that the Tiantai master Zhiyi 智顗 (538-597) would refer to himself as Zhizhe 智者 (Wise One), the honorific presented to him on December 14, 591 by the Prince of Jin 晉王 (Yang Guang 楊廣 [569-617]), the future Sui Yangdi (r. 604-617).[9]

Fazang's Qing-era biographer Xufa was particularly confusing about the name Xianshou. At the beginning of his biography, he tells us that Xianshou was Fazang's courtesy-name.[10] Then, in the middle of

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[6] *Tanxuan ji*, *T* 35: 4.186b21-26.

[7] Chapter 4.1.2.

[8] E.g., *HJZ*, *T* 51: 4.167a16, 5.171a19, 3.164a6. In the same text we also find such references as Dharma Master Xianshou 賢首法師 (1.154c19, 4.166b9), which could not have been left by Fazang himself but added by his disciples when they edited *HJZ*, which Fazang had left unfinished. See Kobayashi, "Hōzō no jiden," 42ff.

[9] On the title conferral, see *Sui Tiantai Zhizhe dashi biezhuan*, *T* 50: 194c28-195a20.

[10] *Fajiezong wuzu lüeji*, *XZJ* 134: 273a17.

the text, he gives Xianshou as a title bestowed by Empress Wu.[11] Close to the end, Xufa identifies the name as Fazang's posthumous title bestowed by an unnamed emperor, probably meaning Ruizong.[12] While it seems clear that Xufa bases himself on Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn and Zuxiu, respectively, when he says that Xianshou was Fazang's courtesy-title and that it was bestowed by Empress Wu as an honorific, we do not know the source for his identification of the name as a posthumous title. At the end of his writing, Xufa refers the reader to Yan Chaoyin's epitaph and three biographical sources about Fazang, those written by the monk Qianli of the Huayansi in Chang'an, the Korean monk Kwangŏm 光嚴 (dates unknown) and finally Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn.[13] These might have been the main sources that Xufa used to compile his biography for Fazang. As the biographies by Qianli and Kwangŏm are not extant, we have no idea how much (if at all) Xufa availed himself of them, although a comparison of his biography and that by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn proves beyond any reasonable doubt that his work was primarily based on the latter.[14] However, Xufa was obviously based on neither Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn nor Yan Chaoyin when he says that Xianshou was an imperially bestowed posthumous title, a statement that we find neither in Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's biography nor in the epitaph by Yan Chaoyin.

2. Places of origin and birth

Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn states that Fazang's family was from the Central Asian city-state Samarqand, which was close to India and Gandhāra.[15] In

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[11] *Fajiezong wuzu lüeji*, *XZJ* 134: 273b14-15.

[12] *Fajiezong wuzu lüeji*, *XZJ* 134: 275b1-1: 敕謚賢首 ("[Fazang] was bestowed the posthumous title 'Xianshou' in accordance with an imperial edict") either by Xuanzong or, more likely, Ruizong. Although by the time Fazang died on December 16, 712, Xuanzong, who was enthroned on September 8, 712, had been emperor for over three months, his father Ruizong still wielded power as Taishanghuang 太上皇 (Emperor Emeritus). Given this fact and that Ruizong was much closer to Fazang than was Xuanzong, I assume that if Fazang was indeed honored by such a posthumous title, it would have been from Ruizong. That Xianshou dashi 賢首大師 was a posthumous title of Fazang was also the opinion held by the Song-dynasty monk Zixuan 子璿 (965-1038), who, like Xufa, did not tell us which emperor made the conferral; see *Qixin lun shu bixue ji*, *T* 44: 1.298a18-19. Zongmi, however, explicitly points to Empress Wu; see *Yuanjue jing lüeshu chao*, *XZJ* 15: 1.5a. This is an obvious anachronism given that Fazang outlived the empress by seven years.

[13] *Fajiezong wuzu lüeji*, *XZJ* 134: 275b3-5. Both Qianli and Kwangŏm's works are mentioned by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn in his biography; see *PHC* 280c25-26, 285c16-17. Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn, quoting from *Zuanling ji*, refers to Qianli's biography as "Zanggong bielu."

[14] I have serious doubt as to whether Xufa had ever seen Fazang's biographies by Qianli and Kwangŏm, which had probably been out of circulation for a long time.

[15] See the passage quoted and discussed at the beginning of Chapter 9.

contrast to such explicitness, Ch'oe appears rather ambiguous on Fazang's own birthplace, saying only that when his grandfather immigrated to China, he resided in Chang'an. This might mean that Fazang was born and raised there. This impression is enhanced when we read Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's narrative of the semi-mythical circumstances under which Fazang was led to Zhiyan and became his disciple. According to this episode, it was in the course of serving his ailing parent(s) that Fazang was led by a miraculous radiance to Yunhuasi, which was located close to his home and where Zhiyan was then living.[16] Given that Yunhuasi was in Chang'an, this episode implies that Fazang's family was also based there at that time. This assumption is endorsed by Duan Chengshi 段成式 (803?-863), who notes that Fazang was a resident of a certain quarter of Chang'an:

> Linghuasi in Datong Ward owed its name, "Supernatural Blossoms," to an imperial order [commemorating a miracle that took place in 766]. The priest [Zhi]yan was lecturing on a *sūtra* when the sky began to rain blossoms, which fell within a square foot of ground and disappeared. At night, also, a radiance illuminated his chamber. [Zhi]yan was the master of Kang [Fa]zang, who used to live at the Felt [Market?] corner of Jinggong[17] Community.[18] All of a sudden he saw a light in the shape of a wheel, which was visible also to those with him. It led him to the place where [Zhi]yan was lecturing, and then disappeared.[19] 大同坊靈華寺: 大歷初, 僧儼講經, 天雨華, 至地咫尺而滅, 夜有光燭室. 勅改爲靈華. 儼即康藏之師也. 康本住靖恭里氈曲, 忽覩光如輪, 衆人皆見. 遂尋光, 至儼講經所滅.

The above contains leads to other matters: first, the provenance of the name Yunhuasi 雲華寺 (miswritten as Linghuasi 靈華寺 here), which is traced to a legend about Zhiyan; and second, how Fazang became Zhiyan's disciple. However, there are also errors and points of confusion. First of all, it is obviously anachronistic to locate Zhiyan's activities in the beginning of the Dali era (December 7, 766-February 10, 779), by which time Zhiyan had been dead for a century. It is also implausible to explain the provenance of the name of Yunhuasi with reference to a legend related to Zhiyan, since the monastery had already acquired its name at the time of Sui Wendi (r. 681-604).[20] No other source attests the legend of Zhiyan's lecture bringing down heavenly flowers. Fazang is indeed, however, presented as the subject of just

[16] See Chapter 5.1.2.

[17] Soper ("A Vacation Glimpse," 25) has this as Tuan-kung (Duangong 端恭?).

[18] Duan Chengshi here presents Jinggong as a community (*li* 里), which was sometime interchangeable with "ward" (*fang* 坊).

[19] *Youyang zazu* II.6.250. Translations by Soper, "A Vacation Glimpse," 25, with several slight modifications.

[20] See Sengmeng's 僧猛 (507-588) biography at *XGSZ*, *T* 50: 23.631a25-29.

such a legend, according to which a lecture at Yunhuasi was accompanied by falling flowers.[21] Thus, I suspect that Duan Chengshi, or the source he quoted, associated Zhiyan with a legend originally belonging to Fazang and extended it to explain the origin of the name Yunhuasi.

Although it seems that Duan Chengshi drew on *Zuanling ji*, or another Huayan source (e.g., *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao*),[22] his account is noteworthy for a piece of information that is seen in none of the Huayan sources known to me—that is, just before encountering Zhiyan, Fazang was living at Zhanqu of Jinggong Ward, in Chang'an. Since Fazang was then still a layman, this information, if true, shows that he and his parents were at the time residents of this part of Chang'an. In other words, Zhanqu was very likely the place where Fazang's grandfather found a permanent residence for himself and his family when he immigrated to China from Central Asia. The fact that Zhanqu was indeed a major enclave for Sogdian immigrants in China lends support to the reliability of Duan's information. Zhanqu also contained a renowned center for flute luthiers, a certain style of flute being closely related to the Sogdian people. It is also noteworthy that at the southwestern corner of the Jinggong Ward was a shrine associated with Zoroastrianism, a religion from the "Western Regions."[23] In addition, Changle 常樂 Ward, where Yunhuasi was located, was directly adjacent to Jinggong Ward, where Fazang was then living according to Duan Chengshi.[24]

However, Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's biography points to the possibility that Fazang's native place was actually somewhere other than Chang'an:

> In Tianshou 1 (October 16-December 5, 690), [Fazang] went to Xiazhou to visit his parents.[25] All of the governors of the prefectures and the magistrates of the sub-prefectures that he passed on his way came out to greet him in the countryside—Buddhist monks [at the time] took this as an honor [for the Buddhist community as a whole]. 天授元年, 覲親于夏州. 道次, 郡牧邑宰, 靡不郊迎, 緇侶爲榮.[26]

[21] See *PHC* 281b28-c2; cf. *Zuanling ji*, 53. Cf. *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao*, *T* 36: 15.116b6-7; Chapter 5.3.1.

[22] See Chapter 4.2.1.

[23] See Ono, *Chōan jiin*, 2: 99; Xiong, *Sui-Tang Chang'an*, 237.

[24] See Xiong, *Sui-Tang Chang'an*, Map 2.1, in which Jinggong and Changle Wards are marked as 7J and 6J respectively.

[25] Although generally indicating one's relatives, the character *qin* 親 usually more specifically denoted one's parents in literary Chinese.

[26] *PHC* 283b17-18. The quotation here contained emendation on the basis of Dōchū (see Chapter 2.3).

Da Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying zhuan has a similar account:

> In Tianshou 1 (October 16-December 5, 690), Master [Fa]zang of Huayan went to Cengzhou 曾州[27] to visit his grandmother. Greeting him with incense and flowers, the governor [and his subordinates] awaited him at the edges of the city precincts. 天授元年, 華嚴藏公歸覲祖母. 到曾洲, 牧宰香花郊迎.[28]

Similarities in plot (the official esteem) and wording[29] suggest that they are two versions of the same story—Fazang's going to visit his family in 690. These accounts differ on two points: whereas Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn tells us that Fazang went to visit his parent(s) in Xiazhou, the other says it was his grandmother (*zumu* 祖母), then staying in Cengzhou.

We must answer the question—where was Fazang's family staying at the time, in Cengzhou or Xiazhou? Xiazhou had its district seat in the citadel of Tongwan 統萬,[30] while Cengzhou was in the Jiannan 劍南 area (in present-day Sichuan). On this point, an edict that Zhongzong issued in 706 provides a clue. According to it, Fazang's younger brother Baozang was then serving as the vice-director of an unspecified government office (*jian* 監) in Tongwan.[31] The edict orders Baozang to serve his mother at home, for which he will receive an official salary. This strongly suggests that Fazang's mother was then staying in Xiazhou (to be specific, in Tongwan). We can then further assume that Xiazhou, rather than Cengzhou, was the place where Fazang's relatives were living in 690. Thus, it seems that although Fazang's family was originally based in Chang'an, it was relocated to Xiazhou before 690, as a result of an appointment that Fazang's brother took up in the area.

Whom, then, was Fazang visiting? We must note that by this time (690), Fazang was already fifty-seven years old. This implies that his grandmother would have been close to (if not over) one hundred. Thus, the chances appear somewhat slim that she was still alive in 690. This means that he was more likely visiting his parent(s). This assump-

[27] The original has 曾州 as 曾洲.

[28] *GYZ*, *T* 51: 176a15-16.

[29] Note, especially, 牧宰香花郊迎 in *GYZ* in contrast to 郡牧邑宰, 靡不郊迎 in *PHC*.

[30] Tongwan probably referred to the Tongwan Citadel, the capital of the non-Chinese regime, Great Xia (407-432) founded by Helian Bobo 赫連勃勃 (a.k.a. Helian Qugai 赫連屈丐, r. 407-425), who ordered it to be built in 413 and had it completed five years later. The Citadel was named as such allegedly because Helian claimed that it should embody his ambition of "unifying [the land] under heavens and looking down upon the ten thousand states like a sovereign" (*Jin shu* 130.3205 [*ZZTJ* 116.3658]: 統一天下, 君臨萬邦). It was about three kilometers away from Jingbian 靖邊 county in the north of Shaanxi. Remnants of the citadel are still extant, and the old site is called "Baichengzi" 白城子 among the locals because of its white color. See Shaanxi shifan daxue Xibei Huanfa Zhongxin (ed.), *Tongwan cheng yizhi zonghe yanjiu*.

[31] Chapter 6.2.1.

tion is strengthened when we consider how odd it would be to state that one is going to visit one's grandmother without mentioning one's parents as well, when the latter are still alive (we know that at least Fazang's mother was still alive until 706).[32] The word *zumu* 祖母 (grandmother) in *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying zhuan* must have been an error for *fumu* 父母 (father and mother). This further clarifies one important detail for us—that is, that the character *qin* 親 in Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's account (覲親) actually refers to parents, rather than a parent. In other words, Fazang's father and mother were both still alive at the time, a fact that becomes crucial in the following section, where we decide the identity of a Sogdian also called Fazang, who is mentioned in an epitaph.

3. Family background

Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's biography was the main source for Fazang's names and places of origin. As we turn to family background, we have more material. In addition to Ch'oe's biography, there are epigraphic sources.

3.1. *Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's Record*

Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn says the following about Fazang's family:

> His great-great-grandfather and great-grandfather successively served as prime ministers in that country (i.e., Samarqand). His grandfather came from Kangju to pay tribute to the [Tang] court and found a shelter in the capital (lit. "under the royal carriage"). His father, named Mi, was [posthumously] bestowed by the August Dynasty (i.e., Tang) [the title of] commandant of the Left Guard (*zuowei zhonglang jiang* 左衛中郎將).[33] His mother became pregnant after dreaming of swallowing rays of sunshine. … Kangju was geographically adjacent to [Tian]zhu [天]竺 (i.e., India) and Qian[tuoluo] 乾[陀羅] (i.e., Gandhāra). Natives there are [ethnically] identical with the Indian people. As the place has been rich in dharma masters (lit. "lions"), they are capable of becoming the Dharma-kings successively. Truly great it is! His younger brother Baozang was renowned for his loyalty and filial piety. 高曾蟬聯, 爲彼國相. 祖父自康居來朝, 庇身輦下. 考諱謐, 皇

[32] Ibid.

[33] Yan Chaoyin gives the posthumous title that Fazang's father received from the Tang government as *zuo shizhong* 左侍中 (*PHC* 280b9). During the Tang, two directors were appointed to direct the Chancellery (rank 2a). But I have found no evidence that they were distinguished by left (*zuo* 左) and right (*you* 右). Thus, the reading in Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's biography is to be preferred here. It seems that the *Taishō* edition of Yan Chaoyin's epitaph contains some corruption. Another proof is that the verse dedicated to Fazang at the end of the epitaph has only three lines (at least one line is missing).

> 朝贈左衛中郎將. 母氏夢吞日光而孕 … 康居地接竺乾, 人倖梵眾. 既饒師子, 能胤法王. 偉矣哉! 弟寶藏以忠孝聞.[34]

Although commandant of the Left Guard, "rank four, second class" (4b) in the bureaucratic hierarchy,[35] was not a very distinguished title, nonetheless it shows a relatively prestigious family from Samarqand who could gain court ties with Tang aristocratic circles upon emigrating to China.[36] Fazang's younger brother Kang Baozang leaves no trace whatsoever in the official histories. To the best of my knowledge, Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's biography is the only source in which the existence of this person is mentioned. On another occasion, Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn quotes an edict issued by Zhongzong that states that Baozang started to serve the state in his youth and that as of 706 he was a local official in Xiazhou (see above).

3.2. *Fazang's Parents*

Because of the blood-tie between Fazang and Baozang, we expect to find his name in a recently discovered stele inscription which records a Sogdian family in China, one of whose members was also named Fazang:

34 *PHC* 281a19-26.
35 Hucker, *Official Titles*, 191, 526.
36 *PHC* 281a19-21.



次西邊墳
祖婆康氏
右麟德二年八月
祖父俱子
右上元二年三月亡其年八月葬在
洛州河南縣龍門鄉孫村西一里父德
政合葬記孫男法藏 阿杍 無泰
惠琳孫男崇基 萬歲
父德政
右去垂拱三年七月七日亡
母尹氏
右去長安元年十一月二十九日亡

Figure 2. Longmen Epitaph with the Name Fazang
Rubbing of funeral epitaph dedicated by seven Sogdian brothers (one named Fazang) to their parents and grandparents; by permission of Zhang Naizhu.

> Next, the tombs on the western side: [Our] grandmother, *née* Kang, died in the eighth month of Linde 2 (September 15-October 14, 665); [Our] grandfather, [Kang?] Juzi, died in the third month of Shangyuan 2 (April 1-30, 675) and was buried in a place one mile west of Sun Village, Longmen Town, in the Sub-prefecture Henan of Prefecture Luo, in the eighth month of the same year (August 26-September 24, 675). 次西邊墳: 祖婆康氏, 右麟德二年八月亡. 祖父俱子, 右上元二年三月亡, 其年八月葬在洛州河南縣龍門鄉孫村西一里.
>
> An inscription for [Kang] Dezheng, [our] father, who was buried together [with our mother]. [Along with] their grandsons Fazang, Azhu, Wutai, Huilin, grandsons Chongji and Wansui [erected this epitaph]. Dezheng, our father, died on the seventh day of the seventh month of Chuigong 3 (August 20, 687). [Our] mother, *née* Yin, died on the twenty-ninth day of the eleventh month of Chang'an 1 (January 1, 702). 父德政合葬記. 孫男法藏, 阿杍, 無泰,[37] 惠琳, 孫男[38] 崇

[37] In the rubbing available to me, these two characters are too damaged to be recognized. Wen Yucheng, who had access to the original epitaph, has read them as Wutai 無泰. See Wen, "Fazang shenshi," 35; idem, *Shiku*, 313.

基, 萬歲. 父德政, 右去垂拱三年七月七日亡; 母尹氏, 右去長安元年十一月二十九日亡.[39]

Historians have identified the Fazang in this epitaph as our very same *Avataṃsaka* master. This epigraphic source is particularly valued by Buddhist scholars because it provides the evidence that Fazang's mother, judging from her family name (Yin 尹), might have been Chinese.[40]

However, Baozang's name is conspicuously absent from the list of Fazang's brothers in the inscription, a fact which discourages me from assuming that the inscription concerns the family of our *Avataṃsaka* master Fazang, but another, contemporaneous, "Longmen" Fazang.

This assumption becomes increasingly likely the more we examine the inscription. First, in the inscription the name Kang is applied only to Fazang's grandmother as a family-name. Kangshi 康氏 implies the sort of toponym that may have been merely perceived as her actual family/clan name; it was applied to countless Sogdians in China at the time. Her husband is called "Juzi," which is probably a given name, and thus no reference is made to his family name. We are therefore uncertain as to this father of Fazang (and Fazang himself) being surnamed Kang—he may or may not have been of Kangju origin. Second, as late as Shenlong 2 (January 19, 706-February 6, 707), the *Avataṃsaka* Fazang's mother was still alive (although she must have been rather aged and probably even in poor health at that time, which might have been the reason why Fazang requested the imperial favor of allowing his brother to stay at home as her caretaker).[41] On the other hand, the mother of the Longmen Fazang, the woman whose maiden name was

[38] In his book (Wen, *Shiku*, 313), Wen Yucheng miscopies 孫男 as 男, although he copies the two characters correctly in his article published nine years previously (Wen, "Fazang shenshi," 35).

[39] The rubbing of this inscription is in the personal possession of Zhang Naizhu 張乃翥 of the Research Institute of the Longmen Caves (Longmen shiku yanjiusuo 龍門石窟研究所). It was on exhibit between April 22 and May 22, 2004, at the National Library of China. I thank Li Jining 李際寧 of National Library of China for kindly making a digitized copy. I also thank Zhang Naizhu, whom I was able to contact through the courtesy of Erika Forte, for generously allowing me to reproduce the rubbing here. Part of this rubbing is reproduced in Rong and Zhang, *Cong Samaergan dao Chang'an*, 134.

[40] The inscription is quoted (fully or partly) or commented on in numerous articles and books by Chinese and Japanese scholars; see, for examples, Wen, "Fazang shenshi," 35; idem, *Shiku*, 312-13; Kaginushi and Kimura, *Hōzō*, 48; Ding Mingyi, *Xinchu beizhi*, 186-88; Li Yukun, "Longmen beike jiqi shiliao jiazhi," 42; and Chen Zuolong, "Guanyu jiaoyan Li Tang Shi Fazang shengping zhi xin ziliao." Wen gives Dezheng 德政 and Azhu 阿杼 as Deqi 德啓 and Ashu 阿抒 in his "Fazang shenshi" (35). Further, I do not know why Wen (*Shiku*, 313; "Fazang shenshi," 35) and Ding (*Xinchu beizhi*, 186) took Azhu, Wutai and Falin as Fazang's sisters. According to the inscription, they were all Dezheng's grandsons (so Fazang's brothers).

[41] Chapter 6.2.1.

Yin, died on January 1, 702. This discrepancy has already been noted by Wen Yucheng, who was the first to report and discuss the inscription. Believing that the Longmen Fazang is the *Avataṃsaka* Fazang, he tries to explain it away by means of two hypotheses. First, although the *Avataṃsaka* Fazang's biological mother died at the very beginning of 702, he had a stepmother who lived beyond 706. Second, an error occurred in Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's biography in such a way that the woman who was originally indicated as Fazang's wife was turned into his mother.

Let us first deal with the second hypothesis. In Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's biographical narrative, Fazang proposed to the court that the rewards originally granted to him be transferred to his younger brother (i.e., Baozang) (*qing hui yu di* 請回與弟).[42] Wen Yucheng, however, makes a very bold suggestion that in this phrase *di* 弟 is an error for *zi* 子; in other words, Fazang asked the government to shift the rewards to his son, who was to be allowed to take care of his mother (that is, Fazang's wife, who is named Shengman as is suggested by another Longmen inscription related to Fazang).[43] However, this emendation is too forced. Zhongzong's edict clearly notes not only that Baozang was Fazang's younger brother, but also that it is Fazang's younger brother (rather than his son) to whom the rewards were to be transferred. After narrating this, Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn praises Fazang for his "filial piety" (*xiao* 孝), which, of course, could have only been devoted to one's mother, and not his wife. Finally, at the very beginning of the biography, Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn also clearly identifies Baozang as Fazang's younger brother.[44]

While the second hypothesis is easily dismissed, the possibility of Wen Yucheng's first hypothesis cannot be completely rejected. However, Wen has not taken into consideration further discrepancies between the inscription and Fazang's biographical sources, which would have made it extremely difficult, if not completely impossible, to accept the two Fazangs as one and the same. In the inscription, Longmen Fazang's father had the personal name Dezheng, while our *Avataṃsaka* Fazang's biography and funeral epitaph both identify his father as Mi 謐.[45] Although Wen has also noted this difference, he attempted to explain it away by a weak phonetic argument that was based in any event on a misreading of "Dezheng" 德政 as "Deqi" 德啓.[46]

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[42] Wen Yucheng has miscopied the character 與 as 於; see Wen, "Fazang shenshi," 36.

[43] Wen, "Fazang shenshi," 36.

[44] *PHC* 281a25-26.

[45] *PHC* 280b9.

[46] Wen reads the name of the Longmen Fazang's father as Deqi, which is unacceptable since the name should be read as Dezheng. The name appears twice in the inscription. As it is presented in the current rubbing, in the first occurrence, the first character of the name is damaged while the second character can be relatively clearly

Furthermore, this inscription is found in Longmen and the Longmen Fazang's grandparents were buried at a place one *li* to the west of a village called Suncun, belonging to the District of Longmen, the subprefecture of Henan of Luozhou. This suggests that this Fazang's family was based near Longmen. On the other hand, the *Avataṃsaka* Fazang's native place was, as we already noted, in Chang'an, where his grandfather had remained since he arrived in China from Central Asia, until sometime before 690, when Fazang's family moved to Tongwan in Xiazhou, in a northwestern part of China that was close to Chang'an but far from Luoyang.

More importantly, from the above discussion, we know that the *Avataṃsaka* Fazang's father, like his mother, was still alive in 690, while, on the other hand, the Longmen Fazang's father died in 687. Even if we are willing to go as far as Wen Yucheng in assuming that Fazang's mother who was still alive in 706 was actually his stepmother, it would be hard to commit ourselves to a similar assumption about his father—that the father of Fazang who was alive in 690 was in fact his stepfather and that his biological father had died three years earlier!

Finally, another matter keeps us from identifying the Longmen Fazang as the *Avataṃsaka* Fazang. We know that the latter's father was not a commoner, but someone who had earned an official title of fourth rank. A person of his social status must have been honored with a far more formal and elegant epitaph than that dedicated to the Longmen Fazang's father, which makes no mention whatsoever of his life and career.

All these discrepancies considered, I have to concede that we have here two Fazangs. It is not clear if the Longmen Fazang was a monk. Fazang might have been his secular name and he might have never become a monk. As a matter of fact, as was argued above, in the case of the *Avataṃsaka* Fazang, Fazang was both his personal name and dharma-name. All these things considered, from the inscription and the *Avataṃsaka* Fazang's biographical sources, we do know for certain that the two Fazangs were Sogdian and both of their grandfathers led their families to China, one settling in Chang'an and the other near Longmen.

3.3. *Fazang's Wife?*

Although we must lose this Longmen inscription as a source of the *Avataṃsaka* Fazang's life, we are fortunate, however, to find another

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read as *zheng* 政. In the second occurrence, the opposite happens: the first character is clearly shown as *de* 德, while the second character is rather obscure, looking like both *zheng* 政 and *qi* 启. The name should be therefore constructed as Dezheng 德政, rather than Deqi 德启.

Longmen inscription that mentions Fazang as the patron of a pious act. This individual possibly is to be identified as our Fazang:

> For the sake of his father, mother, older and younger brothers, older and younger sisters, and also for Shengman, Fazang has reverently made a statue of Amitābha [Buddha]. (Dated) the fifteenth day of the fourth month of the second year of the Qianfeng era (May 3, 667). 法藏爲父母, 兄弟姊妹, 又爲勝鬘, 敬造彌陀像一龕. 乾封二年四月十五日.[47]

The inscription does not clarify the identity of the person called Shengman. However, we know for certain that this Shengman was very close to the sponsor of the inscription for the simple fact that Shengman appears here along with the sponsor's parents and siblings. It is therefore likely that Shengman was his wife. Then, the question is, can the Fazang of this inscription (referred to as "the third Fazang" hereafter) be identified with the *Avataṃsaka* Fazang?

Other than the fact that he was active in the year 667, we know virtually nothing about the third Fazang. We do not even know whether he was a Buddhist monk or a lay believer, although we are certain of his religion by his devotion to Amitābha Buddha. The fact that on such a formal occasion he did not indicate his family name may suggest that he was actually a member of the saṃgha (although not necessarily a fully ordained *bhikṣu*). But we should also be aware that he could have been a non-Chinese temporary resident (or long-established immigrant) in Tang China, who, as a foreigner, might have possessed a wholly different kind of attitude toward his family name. As a matter of fact, when foreigners had to indicate their family names in China, they commonly used toponyms of their home-countries, the early translator An Shigao 安世高 (active 148) being the best known example.[48] Thus, the fact that this Fazang here only identified himself by his personal name (whether it was a secular or a dharma name), and omitted his family name, strongly suggests that he was either a Buddhist monk or a foreigner in China (or perhaps both).

Let us consider the first possibility; that is, that the third Fazang was a monastic, either an ordained monk or a novice. Contemporaneous with the *Avataṃsaka* Fazang, there was another monk by the same name who lived between 638 and 715; he distinguished himself as a leader of the Sanjiejiao 三階教 (Teachings of the Three Levels) and was born five years earlier than the *Avataṃsaka* Fazang but outlived

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[47] Quoted from Wen, *Shiku*, 313.

[48] Forte (*An Shigao*) raises the possibility that in addition to a dharma tradition, the "Buddhist monk" An Shigao might have left a continuous blood lineage in China.

him by three.[49] Is it possible that the Sanjiejiao Fazang was the sponsor of the Amitābha statue in 667? This is unlikely given that he entered the saṃgha when he was only twelve (*erliu* 二六) *sui*, which would have made it virtually impossible for him to have been married beforehand.[50] Consequently, if we suppose that this sponsor of the Amitābha statue was a monk, we would have to identify him with the *Avataṃsaka* Fazang insofar as we know of only two Buddhist monastics named Fazang at the time.[51]

We then turn to the other possibility; that is, that the third Fazang was an immigrant or a temporary resident in China. In addition to the *Avataṃsaka* Fazang, do we know of such a person? We just noted the existence of a second Sogdian also named Fazang (i.e., the Longmen Fazang). Then, could the third Fazang be identified with the Longmen Fazang, rather than the *Avataṃsaka* Fazang? One factor has made it difficult to do so. The 667 inscription does not tell us whether all of Fazang's family members were then alive, or whether some were dead. The fact that it does not include any terms indicating "posthumous well-being" (*qifu* 祈福, *zhuifu* 追福 and so on) or "the late…" (*xian* 先, *wang* 亡, and so on) suggests that all of the family members mentioned therein were probably still alive. In that case, this third Fazang cannot be identified as the Longmen Fazang because the inscription does not mention the third Fazang's grandfather, which means that he was dead by that time (otherwise it is hard to imagine why he is not included for this spiritual benefit while other junior family members are). On the other hand, the Longmen Fazang's grandfather did not die until eight years later (i.e., in 675). Let us then consider the other two possibilities (although they appear far less likely than the first): all or some of these family members of the third Fazang were dead by 667. In neither of these two cases can we identify the third Fazang with the Longmen Fazang. If we assume that all the family members listed in the 667 inscription were dead at the time, the third Fazang could not have been the Longmen Fazang for the simple reason that the 703 inscription makes it clear that the Longmen Fazang's parents and as many as five of his brothers were still alive in 687. Had the 667 inscription included both dead and living family members, the sponsor of this inscription could not have been the Longmen Fazang either, for the same reason

[49] The Tang literatus Tian Xiuguang 田休光 (?-715+) wrote the funeral epitaph for this Fazang. The epitaph, entitled "Da Tang Jingyusi gu dade Fazang chanshi taming bing xu" 大唐淨域寺故大德法藏禪師塔銘並序, is preserved in *QTW* 328.13a-16a and is quoted in full in Yabuki, *Sangaikyō no kenkyū*, 69-71.

[50] "Da Tang Jingyusi gu dade Fazang chanshi taming bing xu," *QTW* 328.14a1-2; Yabuki, *Sangaikyō no kenkyū*, 70.

[51] Fazang was not yet a Buddhist monk at the time, but merely a novice accepted by Zhiyan as a disciple (see Chapter 5.1.2).

that we considered in dealing with the first possibility—that is, that the Longmen Fazang's grandfather, who was then still alive, would have also been included.

Thus, it seems that to the best of our current knowledge concerning any persons named Fazang at the time, monk or not, the *Avataṃsaka* Fazang remains the only possible candidate to be identified with the Fazang who sponsored a statue of Amitābha Buddha in Luoyang in 667. In other words, insofar as the person Shengman can be taken as the wife of the sponsor of the 667 inscription, which seems very likely judging by its context, the *Avataṃsaka* Fazang once was married to this woman.

3.4. *Three More Epitaphs Containing the Name of Fazang*

In connection with this 667 inscription, we should look at three more inscriptions found at Longmen that also bear the name Fazang:

1. A small cave (numbered 676) above Laolong 老龍 Cave has an inscription which states Kang Fazang 康法藏 as one of the thirty-eight cave sponsors. According to Wen Yucheng, the cave seems to have been made early in the reign of Gaozong (r. 649-683).

2 and 3: On the cliff above the epitaph dedicated to the Buddha-niche in Yique 伊闕, known as "Yique fokan zhi bei" 伊闕佛龕之碑, which was erected outside the southern cave of Binyang 賓陽, were carved two rows of small caves (totaling twelve) that enshrined Buddha-statues modeled on that reputedly made by King Udayana 優塡王. Both were sponsored by Fazang.[52]

Although scholars are of the opinion that the person mentioned in these inscriptions was none other than the *Avataṃsaka* Fazang, I remain cautious until we can clarify several points. First, we need to know whether the Kang Fazang mentioned in the Laolong cave inscription was the Fazang mentioned in the Yique inscription, and second, whether one or both of them is/are identical with the Fazang mentioned in the 667 inscription. Also, we need to know with more certainty when these caves were constructed.

4. "Dharma family"

Let us turn to Fazang's "dharma family"—including his teachers and mentors, fellow-disciples, and disciples.

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[52] Wen, "Fazang shenshi," 35 (Wen's articles contains several misprints); Li Yukun, "Longmen beike jiqi shiliao jiazhi," 42. While Wen believes that the twelve caves above the Yique epitaph were made in the early reign of Gaozong, Li suggests that they were built from the reigns of Gaozong to that of Empress Wu.

4.1 *Teacher and Mentors*

Fazang's primary master, Zhiyan, was a member of the Zhao clan of Tianshui 天水趙.[53] His father was a low-ranking local official (administrative supervisor [*lushi canjun* 錄事參軍, ranked from 5b to 8a] in Shenzhou 申州). It is noteworthy that Zhiyan was trained by Buddhist monks of various backgrounds and expertise. At the age of twelve *sui* he became a disciple of Fashun 法順 (a.k.a. Dushun 杜順, 557-640), who entrusted Dharma Master Da 達法師, an advanced disciple, to train Zhiyan. In addition to Fashun and Dharma Master Da, who was probably Tongda 通達 (dates unknown) of Lüzangsi 律藏寺,[54] Zhiyan's teachers also include Fachang 法常 (567-645), who taught him *She dasheng lun* 攝大乘論;[55] Dharma Master Bian 辯, probably Sengbian 僧辯 (568-643)[56]; Dharma Master Lin 琳, probably Jinglin 靜琳 (565-640), who was famous for his accomplishments in meditation and vinaya;[57] and Zhizheng 智正 (559-639), a learned scholar.[58] It is noteworthy that two of them (Jinglin and Zhizheng) were disciples of Tanqian 曇遷 (542-607), a Buddhist leader under the Sui dynasty.[59] Tanqian, in turn, was a disciple of Tanzun 曇遵 (476+-560+). This brings Fazang's dharma lineage back to Huiguang 慧光 (491+-560+), Tanzun's teacher, who was a great vinaya master and an accomplished exponent of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*.[60]

Some scholars consider both Daocheng 道成 (?-687+) and Baochen 薄塵 (?- 687+), the two monks who played a decisive role in leading Fazang to enter the saṃgha, as Zhiyan's disciples.[61] This is not sup-

[53] Two major studies of Zhiyan are Kimura, *Kegon shisō*, and Gimello, *Chih-yen*.

[54] Tongda's biography (*XGSZ* 25.655b7-c21) shows that after becoming a monk at the age of thirty *sui*, he spent some years at Mount Taibai. The biography does not tell us, however, that he ever studied with Fashun; cf. Kimura, *Kegon shisō*, 376-77.

[55] Fachang's biography is located at *XGSZ*, *T* 50: 15.540c14-541b23, which records that his teacher was Tanyan 曇延 (516-88), from whom he probably learnt *She dasheng lun*; cf. Kimura, *Kegon shisō*, 377-78.

[56] Sengbian (biography at *XGSZ*, *T* 50: 15.540a24-c13) studied with Zhining 智凝 (ca. 563-ca. 610, biography at *XGSZ*, *T* 50: 10.504c26-505a29), who, as a disciple of Jingsong 靖嵩 (537-614), was also an expert of *She dasheng lun*; cf. Kimura, *Kegon shisō*, 378-80.

[57] Jinglin's extensive biography (*XGSZ*, *T* 50: 20.590a3-591b14; summarized in Chen Jinhua, *Monks and Monarchs*, 42-43) features his eventful life, including his experiences with his various teachers, the major one being Tanqian.

[58] Zhizheng's biography at *XGSZ*, *T* 50: 14.536b4-c4 attests his discipleship under Tanqian and his long-term association with Jingyuan 靚淵 (544-611) at Zhixiangsi; cf. Kimura, *Kegon shisō*, 381-82.

[59] The latest study of this important figure is Chen Jinhua, *Monks and Monarchs*.

[60] For this lineage relationship between Huiguang, Tanzun and Tanqian, see Chen Jinhua, *Monks and Monarchs*, 25-28.

[61] See, for examples, Lü Cheng, *Zhongguo foxue yuanliu lüejiang*, 357; Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, 46.

ported by historical sources. On the contrary, the tone in which Zhiyan was quoted to have talked to them gives one the impression that they were actually Zhiyan's peers.[62] Daocheng was among the ten *bhadanta*-monks who participated in Divākara's translation bureau.[63] He is renowned not only for his role as a mentor of Fazang, but also for training two other disciples, Wen'gang 文綱 (636-727) and Huaisu 懷素 (624-697), both of whom eventually emerged as the leaders of major vinaya traditions. It is interesting to note Fazang's cooperation with Wen'gang in a series of relic venerations from late 704 to the spring of 708.[64] Such a relationship might have had something to do with their common connections with Daocheng.[65] The same can be said about Fazang's possible relationship with a close disciple of Huaisu. The monk in question is called Xiuzhang 秀璋 (?-740+), who, along with Zhisheng, sent a huge number of Buddhist scriptures to Yunjusi 雲居寺 in Fangshan 房山 in 740. I have suggested elsewhere that this mission resulted from a concerted effort of Fazang's colleagues at Western Chongfusi to honor the memory of Yunjusi some years after he died.[66]

Like Daocheng, Baochen was also a vinaya master, although he was occasionally addressed as a dharma master in later sources.[67] He does not have a biography in *Song gaoseng zhuan*. Judging from the occasional remarks that Zanning makes about him, he was, like Daocheng, also one of the "Ten *bhadanta*-translators (*fanjing dade* 翻經大德)" participating in the translation projects supervised by Divākara.[68] His disciples include Siheng 思恆 (653-726) and the nun Huiyuan 惠源 (662-737). Siheng, who probably also befriended Fazang, later became a major monk in the court of Zhongzong.[69] Huiyuan,

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[62] See Chapter 5.1.2.

[63] See Chapter 9.1.1.

[64] Chapter 6.2.2. According to the Kegon master Gyōnen Daocheng himself was a disciple of the famous vinaya master Fali 法礪 (569-635). See *Bommō kaihon sho nichiju shō*, *T* 62: 3.21a6.

[65] Daocheng's *SGSZ* biography is located at *T* 50: 14.791b-c. Regarding his activities, Zanning only tells us that he started to show distinction as a vinaya master during the Xianqing era (March 27, 670-September 20, 674) and that he was a member of Divākara's translation office during the Chuigong era (February 9, 685-January 26, 689). Zanning did not know when and where Daocheng died. His last recorded activity occurred in 687 in connection with Fazang (see below).

[66] Chen Jinhua, "A Daoist Princess."

[67] See, for example, *GYZ*, *T* 51: 175c15, in which Baochen is referred to as Vinaya Master Chen (Chen Lüshi 塵律師). Another example is found in an epitaph for a nun, which refers to her teacher Baochen as Taiyuansi dade lüshi 太原寺大德律師 ("Da Tang Jidusi gu dade biqiuni Huiyuan heshang Shenkong zhiming bing xu," *TMH* 2: 1473).

[68] *SGSZ*, *T* 50: 2.719a; 4.727b, 728b. See also Chapter 9.1.1.

[69] See "Da Tang gu dade Siheng lüshi muzhiwen," *TMH* 2: 1322. Cf. Chen Jinhua, "Tang Buddhist Palace Chapels," 126-27.

on the other hand, was a descendant of the “Buddhist emperor” Liang Wudi (r. 502-549).[70] In addition to Baocheng, Huiyuan also studied with Yifu 義福 (658-736), a chief disciple of the Northern Chan master Shenxiu 神秀 (606?-706). Like three of her kinswomen, Huiyuan was affiliated with Jidusi 濟度寺, a nunnery with close ties with the Sui and Tang royal families.[71]

In conclusion, because of their important role in Fazang’s career, Daocheng and Baochen can be regarded as Fazang’s mentors. A fourteenth-century Japanese source claims that Fazang also studied vinaya with a fellow-disciple of Daocheng—Manyi 滿意 (fl. 630-640),[72] but I cannot verify this.

4.2. *Fellow-Disciples*

The best known of Fazang’s fellow disciples is, of course, Ŭisang, about whose relationship with Fazang one thing must be clarified here: when did they first meet and for how long? In a commemorating composition dedicated to Ŭisang, Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn notes that Ŭisang met with Fazang at Zhixiangsi in Longshuo 2 (January 25, 662-February 12, 663), when they both studied under Zhiyan.[73] This is affirmed by Zanning, who tells us that Ŭisang and Fazang became fellow-disciples under Zhiyan at Zhixiangsi.[74] This is, however, contradicted by what Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn tells us in his biography for Fazang, where he describes the circumstance under which Zhiyan secured Fazang as his disciple. According to this account, Fazang did not become a disciple of Zhiyan until sometime around 663, when the latter was already at Yunhuasi in Chang’an.[75] Be that as it may, it must have been at this capital monastery, rather than at the mountain temple Zhixiangsi, that Fazang first met with his Korean fellow-disciple. This said, we cannot exclude the possibility that the two men spent some time together at Zhixiangsi after Zhiyan moved back there, at least until Ŭisang returned to his homeland around 669 (or at the beginning of 670). We should note, however, that Zhiyan died at another cosmopolitan monastery in Chang-an—Qingchansi 清禪寺, and therefore that it is rather likely that he

[70] She was a granddaughter of Xiao Yu 蕭瑀 (574-647), a brother of Sui Yangdi’s Empress Xiao 蕭后 (?-630+) and a high-ranking official in the court of Tang Taizong who was scolded by the emperor because of his Buddhist piety. See Xiao Yu’s biographies at *JTS* 63.2402-2404, *XTS* 101.3951.

[71] “Da Tang Jidusi gu dade biqiuni Huiyuan heshang Shenkong zhiming bing xu,” *TMH* 2: 1473.

[72] *Bommō kaihon sho nichiju shō*, *T* 62: 3.21a7-8; cf. *Ritsuon sōbō den*, *BZ* 64: 5.178a.

[73] “Ko Sunamsan Ŏm hwasang poŭn sahoe wŏnmun,” *HPC* 4: 645c11-12.

[74] *SGSZ*, *T* 50: 4.729a22-24.

[75] Chapter 5.1.2.

moved from Yunhuasi to Qingchansi directly, without first going back to Zhixiangsi.[76] Thus, regarding Fazang's relationship with Ŭisang, we might conclude that they first met around 663 at Yunhuasi and their association in China lasted for about seven years, until 669 (or the beginning of 670), when Ŭisang left China for Korea.

In addition to himself, Fazang mentions in *Huayan jing zhuanji* two more disciples of Zhiyan. First, Huixiao 慧曉 (?-668+), who had a dream which turned out to presage Zhiyan's death;[77] second, Huaiji 懷濟 (dates unknown), who died a premature death.[78] In addition, Huiying also provides a short biographical note for another disciple of Zhiyan—Huizhao 惠招 (a.k.a. Huiyou 惠祐, dates unknown), a resident of Chongfusi in Chang'an. Huizhao began serving Zhiyan in his childhood. He was austere in learning and practice, concentrating on the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, and thoroughly recited the *pin* 品 (Skt. *parivarta*, chapter) of "Xingqi" 性起 (in three *juan*) (named "Rulai chuxian pin" 如來出現品 in the new version by Śikṣānanda). Although he eventually resided at Chongfusi, he spent most of his life in mountains. He caused miraculous signs because of chanting this *parivarta*.[79]

Huiying, the author of *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying zhuan*, takes the monk Fan Xuanzhi 樊玄智 as another fellow-disciple (*tongxue* 同學) of Fazang. This is, however, contradicted by Fazang himself, who affirms that he was actually a fellow-disciple of Zhiyan. A native of Jingzhou 涇州, Fan Xuanzhi successively studied with Dushun and Master Zheng 整, probably referring to the above-mentioned Zhizheng, who, like Dushun, was also a teacher of Zhiyan. If this is true, Fan Xuanzhi was actually a fellow-disciple of Zhiyan, rather than Fazang. Focusing on the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, Fan Xuanzhi cultivated the practice of Samantabhadra in accordance with the *sūtra*. Later, whenever he chanted this sutra, the relics showed up magically. He eventually settled down at a grotto in a mountain to the north of Village Chisha 赤沙 of Fangzhou 方州, chanting the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* in the daytime and meditating at night. He was reported to have incurred propitious signs and got divine protection because of his devotion to the *sūtra*.[80]

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[76] Ibid.
[77] *HJZ*, *T* 51: 3.163c24-164a14a1.
[78] *HJZ*, *T* 51: 3.164a11-12.
[79] *GYZ*, 177b25-c5.
[80] These lines summarize Fazang's biographical note on Fan Xuanzhi in *HJZ*, *T* 51: 4.166c8-23.

4.3. *Disciples*

Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn confirms that Fazang attracted a lot of followers, the six most known being Hongguan 宏觀, Wenchao 文超, Zhiguang 智光 of Huayansi in Luoyang, Zongyi 宗一 (?-712+) of Heensi 荷恩寺, Huiyuan 慧苑 of Jingfasi 靜法寺, and Huiying 慧英 of Jingxingsi 經行寺. Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn makes a general remark on the orientation of Fazang's disciples: they practiced vinaya and meditation. In addition were Huiliang 惠諒, Huiyun 惠雲, Xuanguan 玄觀 (maybe an error for Hongguan 宏觀), and Ruzong 如琮, all of whom are mentioned in Huiying's *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying zhuan* biography of Huizhao. Of these, only Huiyuan, Huiying, Wenchao and Zongyi left traces of their lives.[81]

In addition, there was the Korean monk Sŭngchŏn 勝詮 (?-690+), who studied with Fazang and later acted as an emissary between Fazang and Ŭisang, and another named Simsang, who was said to have studied with Fazang in China before going to Japan, where he secured a disciple called Ryōben—later acclaimed as founder of the Avataṃsaka tradition in Japan. While Sŭngchŏn's link (if not discipleship per se) with Fazang is verified by early and reliable sources (including Fazang's letter to Ŭisang), Simsang's tie with Fazang is given only in relatively late (and sectarian) sources.[82]

Finally, the monk Qianli 千里, who compiled a collection of miracle stories about Fazang, might also have been a disciple of Fazang. Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn claims that he was affiliated with the Huayansi in Chang'an.[83] This was probably one of the five temples by the same name that the Tang government established in different areas of the country at the suggestion of Fazang.[84] For this reason, I assume that Qianli was either a direct disciple of Fazang, or one of his followers.

[81] Huiying is known to us primarily as a compiler of *GYZ* and *Zuanling ji* (see Chapter 1.2.1). Wenchao was the author of a collection called "Zifang yiwang ji" 自防遺忘集 in ten *juan*, some parts of which are still preserved in Kanazawa bunko 金澤文庫 (see Takamine, "Bunchō hōshi no Kegonkyō gisho ni tsuite"), which contains instructions that Wenchao received from Fazang in person. Nothing is known about Zongyi except for his participation (as a scribe [*bishou* 筆受]) in the translation of some *parṣad*s of the *Ratnakūṭa sūtra* supervised by Bodhiruci (?-727) (see Appendix H) and his effort in revising Fazang's unfinished commentary on the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, which resulted in a twenty-*juan* text (see Chapter 2.1.1.6).

[82] See *Samguk yusa*, *T* 49: 4.1009a8-21 for Sŭngchŏn's relationship with Fazang. The earliest source claiming Simsang's discipleship under Fazang is the Japanese text by Gyōnen—*Sangoku buppō denzū engi*, *BZ* 62: 2.15c.

[83] *PHC* 280c24. Cf. Chapter 1, note 33.

[84] See *PHC* (284b7-12), translated and discussed in Chapter 6.3.2.

The most renowned disciple of Fazang is, of course, Huiyuan, who was, ironically, regarded as a betrayer of his teacher.[85] Some have said that Huiyuan trained Fashen 法詵 (718-778), who instructed the young Chengguan in the Avataṃsaka teachings.[86] Fashen's *Song gaoseng zhuan* biography tells us that he used to receive the teachings of *Huayan jing*, *Pusa jie lun* 菩薩戒論 and *Qixin lun* 起信論 from Great Master Enzhen 恩貞, who came from Fashen's native place (*gudi* 故地).[87] The Japanese Kegon master Gyōnen identified Fashen as a disciple of Huiyuan, which has, in turn, encouraged scholars to identify this Enzhen as Huiyuan.[88] All of this creates a Huayan lineage as follows:

Fashun => (2) Zhiyan => (3) Fazang => (4) Huiyuan (=Enzhen) => (5) Fashen => (6) Chengguan

Fashen's discipleship under Huiyuan seems corroborated by the fact that he wrote a commentary on Huiyuan's *Kanding ji* 刊定記.[89] Such master-disciple relationships among the six monks are dubious, given that there is no solid support for Enzhen's being identical with Huiyuan.

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[85] The first known Huayan master who condemned Huiyuan in this way was Chengguan. See Sakamoto, *Kegon kyōgaku no kenkyū*, 8-9.

[86] Jiaoran's epitaph makes no mention of Chengguan's discipleship under Fashen, which is affirmed by Zanning in his biographies for both Fashen and Chengguan (see *SGSZ*, *T* 50: 5.736b10-12, 737a13-14). Zanning also informs us that it was at Tianzhusi 天竺寺 (in Hangzhou) that Chengguan started to study with Fashen. Another tradition, however, has it that Chengguan studied with a monk called Da Shen 大詵 in the Eastern Capital Luoyang. See "Miaojue taji," 157; *Fozu tongji*, *T* 49: 29.293b7-8; *Fozu lidai tongzai*, *T* 49: 14.601a14-15; *Fajiezong wuzu lüeji*, *XZJ* 134: 623a17-19. Scholars usually take this Da Shen as Fashen. See, for examples, Sakamoto, *Kegon kyōgaku no kenkyū*, 52; Kamata, *Chūgoku Kegon shisō shi no kenkyū*, 162; Li Huiying, *Eon*, 41-42; and Zhang Wenliang, *Chōkan*, 7. One of such scholars, Imre Hamar, realizes the contradiction between *SGSZ*, according to which Chengguan studied with Fashen in Hangzhou, and this saying, which has them meet in Luoyang. Hamar attempts to explain this away by the hypothesis that Luoyang was the birthplace of Da Shen, and not the place where he was active as a monk and where Chengguan studied with him. See Hamar, *A Religious Leader in the Tang*, 36-37. In other words, it is Hamar's opinion that Fashen, also known as Da Shen, was a native of Luoyang, although he was active in Hangzhou, where he accepted Chengguan as his disciple. However, the way that these sources present Chengguan's relationship with Da Shen prove that they take Luoyang as the place where the two monks met; see, in particular, *Fozu tongji* (*T* 49: 29.293b8), which has it as: "he further went to the Eastern Capital, where he received *Zahua* from Da Shen" (復造東京受雜華於大詵). It therefore seems to me that Da Shen and Fashen were two different monks.

[87] *SGSZ*, *T* 50: 5.736a25-26.

[88] Sakamoto, *Kegon kyōgaku no kenkyū*, 51-56.

[89] The commentary is entitled "Kanding ji zuanshi" 刊定記纂釋. We know that the author Fashen was the same person recorded by Zanning since here Uichŏn gives the reviser of the commentary as Zhengjue 正覺 (*Sinp'yŏn chejong kyojang ch'ongnok*, *T* 55: 1.1166a19), who was probably the same person that Zanning mentioned as a disciple of Fashen (*SGSZ*, *T* 50: 5.736b9-10).

As is noted by Zanning, his biography for Fashen was based on Fashen's funeral epitaph written by the monk-poet Jiaoran 皎然 (Qingzhou 清晝, 720-796), which is still extant. The epitaph makes it clear that Fashen was a fourth-generation transmitter of the Huayan tradition after Fashun:

> At the time, among those who promoted the Way [of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*] was Master Dunhuang, who achieved its heart. He was called the reincarnation of Wenshu[shili] (Mañjuśrī). After being passed for four generations (lit. "leaves"), [the tradition] was transmitted to our teacher (Fashen). 其時弘道之士, 有燉煌公得他心, 稱是文殊後身. 洎四葉傳於吾師.[90]

"Master Dunhuang" refers to Dushun, who was also believed to be a reincarnation of Mañjuśrī.[91] This then means that Fashen was recognized as a Huayan patriarch four generations after Dushun:

(1) Fashun => (2) Zhiyan => (3) Fazang => (4) ? => (5) Fashen

Who was the fourth patriarch who transmitted the Avataṃsaka teaching to Fashen? The epitaph identifies this monk as Sizhen 思貞, who was from Fashen's native place. Thus, all this confirms what Zanning tells us—Fashen received the Avataṃsaka teachings from a monk sharing his native place, although he was named Sizhen, rather than Enzhen 恩貞.[92]

What is, then, Fashen's native place? Although this is not clearly noted in his epitaph, the following two facts strongly suggest that he was born in the Su-Hang 蘇杭 area. First, Fashen was a thirteenth generation grandson of Sun Ce 孫策 (175-200),[93] the elder brother of Sun Quan 孫權 (r. 222-252), the founder of the Wu Kingdom (222-280) during the Three Kingdoms period (220-280). Second, Fashen's activities centered around Changlesi 常樂寺 of Suzhou 蘇州, Longxingsi 龍興寺 of Changzhou and Tianzhusi 天竺寺 of Hangzhou 杭州, which was the monastery with which he was affiliated given that Jiaoran identified him by this monastery in the title of his epitaph.[94] On the

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90 "Tang Hangzhou Lingyinshan Tianzhu si dade Shen fashi taming bing xu," *QTW* 918.8a5-6. See Jia, *Jiaoran nianpu*, 95.

91 See *SGSZ*, *T* 50: 5.732a20-22 for Fashun's being related with Dunhuang. That Fashun was considered to be a reincarnation of Mañjuśrī had already appeared in a "separate biography" (*biezhuan* 別傳) of Fashun that is quoted by Chengguan in his *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao*, *T* 36: 15.116a27.

92 Given Zanning's reputation as a reckless historian, I assume that he here just miscopied Sizhen as Enzhen.

93 In the epitaph, Jiaoran refers to Sun Ce as Prince Huan of Changsha 長沙桓王, which was the posthumous title that Sun Quan used to honor the spirit of his brother after he was proclaimed as the King of the Wu. See *Sanguo zhi* 46.1112.

94 "Tang Hangzhou Lingyinshan Tianzhu si dade Shen fashi taming bing xu," *QTW* 918.8a1: "Tang Hangzhou Lingyinshan Tianzhusi dade Shen fashi" 唐杭州靈隱山天竺寺大德詵法師.

other hand, according to both Zhisheng and Zanning, who was based on Zhisheng, Huiyuan was a native of Jingzhao 京兆, which refers to Chang'an.[95] Given that they were of different native places, Sizhen/Enzhen and Huiyuan were actually two different persons. Accordingly, Fashen's master could not have been Huiyuan. The lineage from Fashun and Chengguan must be corrected to:

(1) Fashun => (2) Zhiyan => (3) Fazang => (4) Sizhen => (5) Fashen => (6) Chengguan

Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn also notes that there were some nuns who studied with Fazang. Most of these nun-disciples chanted the "jinjing" 晉經, which refers to the Chinese version of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* prepared by Buddhabhadra (359-429) during the Jin dynasty (translated between 418 and 420). Of Fazang's nun-disciples, only one is known to us—Facheng 法澄 (640-729). A native of Yuean 樂安, Facheng was a descendant of Sun Quan. Her grandfather and father served as local officials, and she seems to have come from a Buddhist family judging by her rather Buddhist-flavored style-name (Wusuode 無所得 [lit. "nothing to attain"]). She later became a concubine of Li Yun 李惲 (?-675), the seventh son of Taizong (r. 627-649). Although secular sources depict him as a notorious hoarder of wealth, Li Yun maintained extensive ties with Buddhist monks. Li committed suicide at the beginning of 675 under political pressure, and Facheng then became a nun at Mount Zhongnan, where she started her studies with Fazang, who was then staying at Zhixiangsi. Fazang praised her as someone who was able to uphold the Buddhadharma.

Approaching the end of the 680s, Facheng's life took another critical turn: she was turned into a palace slave due to one of Li Yun's sons being accused of plotting against the government. Probably thanks to her status as a disciple of Fazang, she somehow became a popular court chaplain. She was not released from the Inner Palace complex until some time after Zhongzong was reinstalled on February 23, 705. She was later appointed abbess at nunneries with close ties to the Tang royal family—Shaotangsi 紹唐寺 (probably Xingtangsi 興唐寺, originally named "Wangjisi" 罔極寺) and Xingshengsi 興聖寺. In addition to her efforts to refurbish this nunnery, Facheng also engaged in a series of Buddhist construction projects. She was beautiful and well mannered; she possessed an impressive eloquence and died at the age of ninety.[96]

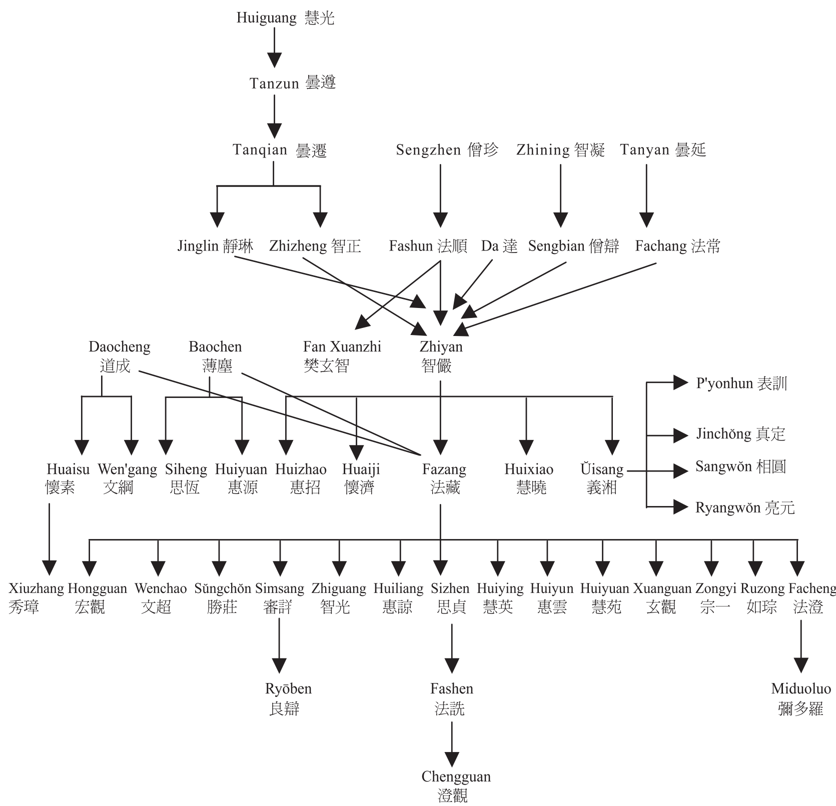
On the basis of the preceding discussion, we may reconstruct Fazang's "dharma family" by the following chart:

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[95] *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.571a14; *SGSZ*, *T* 50: 6.739a7.

[96] Facheng's life is surveyed in detail in Chen Jinhua, "Buddhist Nuns," esp. 53-65.

Chart 2. Fazang’s Dharma Lineage



5. Concluding remarks

The famous name Fazang was not only the great monk’s dharma-name, it was also the secular name that he had used before entering the saṃgha. His surname Kang was derived from the name of his place of origin—Kangjuguo (or simply Kangguo, Samarqand). Xianshou, by which he is also often referred to both in historical sources and modern scholarship, was his style-name (*zi* 字), which was given by his parents or adopted by himself, rather than conferred by Empress Wu as one of his honorific titles. Finally, he had a “title of distinction” (*biehao* 別號), Dharma Master Guoyi, which either Zhongzong or Ruizong conferred on him in recognition of his prestige.

It is certain that Fazang’s family, originally based in Samarqand, where they reportedly exerted significant political power, was brought

to China by Fazang's grandfather, who resettled them in Chang'an. Fazang's father, whose name was Kang Mi, earned an official title at the Tang court. Fazang was born and raised in a Sogdian enclave in Chang-an (very likely in Jinggong 靖恭 Ward), although sometime before 690, his family moved to Tongwan as a result of Fazang's brother Baozang's assuming a position in the area. A woman known as Shengman seems to have been Fazang's wife. An inscription recently excavated from Longmen which bears a long list of the members in a Sogdian family one of whom is called Fazang cannot be identified as our Fazang. The familial information contained there cannot be taken as Fazang's.

In contrast with his secular family, Fazang had a much bigger and far more complicated dharma family. With the renowned Avataṃsaka master Zhiyan as his chief teacher, Fazang also had two learned scholars and vinaya masters, Daocheng and Baochen, as his mentors. While Daocheng had two disciples (Wen'gang and Huaisu) who later emerged as the representatives of two major vinaya traditions, the only two disciples of Baochen's who are now known to us, one a monk (Siheng) and the other a nun (Huiyuan), are relatively obscure.

Like other contemporary Buddhist monks who were trained by a talented teacher, Fazang also had numerous fellow-disciples, although we know only four of them—(1) Ŭisang, by far the most famous, (2) Huixiao, (3) Huaiji, and (4) Huizhao (a.k.a. Huiyou).

Given that he ended up being an even more accomplished and respected master than his teacher, Fazang probably had more disciples than fellow-disciples, as is supported by the fact that we know for certain no less than eleven of his disciples: (1) Hongguan, (2) Wenchao, (3) Zhiguang, (4) Zongyi, (5) Huiyuan, (6) Huiying, (7) Huiliang, (8) Huiyun, (9) Xuanguan 玄觀 (if this is not an error for Hongguan 宏觀), (10) Ruzong 如琮, and (11) Facheng (his only known nun-disciple). Furthermore, three more monks, two Korean (Sŭngchŏn and Simsang), and one Chinese (Qianli, one of his biographers), probably also studied with Fazang. Finally, I have argued that Fazang might have another disciple, Sizhen (a.k.a. Enzhen), who has been wrongly considered to be none other than Fazang's most famous (or infamous) disciple Huiyuan. Sizhen must be recognized as another major disciple of Fazang given that he trained a Buddhist monk (Fashen) who was to teach the Avataṃsaka teachings to another monk (Chengguan) who turned out to be the most important Avataṃsaka master since Fazang.

These are then several of Fazang's basic biographical data that I attempted to clarify in this chapter. Before turning to a fuller reconstruction of Fazang's life, we need to address one more question that might appear nonsensical in view of Fazang's prominence as a great monastic—namely, whether he was formally and fully ordained as a Buddhist monk.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE EMINENT MONK WHO WASN'T?: STORIES ABOUT FAZANG'S FULL ORDINATION

Given Fazang's international links and his importance as a Buddhist leader, one might think it absurd to question whether he was ever fully ordained: it would be as if one questioned whether a Pope is a Catholic priest. However, the notion of Fazang's ordination, something taken for granted, may actually turn out to be poorly supported, entirely missing from or flatly contradicted by the historical evidence. When we look closely into Fazang's life through the historio-biographical and hagiographical sources, we are immediately presented with accounts that diverge or are at odds with one another. We must subject Fazang's life to a meticulous and critical study, a task seemingly arduous, given the amount of relevant materials. The aim of this chapter is to focus on the one, small question about ordination, hopefully underscoring the problems that arise in reading the various accounts. In the process, I suggest several possible ways in which these stories developed.

1. From Yan Chaoyin to Zuxiu: Why Fazang's Ordination Became an Issue

First we review how Fazang's ordination is treated in two biographical sources, one being the earliest source and the other the best of its type. We then introduce the earliest known mentions of the unusual circumstances under which Fazang was ordained at an advanced age.

1.1. *Evidence from Yan Chaoyin and Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn*

Yan Chaoyin describes his death thus:

> On the fourteenth day of the eleventh month of Xiantian 1 (a *renzi* year) (December 16, 712), [Fazang] died at Great Jianfusi of the western capital (Chang'an) at the age of seventy *sui*. On the twenty-fourth day of the eleventh month of that year (December 26, 712), he was buried to the south of Huayansi on the plain of Shenhe. 先天元年，歲次壬子，十一月十四日，終於西京大薦福寺，春秋七十．其年十一月二十四日，葬於神和原華嚴寺南．[1]

[1] "Kang Zang bei," 280c3-6.

This account is remarkable not so much for what it says as for what it does not. Anyone who has read more than a few similar inscriptions will be struck by a curious omission in this passage. It makes no mention of Fazang's monastic age (*fala* 法臘, *sengla* 僧臘, *sengxia* 僧夏, etc.), that is, the number of years of his life that he held the status of an ordained monk. Does Yan Chaoyin at least tell us when Fazang was ordained as a monk? Another passage in Yan's account might encourage a casual reader to believe that he does:

> When Madame Rongguo (579-670) (i.e., Empress Wu's mother) "abandoned her residence" (i.e., died), the Saintly Empress Zetian, before changing out of her mourning dress, widely planted fields of merit, and opened the lecture-seat broadly (i.e., sponsored many Buddhist lectures). Dharma Master [Fazang] had his name registered in the palace, and his hair was shaved off in the ritual precinct.[2] [He started to] reside at Taiyuansi. 屬榮國夫人奄捐館舍，未易齊衰，則天聖后廣樹福田，大開講座．法師策名宮禁，落髮道場，住太原寺.[3]

Does this really mean that Fazang was fully ordained as a monk at Taiyuansi? To answer this, we should turn to the more detailed description in Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn*, still the most meticulous, critical, and in many ways most reliable biographical source on Fazang.

According to Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn, Fazang showed his passion for the Buddhadharma at the age of fifteen, when he committed an act of self-immolation (burning his finger) in front of the Famensi pagoda. One year later, he started to search out the eminent monks in the capital. Disappointed by their arrogance, he decided to part with his parents and pursue the dharma on Mount Taibai, where he observed Daoist-style dietary practices for several years and read broadly in the Vaipulya texts.[4] After hearing that one (or both) of his parents was sick, he went back to Chang'an. After staying with his parents for an unknown period of time, he began his studies at Yunhuasi with Zhiyan, who was then the greatest *Avataṃsaka* master.[5]

In the year Zongzhang 1 (May 17, 668-February 5, 669) Fazang was still a layman, although he was already twenty-six *sui*. Counting from the year 658, when he burnt his finger, Fazang's enthusiasm for and practice of Buddhism had lasted a decade. As a matter of fact, as we will soon see, Fazang did not enter the saṃgha until twelve years later (in 670, when he was twenty-eight *sui*). In both ideals and in

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[2] Naoumi Gentetsu 直海玄哲 (Naoumi, "Sokuten Bukō to naidōjō," 10) seems mistaken in relating this event to an episode in 695 (or 694 according to another source), which involved Empress Wu personally shaving the heads of two female novices at the nunnery Tiannüsi 天女寺 (for more about this episode, see Chapter 10.2.1).

[3] "Kang Zang bei," 280b17-19.

[4] Chapter 11.2.3.

[5] Chapter 5.1.2.

practice, it was highly unusual for someone of such piety to have remained a layman for so long. A possible explanation might be that Fazang was married at the time.[6]

Whatever the reason for remaining a layman, sometime in 688, when Zhiyan was about to die, he entrusted his favorite student to two *bhadanta*-monks (*dadeseng* 大德僧)—Daocheng and Baochen, asking them to assist Fazang in becoming a Buddhist monk. Two years later, just such an opportunity was presented:

> By the first year of Xianheng (March 27, 670-February 14, 671) (when [Fa]zang was aged twenty-eight [*sui*]),[7] Madame Rongguo returned to the "dark road" (she died). Empress Zetian widely planted fields of merit. In ordaining people [into the saṃgha], she always selected those [who could become] advanced monks. She donated the residence [of Madame Rongguo] and turned it into Taiyuansi. Therefore, those who were entrusted to take care [of Fazang] recommended the talented [to Gaozong] with a series of memorials. The emperor consented, and he thus started his affiliation with the new temple. Thus, he cast off the commoner's dress and distinguished himself from the ordinary. These are the causes and conditions under which his head was shaven and his robe was dyed black (the color of a monk's clothing). 至咸亨元年(藏年二十八)，榮國夫人，奄歸冥路．則天皇后，廣樹福田．度人則擇上達僧，捨宅乃成太原寺．於是受顧託者連狀薦雄．帝諾曰俞，仍隸新剎．周羅遂落，复拔常科．此之謂削染因緣.[8]

Like the passage in Yan Chaoyin's epitaph quoted above, this one, with its terms like *duren* 度人 ("ordaining a person as a monk") and *xueran* 削染 ("shaving off the hair and dying the robe black"), might suggest that Fazang was fully ordained as a monk when he was affiliated with the newly founded Taiyuansi in 670. But almost immediately after this passage Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn unambiguously observes that although he "abandoned his secular life" (*chujia* 出家), Fazang did *not* receive full ordination at that time.[9] Then, does Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn know when (if ever) Fazang was ordained? Towards the end of his biography Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn explicitly acknowledges that Fazang's monastic age was not known (*sengxia weixi* 僧夏未悉).[10]

As is well known, monks and nuns symbolically begin a new life at the moment of ordination. This "second birth" manifests his or her commitment to the religious life. For a medieval Buddhist follower, this crucial moment occurred when the novice received the full ordination (*juzujie* 具足戒) and became a Buddhist monk (*bhikṣu*) or nun (*bhik-*

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[6] Chapter 3.3.3.
[7] This parenthetical statement is an interlinear note in the text.
[8] *PHC* 281b16-19; cf. "Kang Zang bei," 280b17-19.
[9] *PHC* 281b22: 既出家，未進具.
[10] *PHC* 285b8-9.

ṣuṇī). Thus, at least in theory, for a Buddhist monk or nun, the monastic age was more important than biological age. It was therefore a well-observed custom in medieval China that a funeral epitaph for the deceased monk or nun clearly indicated the monastic age. Although it is reasonable to assume that there must have been some exceptions to this general rule, considering Fazang's eminent status at the time (not only in the monastic but also the secular world) and the deliberate manner in which Fazang's disciples erected a funeral epitaph for their teacher,[11] one can only suspect that Yan Chaoyin's lapse in data was due to the fact that it could not be determined. Given that the epitaph was written at the request of Fazang's disciples, according to Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn, and that they had no reason to conceal their teacher's monastic age from Yan Chaoyin had they known it, I am inclined to believe that even Fazang's close disciples had no knowledge of his monastic age. We are then faced with this problem: was the great *Avataṃsaka* master ever fully ordained during his lifetime?

Given the thoroughness and accuracy of his biography, Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's frank admission of his ignorance of Fazang's monastic age is meaningful. It testifies to a lack of that pertinent fact in all the historical sources that Ch'oe consulted. This increases our suspicion that Fazang may have never received full ordination.

What do other biographical sources tell us about his ordination?

1.2. *Later Sources on Fazang's Full Ordination*

In Chapter One, we discussed the relative weakness of the treatment of Fazang found in *Song gaoseng zhuan,* a major biographical source for monks of the medieval period. The basic biographical data are not given.[12] It is in the other major Song dynasty Buddhist historical work, Zuxiu's *Longxing biannian tonglun*, that we are informed for the first time about Fazang's ordination and the circumstances under which it was performed:

> In the first year of the Tiancewansui era (April 22-November 29, 696), [the emperor, Zetian] summoned the śrāmaṇera Fazang to Taiyuansi to explain and demonstrate the principal essentials of the Huayan. At the very moment that [Fazang] started with the title of the *sūtra*, [through some divine] stimuli a white ray of light shone brightly from his mouth and in an instant it transformed into a canopy, which stood in the sky for a long while. Myriads crowding together shouted in joy and moaned at the prodigy. The superintendent of the lecture,[13] Sengheng (other-

[11] *PHC* 285b23-25.
[12] *SGSZ*, *T* 50: 5.732a-b.
[13] See *Da Song sengshi lüe* (*T* 54: 1.239c22ff) for an explanation of the functions of *dujiang* 都講. See Fukui Fumimasa's study of the origin and functions of this monastic official, "Tokō no shokunō to kigen Chūgoku."

> wise unknown) or the monk Hengjing 恒景 (a.k.a. Hongjing 弘景, 643-712),[14] sent a memorial to the court to report this event. Zetian was pleased and issued an edict, ordering the "Ten [Buddhist Monks of] Great Virtue" of the capital to confer [on Fazang] the "complete precepts" (*manfenjie* 滿分戒). She also bestowed [on him the title of] "Xianshou" (Saintliness and Eminence).[15] He was then summoned to Great Biankongsi to participate in translating [Buddhist] texts. 萬歲通天元年，詔沙彌康法藏於太原寺，開示華嚴宗旨．方緒經題，感白光昱然，自口而出．須臾成蓋，停空久之．萬衆歡呼嘆異，都講僧恒奏其事．則天悅，有旨命京城十大德爲藏授滿分戒，賜號賢首，詔入大遍空寺參譯經.[16]

The *manfenjie* was an alternative expression for *juzujie* 具足戒 ("complete precepts"), which qualifies a person as a fully ordained Buddhist monk or nun. This anecdote must mean that Fazang was ordained as a *bhiskṣu* only sometime in 696, when he was already fifty-four *sui*. But had the event—hereafter referred to as the "Ordination Episode"—really occurred, it ought to have been known to most people in the capital at the time, and above all known by Fazang's disciples. One might speculate that the disciples, embarrassed that their teacher was ordained so late in life, even went so far as to request of Yan Chaoyin that he omit Fazang's monastic age in the funeral epitaph. But Fazang's disciples would have known that it was futile to conceal such a public event that had happened only fifteen years prior. In sum, if the "Ordination Episode" is factual, then we have to account somehow for the fact of Fazang's monastic age having lapsed into such complete obscurity that even Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn was unable to retrieve it.

2. The fictional nature of the "ordination episode"

The strongest evidence against the credibility of the Ordination Episode comes from essential aspects of the episode itself. First of all, it is clear that the story is closely related to an earlier tale, also of Huayan origin.

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[14] Zanning (*SGSZ*, *T* 50: 5.732a), in narrating Fazang's earthquake episode, tells us that Hengjing, then the *duweina* of Foshoujisi, submitted a memorial to the court reporting the prodigy. He refers to Hengjing as 都維那僧恒景具表聞奏. I suspect that 都講僧恒奏其事 in *Longxing biannian tonglun* was derived from the *SGSZ* passage, although 都維那僧恒景 has been miscopied as 都講僧恒. Zanning's was, in turn, a mispresentation of an earlier version seen in Huiyuan's commentary; there the Foshoujisi *duweina* who reported the episode to Empress Wu is indicated as Huibiao 慧表. For the details of this episode, see Chapter 12.1.2.

[15] See Chapter 3.1 for Fazang's own explanation of "Xianshou."

[16] *Longxing biannian tonglun*, *XZJ* 130: 14.280a2-6.

2.1. *An Earlier Source Deriving from Fazang's Direct Disciples*

Another great *Avataṃsaka* master after Fazang, Chengguan, paraphrased the story in this way:

> Furthermore, when he once lectured at Yunhuasi there was a ray of light that emitted from his mouth. In an instant, [the light] transformed into a canopy. This was known and seen by the people. 又後於雲華寺講，有光明現從口出，須臾成蓋，眾所知見.[17]

In context, Chengguan is discussing a "miracle-trilogy" associated with the so-called "divine light" (*shenguang* 神光), something Fazang experienced during three different phases of his life. This was the third episode; the first occurred when Fazang was born and the second when he went to study with Zhiyan.[18] After relating the Ordination Episode, Chengguan remarks that this story of the "divine light" is recorded in a text he refers to as *biezhuan* 別傳.[19] The latter is an ambiguous genre term that is usually thought of as just "separate biography." It is not possible to tell what specific text Chengguan means. Be that as it may, Chengguan is probably directing the reader to a "separate biography" for Fazang, perhaps that written by the monk Qianli, which indeed recounted miracle tales about Fazang.[20] However, it should be noted that according to the Yuan-dynasty monk Purui, Fazang's "miracle-trilogy" of "divine light" was also recorded in *Zuanling ji*.[21] A comparison of Chengguan's version of the "Divine-light trilogy" with the *Zuanling ji* biography of Fazang, as preserved in the thirteenth-century Japanese *Kegon soshi den*,[22] gives the impression that they are largely identical.

Let us compare Chengguan's paraphrase with the *Longxing biannian tonglun* version (the Ordination Episode), which contains relatively more details. Those details are: (1) Sengheng (or Hengjing) bringing the miracle to imperial attention, and then two indications of imperial appreciation; (2) by order of Empress Wu, the conferral on Fa-

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[17] *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao*, *T* 36: 15.116b6-7. This was repeated by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn almost verbatim (one slight difference is that Ch'oe's 眾所具瞻 for 眾所知見); see *PHC* 281b28-29. Like Chengguan, Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn does not date it, but judging by his placing it in between two stories dated 670 and 694, he may have been suggesting that the story occurred between those two dates.

[18] *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao*, *T* 36: 15.116a29-b9; cf. *PHC* 281a21, 281b3-4, 281b28029.

[19] *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao*, *T* 36: 15.116b10: "The other events happened as they are described in the *biezhuan*" (餘如別傳).

[20] *PHC* 280c25-26: 屢陳靈跡. Cf. Chapter 1, note 33.

[21] *Huayan xuantan huixuan ji*, *XZJ* 12: 38.304c7: "As for *Zuanling ji*, it is the source from which the redaction (*chao* 鈔; i.e., *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao*) quotes the story of 'emitting lights on three occasions' (*sandu guang* 三度光)."

[22] See Chapter 1.2.1.

zang of the "Complete Precepts" by the "Ten *Bhadanta*-monks"; and (3) his being summoned to the palace chapel, Great Biankongsi.[23] Furthermore, the "Ordination Episode" also radically differs from Chengguan's paraphrase (followed by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn) in locating and dating the event. Chengguan and Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn either say nothing or indirectly suggest that it happened sometime between 670 and 694. In contrast, the author of the "Ordination Episode" dates it to 696 and locates it at Taiyuansi, in contrast to Yunhuasi, as recorded by Chengguan and Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn. Given that the two versions are partly identical and that Chengguan was obviously indebted to an earlier source (i.e., the *biezhuan* [=*Zanggong bielu*?] or *Zuanling ji*), then either the richer details of the Ordination Episode were later additions, or they were originally extant in the earlier source that Chengguan used but were omitted in the quoting. Which explanation seems more plausible? In order to answer this, we need to analyze four aspects of the Ordination Episode itself.

First is Taiyuansi, which the "Ordination Episode" presents as the venue for the miracle. The author of the Ordination Episode does not specify which of the two Taiyuan Monasteries this was.[24] The Chang-an Taiyuansi was built in 670,[25] but began to be called Western Taiyuansi after its twin was built in Luoyang five years later (675). The Luoyang and Chang'an twin monasteries were renamed on February 19, 687 as the Eastern (Weiguo [dongsi] 魏國東寺) and Western (Weiguo [xisi] 魏國西寺) Weiguo Monasteries, respectively, due to the fact that the spirits of Empress Wu's father and mother were honored with the new titles Prince Weiguo and Princess Weiguo on November 3, 684. The names had to be changed again, after October 16, 690, when Empress Wu established her own dynasty. This time, they were called Da Zhou dongsi 大周東寺 and Da Zhou xisi 大周西寺, or, the Eastern and Western Monasteries of the Great Zhou. But apparently just before the establishment of Great Zhou, Da Zhou xisi in Chang'an had been renamed as Chongfusi 崇福寺 (either on December 23, 689 or January 9, 690), and Luoyang's Da Zhou Dongsi became Great Fuxiansi 大福

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[23] See Appendix C for Biankongsi's status as a palace chapel in Luoyang under the reign of Empress Wu (690-705); also Chen Jinhua, "Tang Buddhist Palace Chapels," 113-20; idem, "Śikṣānanda," 122-29.

[24] As a matter of fact, given that the episode was said to have occurred during Wansuitongtian 1 (April 22-November 29, 696), Fazang was very likely in Luoyang, where Empress Wu was staying throughout the period (*ZZTJ* 205.6503-11). However, *Longxing biannian tonglun* is not clear as to whether it was in Luoyang or Chang'an that Fazang was asked to deliver his lectures. Although Empress Wu's being in Luoyang then is good evidence, we cannot exclude the possibility that the author of the Ordination Episode actually meant Western Taiyuansi in Chang'an, given Fazang's close relationship with it.

[25] Forte, "Il 'Monastero dei Grandi Chou' a Lo-yang"; idem, "Fuxian Monastery."

先寺. These were both switched back after the Great Zhou was abolished and the Great Tang was restored on February 21, 705. Thus, we know that the two Taiyuansi, one in Chang'an and one in Luoyang, were respectively known as Da Zhou xisi (also Chongfusi) and Da Zhou Dongsi (also Great Fuxiansi) in 696. The author of the Ordination Episode thus committed an anachronism in referring to either of them as Taiyuansi.

Second, Fazang was ordained by ten *bhadanta*-preceptors, which seems to go against historical fact. As I show in Appendix B, no evidence suggests that in Fazang's time there existed such a group of ten who could have conferred the full ordination. On the contrary, a group like this did not come into being until 771, almost sixty years after Fazang's death. Therefore, the author of the Ordination Episode apparently committed another anachronism in having Fazang ordained by the ten *bhadanta*-preceptors in 696.

Third, as already argued in Chapter Three, it doesn't seem plausible that "Xianshou" was an honorific conferred on Fazang by Empress Wu. Evidence suggests that it was a style-name given by Fazang's parents (teacher) or taken by Fazang himself.

Finally, the strongest evidence against the plausibility of the Ordination Story is that Biankongsi is considered as a venue for part of Śikṣānanda's Avataṃsaka translation. As I have argued elsewhere, the notion that the translation was first made at Biankongsi and then at Foshoujisi, as evidenced in *Shishi jigu lüe*, is to misunderstand the role played by Biankongsi.[26] In the same vein, one important detail in the Ordination Episode, that is, that Fazang was summoned to Biankongsi to participate in the translation of *Huayan jing*, must also be considered to be a fiction resulting from the same misunderstanding.[27] It is not likely that this kind of blatant mistake could have been committed by a disciple of Fazang, namely the author of Fazang's *biezhuan* (or *Zuanling ji*), or even any of his contemporaries, who must have known that Biankongsi was not the place where the translation was made. This reveals not only the fabricated nature of the Ordination Episode, but also the lateness of the source. Thus, it appears that the Ordination Episode, given in *Longxing biannian tonglun*, was based on the legend of divine-light that was extant in earlier sources and was used by Chengguan for his short paraphrase of the miracle, and not the reverse.

[26] Chen Jinhua, "Śikṣānanda"; a more developed version of my argument is presented in Appendix C.

[27] Apparently Zanning was similarly misled when he identifies Śikṣānanda as a monk of Great Biankongsi in the title of the biography he wrote for him, which was largely copied from Śikṣānanda's biography in *HJZ*; see *SGSZ*, *T* 50: 2.718c18.

2.2. *Formation of the Ordination Episode*

The Ordination Episode is not found in Zongjian's well-known *Shimen zhengtong*, which was completed in 1237, seventy-three years after *Longxing biannian tonglun*. Zongjian does scant justice to Fazang, providing only a 191-word entry. He also commits serious mistakes and his biography for Fazang is incomplete, although it does give his date of death and his age. Like Zanning, Zongjian makes no mention of Fazang's ordination and his monastic age.[28] However, two other Song Buddhist collections, Zhipan's *Fozu tongji* (compiled 1258-1269) and *Shishi tongjian* (compiled sometime between 1084 and 1270), contain a slightly different version. Since the latter seems to be based on the former,[29] and is nearly identical to it in content, I concentrate on *Fozu tongji*. In full, the *Fozu tongji* version says:

> In the first year of the [Wansui]tongtian era (April 7-November 29, 696), [Fazang] was summoned to Taiyuansi to expound on the principal essentials of the Huayan tradition. Through some [divine] stimuli a white ray of light brightly shone from his mouth and in an instant it transformed into a canopy. Tens of thousands of people hailed [this miracle]. The superintendent of the lecture sent a memorial to the court to report this event. Zetian issued an edict, ordering the Ten [Buddhist Monks of] Great Virtue in the capital to confer [on Fazang] the complete precepts. [Zetian] bestowed [on him the title of] "Xianshou jieshi" (Preceptor of Saintliness and Eminence). He was then summoned to Great Biankongsi to assist Śikṣānanda in translating the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*. 通天元年，詔於太原寺開華嚴宗旨．感白光昱然自口而出，須臾成蓋，萬眾歡呼．都講奏其事．則天有旨，命京城十大德，爲授滿分戒．賜號賢首戒師，詔入大遍空寺，佐實叉難陀譯華嚴經.[30]

Compared with the Ordination Episode of *Longxing biannian tonglun*, which was very likely the source, this version of the story displays three

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[28] *Shimen zhengtong*, *XZJ* 130: 8.456a8-16.

[29] To the item in *Shishi tongjian* regarding Fazang's ordination is attached a two-character interlinear note reading "*benzhuan*" 本傳 ("original biography"), perhaps referring to one of Fazang's biographies on which this item is based. Since *Fozu tongji* is the first known source in which a biography for Fazang with such an episode can be found (*Longxing biannian tonglun*, 105 years earlier than *Fozu tongji* and the first known source for the Ordination Episode, just records the episode as an event in the year 696 without according a separate biography to Fazang), I assume that this "original biography" was the *Fozu tongji* biography of Fazang (*T* 49: 27.293a6-26). One might question how *Shishi tongjian*, the first draft of which could not have been completed more than one year after the completion of *Fozu tongji* in 1269, could have borrowed from it. It should be noted that actually the version of *Shishi tongjian* available to us now also contains a preface dated 1626, in addition to the earlier one dated 1270 (Ono, et al. [comp.], *Bussho kaisetsu dai jiten* 5: 15), so the possibility exists that the borrowing was done when the text was reedited.

[30] *Fozu tongji*, *T* 49: 27.293a8-13 (repeated, with some slight variations, in the same work at 37.370b28-c2); cf. *Shishi tongjian*, *XZJ* 131: 8.462b5-9.

significant differences. First, Zhipan does not give the title of śrāmaṇ-era to Fazang, probably indicating his sense that Fazang, then fifty-three *sui*, was unlikely to have been a mere novice. But the author of the Ordination Episode was not strictly speaking wrong to call Fazang a śrāmaṇera, because according to the episode he had not yet been fully ordained. Secondly, the *Fozu tongji* passage differs from that of *Long-xing biannian tonglun* by reporting the conferred title as "Xianshou jieshi" 賢首戒師 (Preceptor of Saintliness and Eminence), rather than simply Xianshou. According to Zhipan, as though given as compensa-tion for the lateness of Fazang's ordination, Empress Wu bestowed a title which explicitly stated that the newly ordained monk was, in fact, the most excellent preceptor. Finally, we note that whereas *Longxing biannian tonglun* only ambiguously observes that as a result of this miracle Fazang was enrolled in Great Biankongsi as a member of the translation team there, Zhipan specifies that it was as an assistant to Śikṣānanda that Fazang was called into the palace chapel.

Two important Buddhist chronicles compiled in the Yuan period, namely, *Fozu lidai tongzai* (completed 1344) and *Shishi jigu lüe*, con-tain the Ordination Episode.[31] A comparison shows that they are based on *Longxing biannian tonglun*, rather than *Fozu tongji*.[32] *Longxing biannian tonglun* is quoted verbatim in *Fozu lidai tongza*i and in short form in *Shishi jigu lüe*.

Closer to our own time, we have the Qing-era Xufa, who, probably aware that the context of the Ordination Episode made Fazang ordained too late in life, dated it twenty-two years earlier, writing in his *Fajie-zong wuzu lüeji*:

> In the first year of the Shangyuan era (October 5, 674-January 1, 675), an edict was issued to order the "Ten [Buddhist Monks of] Great Vir-tue" to confer on the master (Fazang) the "complete precepts." [Zetian] bestowed [on him the title of] "Xianshou." 上元元年，有旨命京城十大德，爲師授滿分戒，賜號賢首.[33]

Had Fazang been ordained in the year indicated, he would have achieved a monastic age of thirty-nine *sui* when he died in 712. However, Xufa's biography, which is the only source that clearly indicates Fazang's monastic age, gives it as forty-three. This discrepancy strongly suggests

[31] *Fozu lidai tongzai*, *XZJ* 131: 9.584b9-14; *Shishi jigu lüe*, *T* 49: 3.821a11-13.

[32] We know this because the two Yuan texts refer to Fazang as a śrāmaṇera, the same way *Longxing biannian tonglun* does with Fazang; see *Fozu lidai tongzai*, *T* 49: 9.584b9; *Shishi jigu lüe*, *T* 49: 3.821a11.

[33] *Fajiezong wuzu lüeji*, *XZJ* 134: 273b14-15.

that Xufa himself was far from certain as to when Fazang was ordained and exactly how long he was a monk.[34]

This look at the major biographical sources for Fazang shows that the earliest source supporting Fazang's full ordination at the hands of "Ten Bhadanta-monks" at the request of Empress Wu is the Ordination Episode in Zuxiu's *Longxing bianian tonglun*, which, however, did not stand the test of historical scrutiny. We must abandon this passage as support for Fazang's ordination. In addition, the credibility of the Ordination Episode's claim that Xianshou was the title received from Empress Wu is damaged. Given the absence of any evidence pointing to Zuxiu's affiliation with or enthusiasm for the Huayan tradition, I assume that the Ordination Episode, which was so keen on promoting Fazang's prestige and especially the extraordinary circumstances under which he was conferred full ordination, did not originate with him. Rather, he probably just adopted it.[35] The episode must have been invented earlier by somebody in the line of the Huayan tradition who was particularly concerned with the lack of evidence for Fazang's full ordination. Of course, the whole foregoing discussion shows that given ignorance of basic facts related to the translation of *Huayan jing*, the inventor of the episode could not have lived too close to Fazang. Specifically, he could not have been one of Fazang's direct disciples. The originator of the episode was seemingly inspired by the ten *bhadanta*-preceptors (*shi lintan dade* 十臨壇大德), and thus I am inclined to believe that it was probably invented sometime after such a monastic system was introduced in 771, fifty-nine years after Fazang's death.

The existence of a fabrication of this type does not necessarily establish that Fazang had never been ordained. We can never exclude the possibility that he was indeed ordained, and for unknown reasons Yan Chaoyin failed to include the information in his epitaph. However, the creation of the Ordination Episode does prove that Fazang's ordination became an issue which disturbed his followers so much that they felt the need to develop lore in order to dispel any doubt concerning his possible lack of qualifications. This emphasized the need to analyze carefully the accusations against Fazang in this regard, and not treat them as malicious suspicion on the part of those hostile to Huayan.

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[34] According to Fazang's monastic age given by Xufa, he was fully ordained in 671, the year after he began his affiliation with Western Taiyuansi and four years before he is said to have received the "complete precepts" from the ten *bhadanta*s.

[35] Yoshizu Yoshihide ("Hōzō den no kenkyū," 187) is, however, of the opinion that the Ordination Episode derived from a non-Huayan source.

3. Fazang and Śākyamitra: Further Evidence

We must be aware that in addition to various efforts to promote the unusual circumstance under which Fazang was accorded full ordination, there was a deliberate campaign aimed at depicting him as someone who transcended the bodhisattva-precepts. This new depiction was complex and important. Because it is a key to understanding how Fazang's monastic career developed, I will devote the following discussion to it.

3.1. *A Story in Pŏpjang Hwasang Chŏn*

First, let us turn to the relevant remarks of Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn:

> At the beginning of the Zongzhang era (April 22, 668-March 26, 670), when [Fa]zang was still a layman, he approached a *brahmin* physician (*changnian poluomen*) to ask [him to] confer the bodhisattva-precepts [on him]. Someone told the Western monk, "This practitioner (Ch. *xingzhe* 行者, Skt. *vibhāvanā-dhyātṛ*) [is capable of] reciting *Huayan [jing]* and is also good at lecturing on *Fanwang [jing]* 梵網經 (Sūtra of the Brahma-net)."[36] The old man was surprised, and exclaiming in praise, "His merit and function would be unfathomable if he only upholds *Huayan [jing]*. How much more for one who is capable of understanding its import? If there is someone who completely recites the One Hundred and Forty Vows,[37] he will be a person who achieves the complete precepts of a Great Being (Mahāsattva). Don't bother further about conferring other [precepts on him].'" 總章初，藏猶爲居士，就婆羅門長年，請授菩薩戒．或謂西僧曰: "是行者誦華嚴，兼善講梵網." 叟愕且嗟曰: "但持華嚴，功用難測．矧解義耶？若有人誦百四十願已，爲得大士具足戒者．無煩別授."[38]

The expression *changnian* 長年 requires explanation. When used with *poluomen* 婆羅門 (*brahmin*) or *shi* 師 ("master," "specialist"), scholars understand it as "a *brahmin* (or specialist) who prolongs years (i.e., of life)."[39] This is generally correct. Actually, like the similar terms *changming* 長命 and *changji* 長季, which we will encounter in the following discussion, *changnian* was probably identical to *qipo* 耆婆, a Chinese transliteration of *jīva* (longevity); and the Chinese translation was

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[36] A *Fanwang jing* commentary entitled "Fanwang jing pusajie ben shu" 梵網經菩薩戒本疏 (Commentary on the *Fanwang Jing Pusajie Ben* [i.e., *Fanwang jing*]) (*T* no. 1813), is attributed to Fazang.

[37] The One Hundred and Forty Vows (*baisishi yuan* 百四十願) are the subject of a *parivarta* in the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*; see *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing*, *T* 9: 6.430c2-432c14.

[38] *PHC* 283b13-17. The text has been emended in accordance with Dōchū's suggestion (see Chapter 2.3). Forte's translation of the same passage, slightly different from mine, is found in Forte, "Fazang and Śākyamitra," 372-73.

[39] See, for instance, Forte, "Hui-chih," 108-9.

shou 壽.[40] *Shou* in Chinese was of course interchangeable with *changming*, *changnian* or *changji*, all of which meant "longevity." Furthermore, because of the famous story about Qipo (Jīvaka), which celebrates Qipo's reputation as a "Great Physician" (*dayi* 大醫),[41] in the Buddhist literature any accomplished physician could be called Jīvaka, not unlike in China where a good physician was (and is still) called Hua Tuo 華陀 (d. 208), the "Divine Physician" (*shenyi* 神醫) active during the Three Kingdoms period (220-280). It is probably for this reason that the Sui Buddhist scholar Jingying Huiyuan 淨影慧遠 (523-592) made the following comment:

> Qipo (Jīvaka) is a "barbarian" (Sanskrit) word. It is called longevity (*changming*) here (in China). The day he was born, he was left at the head of an alley. But he survived. For this reason, he was called "[a person with] a long life." This person was good at medicinal matters, and was therefore called Dayi (Great Physician). 耆婆胡語，此云長命. 初生之日，棄之巷首，而得不死，故號"長命." 其人善醫，故稱 "大醫."[42]

Therefore, *changming* (*changnian*, *changji*), as a Chinese translation of Qipo (Jīvaka), indicated an Indian (or South Asian) physician who could also be an alchemist if he (or even she: we have a record of a female South Asian physician-alchemist whom Xuanzong was interested in inviting to his palace)[43] also applied alchemical expertise to patients. Thus, both Qipo and *changming* (*changji*/*changnian*) were originally the same title that was applied to an Indian medical expert (and/or alchemist). There must have been quite a few such Indian medical experts active in China during the Tang period, when rulers seemed to have had confidence in the relatively more advanced Indian medical science, at least advanced in certain areas like ophthalmology.[44] We can therefore assume that this *brahmin* in question was just such an Indian physician, although his knowledge obviously extended beyond medicine.

3.2. *Other Relevant Sources*

In the above passage, Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn (or his source) does not reveal (or know) the identity of the *brahmin* who could give Fazang the bodhi-

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[40] The famous name Kumārajīva (Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什) was, for example, translated as Tongshou 童壽.

[41] For a version of the Buddhist story of Jīvaka, see, for example, *Sifen lü* (*T* 22: 39.850c-855a).

[42] *Da banniepan jing yiji*, *T* 37: 6.773b87-9.

[43] *ZZTJ* 211.6718; Schafer, *Golden Peaches*, 182-83; Sen, *Buddhism, Trade, and Diplomacy*, 49.

[44] Deshpande, "Ophthalmic Surgery."

sattva-precepts in 668 and who recognized Fazang as someone who transcends the bodhisattva-precepts. In one of Antonino Forte's early articles (published in 1985), the *brahmin* is identified as Lokāditya (Ch. Lujiayiduo 盧迦逸多). Forte's argument is based on the assumption that there were only two Indian monks who were active in Chang'an at this period in the capacity of "*brahmin* physician": Nārāyaṇasvāmin (Ch. Naluomisuopo[mei] 那羅邇娑婆[寐], ?-668+) and Lokāditya, and his deduction that the former is not the right one, leaving Lokāditya.[45] I shall discuss the plausibility of this later on, but I want to note that an earlier source, *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying zhuan*, implies a different identification for the *brahmin*:

> In the first year of the Zongzhang era (April 22, 668-February 5, 669), in the Western Regions there was an Indian monk and Trepiṭaka [master] who came to the capital (Chang'an).[46] Gaozong treated him as a teacher, and both the monastics and laity paid reverence to him. Master [Fa]zang of the Huayan, who was then still a Buddhist novice,[47] went to touch the crown of his head to the feet of the Trepiṭaka [master], requesting to receive the bodhisattva-precepts [from him]. At the time, people there reported to the Trepiṭaka [master], saying, "This novice was able to recite the Great *Huayan jing* and he is also able to understand its meanings." The Trepiṭaka [master] praised him, saying in surprise, "The Single Vehicle of the Huayan is the secret treasury of all the Buddhas, and is hard to encounter. How much more so for comprehending its meanings? If there is anyone capable of reciting the single chapter of 'Jingxing' (Pure Practice) of *Huayan jing*, then this person has already completely attained the pure precepts of a bod-

[45] Forte ("Hui-chih," 111-12) also says that Lokāditya conferred the bodhisattva-precepts; but we see from Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's report that the Indian monk did not confer the precepts because Fazang's spiritual cultivation far transcended the precepts themselves. Nārāyaṇasvāmin is not the right person because he was then out of favor with the Tang rulers due to the suspicion that the elixir he concocted for Taizong hastened (if not caused) his death. Resulting political pressure drove him away from China either in or slightly after 649. He returned to Chang'an in 657 in an unsuccessful attempt to regain imperial favor by promoting his longevity skills to Gaozong (*ZZTJ* 200.6303). Thus, given his tarnished image, even if he had still been alive and lived in Chang'an in 668, Nārāyaṇasvāmin would not have been sought out by the young Fazang. Recently, Forte has proposed a new candidate for the unnamed *brahmin* monk; see Forte, "Fazang and Śākyamitra," as discussed below (note 67).

[46] The expression *jingluo* 京洛 is ambiguous here. It could mean Chang'an or Luoyang, but more likely, as Forte points out (*An Shigao*, 57n46), in the Tang period *jingluo* was just another expression for Chang'an. Given that this Indian monk (actually Śākyamitra as the author meant here) is not known to have traveled to Luoyang, then Forte's interpretation of this term stands up.

[47] According to the Song Buddhist monk Daocheng 道誠 (?-1019+), in contrast to the usage of *kumāra* in Indian Buddhism, where it referred to a novice regardless of age, the Chinese translation *tongzi* 童子 (Skt. *kumāra*; Buddhist novice) indicated someone seven to fifteen *sui*; see *Shishi yaolan*, *T* 54: 1.266c9-19. As Fazang was then already twenty-six *sui*, Huiying/Hu Youzhen here might have used *tongzi* in its Sanskrit sense.

> hisattva. There is no need for him to receive the bodhisattva-precepts again. The following is recounted in *Xiyu zhuanji*.[48] There was a person who, before chanting *Huayan jing*, washed his hands with water; and a drop of water touched an ant, which died and was reborn in Tuṣita Heaven. How much more for one capable of receiving and upholding [this *sūtra*]? It should be known that this novice will later accomplish broad and immense benefit. He will be able to bestow the 'ambrosia of no-birth' to all sentient beings." 總章元年，西域有三藏梵僧，來至京洛．高宗師事，道俗歸敬．華嚴藏公，猶爲童子．頂禮三藏，請受菩薩戒．時眾白三藏言: "此童子誦得華嚴大經，兼解其義." 三藏驚歎曰: "華嚴一乘，是諸佛祕藏，難可遭遇．況通其義？若有人誦得華嚴淨行一品，其人已得菩薩淨戒具足，不復更受菩薩戒．西域傳記中說: '有人轉華嚴經，以洗手水，滴著一蟻子，其蟻命終，生忉利天.' 而況有人能得受持．當知此童子，於後必當廣大饒益，能施群生無生甘露."[49]

Not unlike Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn, the author Huiying and/or Hu Youzhen (the later editor) does not tell us the identity of the monk whom Fazang approached. However, comparing this story with Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's, we find an additional layer—that concerning the inconceivable merits and powers of *Huayan jing*, which, in combination with another passage of Fazang's *Huayan jing zhuanji*, reveals that the Indian monk in question was known as Śākyamitra:

> The Śramaṇa-physician[50] of the Country of Lions, Śākyamitra (Shijiamiduoluo 釋迦彌多羅), was a person who had attained the "Third Fruit."[51] In this land (i.e., China), he is called Nengyou 能友 ("Talented Friend").[52] At the beginning of the Linde era (February 2, 664-February 14, 666) he came to Zhendan 震旦 (China), where Gaozong the Heavenly Emperor held him in great esteem, inviting him to reside at the Penglai Palace.[53] He lived in the Inner Palace

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[48] See below regarding the possibility of understanding the expression *Xiyu zhuanji* as a title of a text, which was compiled by a renowned Sui monk. Forte ("Fazang and Śākyamitra," 375n15), however, does not take "Xiyu zhuanji" as a text title.

[49] *GYZ*, *T* 51: 175a5-14; translated in Forte, "Fazang and Śākyamitra," 374-75.

[50] Here, Fazang refers to Śākyamitra as *changji shamen* 長季沙門, which can be understood as a śramaṇa of advanced age and/or simply *changnian shamen* 長年沙門 ("monk-physician") given that in Classical Chinese *nian* 年 and *ji* 季 had the same connotation (i.e., "age"). This is strengthened by the possibility that Śākyamitra was also known among his Chinese contemporaries as a "*brahmin* physician" (*changnian poluomen* 長年婆羅門), or simply a "physician" (*changnian* 長年).

[51] Indicating the third of the "four fruits" of Buddhist attainment (stream-enterer, once-returner, non-returner, and *arhat*), *sanguo* 三果 is the fruit of non-returning (Ch. *butui guo* 不退果, Skt. *anāgami-phala*). Daoshi makes this clearer when he says that Śākyamitra was a *sanguo a'nahan ren* 三果阿那含人 (*Fayuan zhulin*, *T* 53: 14.395a11); that is, an *anagamin*.

[52] This Chinese name was obviously based on the traditional rendition of Śākya as Neng 能 (e.g., Śākyamuni was translated as Nengren 能仁, the "Talented Sage"), while *mitra* is translated as *you* 友 ("friend," "companion") in Chinese.

[53] Penglai Palace was renovated and developed in Longshuo 2 (January 25, 662-February 12, 663) on the foundations of Daming Palace 大明宮 (named Yongan

with the "Physician and True Man" (*changnian zhenren*) and the Great General of Transformation (*huaihua da jiangjun*). After receiving offerings [in the palace] for one year or so, [Śākyami]tra requested permission to search for the saintly traces and to visit mountains of renown throughout [the empire]. Thus, he asked to go to Mount Qingliang (i.e., Mount Wutai 五臺) in Daizhou (in present-day Yanmen 雁門, Shanxi) to pay homage to Mañjuśrī. 師子國長季沙門釋迦彌多羅者，第三果人也，此土云能友．麟德之初，來儀震旦．高宗天皇，甚所尊重，請在蓬萊宮，與長年真人懷化大將軍，同處禁中．歲餘供養，多羅請尋聖跡，遍歷名山，乃求往代州清涼山，禮敬文殊師利.[54]

He once arrived at Western Taiyuansi in the capital. At the time, the monks there were about to recite the wondrous text of *Huayan [jing]*, so he ordered the interpreter to ask what the *sūtra* was. [Receiving] the answer that it was *Huayan [jing]*, [Śākyami]tra immediately became [so] respectful [that] his complexion changed, and he said, "I had not expected that there could be such a text in this place!" Putting his [two] palms together, he was joyful, praising it for a long time before saying, "This great (*da* 大), square (*fang* 方) and broad (*guang* 廣) [*sūtra*][55] has inconceivable merits and virtues. In the western country [i.e., India] this saying is transmitted. There was a person who, before reading the *sūtra*, washed his hands with water. After the water splashed [onto the ground], some worms and ants got wet and died because of this. Subsequently, they were able to attain rebirth in the heavens. How much more so it would be for accepting, upholding,

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Palace 永安宮 when it was built in Zhenguan 8 [February 4, 634-January 23, 635], only one year before it was named Daming Palace in Zhenguan 9 [January 24, 635-February 11, 636]). Penglai Palace was renamed Hanyuan Palace 含元宮 in Xianheng 1 (March 27, 670-February 14, 671), and in Chang'an 1 (December 4, 701-January 2, 702) the name Daming Palace was restored. See *THY* 30.553, *XTS* 37.961. It was one of the three major palaces in Chang'an in the Tang dynasty. See Xiong, *Sui-Tang Chang'an*, 67-68.

Huixiang does not tell us that Śākyamitra was lodged in the inner palace. Rather, he limits himself to saying that he was attracted to China by Mañjuśrī's supposed residence at Mount Wutai and that shortly after his arrival he sent a memorial to the Tang emperor (Gaozong), who supported his plan for the Wutai pilgrimage by supplying him with an interpreter, transportation and other forms of assistance. Daoxuan's report seems to have been more ambiguous, "Our present emperor treats him with respect, ordering his envoys to escort him," which might be that he had enjoyed the Chinese emperor's respectful treatment before setting out for Mount Wutai. If this is correct, then Daoxuan's account is compatible with Fazang's (see Appendix D for the details of the two accounts of Śākyamitra presented by Daoxuan and Huixiang). Thus, after consulting the three accounts by Daoxuan, Huixiang and Fazang, I suggest that Śākyamitra was active in China for a short period of time before he caught the attention of Gaozong, who lodged him in one of his palaces. Then, over one year later, he left the palace for his pilgrimage to Mount Wutai.

[54] *HJZ*, *T* 51: 4.169c23-28. Forte's translation ("Fazang and Śākyamitra," 380-81) contains details about several key terms in this passage.

[55] This was obviously based on the fact that the Chinese version of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* made by Buddhabhadra is titled "Da Fangguangfo huayan jing" (*T* no. 278). The new version completed by Śikṣānanda in 699 had the same title.

> reading and reciting [this *sūtra*]? This will yield inconceivable merits!" 嘗至京師西太原寺. 時屬諸僧將轉讀華嚴妙典, 乃命譯語問云: "此是何經?" 答: "是華嚴." 多羅肅然改容, 曰: "不知此處, 亦有是經耶?!" 合掌歡喜, 讚歎久之, 而言曰: "此大方廣, 功德難思. 西國相傳, 有人以水盥掌, 將讀此經, 水之所霑, 灑及虫蟻, 因此捨命, 後得生天. 何況受持讀誦? 蓋不思之福也."[56]

Insofar as the inconceivable merits of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* are concerned, *Huayan jing zhuanji* and *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying zhuan*, notwithstanding slight differences, tell us the same story. It can therefore be established that the Indian monk (*fanseng* 梵僧) in *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying zhuan* was identical with the monk Śākyamitra in *Huayan jing zhuanji*. In other words, it was from Śākyamitra that Fazang attempted to receive the bodhisattva-precepts.[57]

In addition to Huiying and/or Hu Youzhen, a number of later Chinese Buddhist monks and laymen, including Chengguan, Feizhuo 非濁 (?-1063), Zhuhong 袾宏 (1535-1615), Hongbi 弘璧 (1598-1669), and Zhou Kefu 周可復 (dates unknown), quoted this interesting story.[58] Of these, the Song-era monk Feizhuo is most pertinent to our discussion here. His *Sanbao ganying yaolüe* includes the "baptized insects" story.[59] Immediately after quoting the *Huayan jing zhuanji* story, Feizhuo mentions another one:

> I once heard that there was a kingdom named Zhejupan 遮拘槃,[60] located over two thousand *li* southeast of Khotan. Beside the imperial

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[56] *HJZ*, *T* 51: 4.169c28-170a5. For Forte's translation, see his "Fazang and Śākyamitra," 387.

[57] This logic has led Xufa to give the name of the monk in question as Shijiamiduoluo 釋迦彌多羅 (Śākyamitra) (*Fajiezong wuzu lüeji*, *XZJ* 134: 273b9).

[58] See Chengguan's *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* (*T* 36: 15.116c4-15), Feizhuo's *Sanbao ganying yaolüe* (to be discussed below), Zhuhong's *Huayan jing ganying lüeji* (*XZJ* 134: 286a11-17), Hongbi's *Huayan ganying yuanqi zhuan* (*XZJ* 134: 294a11-b1), Zhou Kefu's *Lichao Huayan chiyan ji* (*XZJ* 134: 383a9-15). Chengguan's text has the expression *changer poluomen seng mijiaduoluo* 長耳婆羅門僧蜜迦多羅 (*Da Fangguangfo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao*, *T* 36: 15.116c5), which is obviously a mistake for *changnian poluomen Shijiamiduoluo* 長年婆羅門釋迦蜜多羅, as correctly pointed out by Purui in his *Huayan xuantan huixuan ji* (*XZJ* 12: 38.352a11ff).

[59] It is included as a part of the item titled "Youren jiangdu *Huayan jing* yishui guanzhang suozhan chonglei shengtian ganying" 有人將讀華嚴經以水盥掌所沾虫類昇天感應 ("Stimuli and responses involving the rebirth in the heaven of the insects wetted [i.e., drowned] by the water used by someone to wash his hands before reading *Huayan jing*"). See *Sanbao ganying yaolüe*, *T* 51: 2.837b13-23.

[60] The kingdom of Zhejupan 遮拘槃 or Zhejupan 遮俱槃 was the same as Zhejujia 遮拘迦, as found in Jñānagupta's biography in *XGSZ* (*T* 50: 2.434b15-16). It appears as Zhujubo 朱駒波 in Yang Xianzhi's 楊衒之 (?-547+) *Luoyang qielan ji* (*T* 51: 5.1019a23). This kingdom can be identified as Karghalik, present-day Yecheng 葉城 in Xinjiang. The problem, however, is that the kingdom was about

palace there was a "pure abode" (*jingshe* 精舍; i.e., a Buddhist monastery), within which Mahāyānist śramaṇas recited the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*. The king and his officials made offerings to them. Once at midnight, suddenly there appeared great rays of bright light, which pervaded the [capital] city. Amidst the rays of light were several hundreds or thousands of deities, who offered a variety of heavenly clothes, pearls and gems to the king and śramaṇas. The king asked, "Who are you?" The deities answered, "We were insects [who lived] beside the monastery. Before reading the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, the monks [at the monastery] washed their hands with water. After getting wet [drowning] in this water, we died and then were reborn in Tuṣita Heaven. In this heaven all is dharma and [this] has enabled us to know the original cause [for our rebirth in the heaven]. For this reason, we have descended here to repay our debt."

The king was both sad and joyful after hearing the words of the deities. He then laid this down as a law, "Our kingdom only esteems the Mahāyāna and the Hīnayāna is not allowed to circulate here." From then on, the king and his descendants [exclusively] revered the Mahāyāna. Renowned monks from all states were to be tested on entering the state. Those who studied the Hīnayāna were sent away, without being allowed to stay, while the followers of Mahāyāna were invited to stay and receive the offerings. This law has persisted unchanged up to the present. The imperial palace itself stored the twelve [divisions of] *sūtra*s including *Huayan [jing], Mohe bore [boluo miduo jing]* 摩訶般若[波羅蜜多經] (*Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra*), *Daji [jing]* 大集經 (**Mahāsaṃnipāta sūtra*) and *Fahua [jing]* 法華經 (i.e., *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮花經; *Saddharmapuṇḍrīka sūtra*; *Lotus sūtra*), totaling one hundred thousand *gāthā*s. The king himself received and upheld these *sūtra*s and personally kept the key [to the *sūtra*-store]. The [*sūtra*-store] was opened when he recited the *sūtra*s, and he made offerings [to the *sūtra*s] of incense and flowers. There were many extraordinary phenomena like this. 嘗聞: 于塡國東南二千餘里, 有國名遮拘槃. 王宮側有精舍, 於中大乘沙門轉讀花嚴, 王臣供養之. 夜中分忽然有大光明, 遍滿城中. 光明之中, 有百千天人, 以種種天衣珠寶瓔珞, 奉獻王及沙門. 王問曰: "是誰?" 天答曰: "我是精舍側昆虫也. 沙門以水盥掌, 將讀花嚴, 水之所霑, 因此捨命, 生忉利天. 天上法爾, 初知本因, 故來下報恩."王聞天語, 悲喜, 立制: "我國偏重大乘, 不可流通小法. 從其已來, 彼王歷葉敬重大乘. 諸國名僧, 入其境者, 並皆試練. 若小乘學, 則遣不留. 摩訶衍人, 請停供養." 至今不改. 王宮自有花嚴, 摩訶般若, 大集, 法華等經十二部並十萬偈. 王自受持, 親執戸鑰. 轉讀則開, 香花供養. 如此等異, 蓋多矣.[61]

Feizhuo notes a certain *jingtian* 經田 ("scriptural field"?) and *youji* 遊記 (travelogue) as the sources for this story and the story about Śākyamitra, which partly overlapped each other, although we know that *Huayan jing zhuanji* seems to be the primary source for the Śākyamitra

800 *li* northwest of Khotan and not "two thousand *li* southeast of Khotan." I thank Tansen Sen for assisting me in this identification.

[61] *Sanbao ganying yaolüe*, *T* 51: 2.837b23-c8.

story. I have been unable to identify the so-called *jingtian*, although it may have been a mistake for *jingyou* 經由 (the "history of the *sūtra*" [i.e., *Huayan jing*]), which could, in turn, refer to Fazang's *Huayan jing zhuanji* given that Feizhuo clearly quotes the "baptized insects" story from this collection. I assume that the *youji* is *Xiyu zhuan* 西域傳 or *Xiyu ji* 西域記 (Account of the Western Regions), a non-extant text compiled by the Sui monk Yancong 彥琮 (557-610), probably under the direction of the Indian monk Jñānagupta, who returned from a central Asian kingdom to Chang'an in 585.[62] This assumption is borne out by the following three facts. First, Fei Zhangfang 費長房 (?-598+) attributes to Jñānagupta a description of the same Zhejupan king, which is almost identical with the version quoted by Feizhuo except that it does not include the story of the "baptized insects."[63] Furthermore, Sengxiang 僧祥 (?-754+) ascribes the same passage that Fei Zhangfang attributes to Jñānagupta to *Xiyu zhi* 西域志, the name by which Yancong's *Xiyu zhuan* was also known.[64] Finally, judging by a brief

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[62] For Yancong's authorship of such a text called *Xiyu zhuan*, see his *XGSZ* biography at *T* 50: 2.437c3; it says that he compiled the text by order of Sui Wendi either in Renshou 2 (January 29, 602-February 15, 603) or shortly afterward. This must have been the same text that Daoxuan mentions as "Da Sui xiguo zhuan" 大隋西國傳 (Account of the Western Countries, Compiled under the Great Sui); see the biography Daoxuan wrote for Dharmagupta, in *XGSZ* (2.435c19-27), where he also notes that the text was composed of ten *juan* (*pian* 篇): 1. "Benzhuan" 本傳 (Main Account), 2. "Fangwu" 方物 (Geography), 3. "Shihou" 時候 (Seasons and Weather), 4. "Juchu" 居處 (Living Places), 5. "Guozheng" 國政 (Governance), 6. "Xuejiao" 學教 (Education), 7. "Liyi" 禮儀 (Ritual and Ceremonies), 8. "Yinshi" 飲食 (Food), 9. "Fuzhang" 服章 (Dresses), and 10. "Baohuo" 寶貨 (Treasures and other Commodities). In his *Shijia fangzhi* (*T* 51: 1.948b2-5), Daoxuan mentions Yancong's *Xiyu zhuan* again. He says that the text was composed of ten *juan*. He also criticizes the text's failure to lay sufficient emphasis on Buddhist-related materials, although it quite thoroughly covered secular customs in the "Western Regions" (*xiyu* 西域; i.e., India and some parts of Central Asia). Finally, in *Da Tang neidian lu* (*T* 55: 10.332b15), Daoxuan attributes to Yancong a text called "Xiyu zhi" 西域志 (in ten *juan*), which must have been the same text that he mentions as "Xiyu zhuan" in Yancong's *XGSZ* biography and *Shijia fangzhi*, and as "Da Sui xiguo zhuan" (probably the original title of the text) in Dharmagupta's *XGSZ* biography. On Jñānagupta, see his *XGSZ* biography at *T* 50: 2.433b434c.

[63] *Lidai sanbao ji*, *T* 49: 12.103a13-19 (Daoxuan quoted, with variations, the same passage in his biography of Jñānagupta; see *XGSZ*, *T* 50: 4.434b15ff). In addition to the absence of the "baptized insects" story, this passage in *Lidai sanbao ji* also differs from the passage quoted in Feizhuo's text in that it only includes three Mahāyāna texts (*Mohe bore boluomiduo jing*, *Daji jing* and *Fahua jing*), without *Huayan jing*, which is included in Feizhuo's text. It is noteworthy that this passage in *Lidai sanbao ji* is quoted by Fazang in his *HJZ* (*T* 51: 1.153b23ff).

[64] See *Fahua zhuanji*, *T* 51: 1.50b4-10. This *Xiyu zhi* passage quoted in *Fahua zhuanji* only differs from that quoted in *Lidai sanbao ji* on one point: while the latter lists three Mahāyāna texts, *Mohe bore boluomiduo jing*, *Daji jing* and *Huayan jing*, the former has five: *Huayan jing*, *Daji jing*, *Mohe bore boluo miduo jing*, *Fahua jing* and *Da niepan jing* 大涅槃經.

quotation that Fazang makes in several of his works from *Xiyu [zhuan]ji*, we get the impression that the text seems to have included legends regarding the *Avataṃsaka* cult, which might have included the "baptized insects" story.[65]

This hypothesis regarding the source for the "baptized insects" story might explain a discrepancy between *Huayan jing zhuanji* and *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying zhuan*. In reporting the "baptized insects" story related by Śākyamitra, whereas Fazang tells us that Śākyamitra refers to the story as a legend transmitted in India (*xiguo xiangchuan* 西國相傳), according to Huiying and/or Hu Youzhen, Śākyamitra makes it clear that the story is recorded in *Xiyu zhuanji*, which looks like the title of a text (*Xiyu zhuanji zhong* 西域傳記中). If *Xiyu zhuanji* can be identified as *Xiyu zhuan* compiled by Yancong, then it definitely makes no sense that Śākyamitra, who neither spoke nor read Chinese,[66] was able to refer his Chinese colleagues to a Chinese translation as the source for a story that he was telling. The true situation may be closer to the following. Fazang, who very likely read *Xiyu zhuan* and knew of the "baptized insects" story therein, recast the story told by Śākyamitra in a fashion close to the way it was related in *Xiyu zhuan.* However, on the other hand, Huiying or Hu Youzhen, who appear to have been less prudent than Fazang, had the Singhalese monk refer directly to *Xiyu zhuan[ji]*, without realizing the resulting contradiction.

One should not confuse the author of *Fahua zhuanji*, Sengxiang, with Huixiang, the author of *Hongzan Fahua zhuan* and who probably also wrote *Gu Qingliang zhuan* and was an acquaintance of Śākyamitra (see Appendix D). See Chen Jinhua, *Making and Remaking History*, 79n67.

[65] The relevant part in this quotation reads:

> Fifthly, the version which descended [to the human world]: It consists of one hundred thousand *gāthā*s in thirty-eight chapters (*parivarta*). Nāgārjuna brought this version out (of the Dragon Palace) and it is currently transmitted in India. The "One Hundred Thousand (*baiqian* 百千) [*gāthā*s]" mentioned in *She [Dasheng] lun* 攝大乘論 (*Mahāyānasaṃparigraha śāstra*, *T* nos. 1592, 1593) are precisely the "One Hundred Thousand (*shiwan* 十萬)" [*gāthā*s mentioned here]. Says *Xiyu ji*, "A complete copy of this version is preserved on a mountain in the Kingdom of Zhejupan to the south of Khotan." 五, 下本者, 有十萬頌三十八品. 龍樹將此本出, 現傳天竺, 即攝論百千爲十萬也. 西域記說: "在于闐國南遮俱槃國山中, 具有此本." (*Tanxuan ji*, *T* 35: 1.122b18-21; *Huayan jing zhigui*, *T* 45: 593b15-6)

This passage is also quoted by Chengguan in his *Xinyi Huayan jing qichu jiuhui song shizhang* (*T* 36: 710c1213). As this quotation is not found in *Da Tang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 (compiled 646), I assume that it might have been from Yancong's *Xiyu zhuan[ji]*.

[66] We know this since, according to Fazang, he had to rely on a translator in order to understand what the chanted *sūtra* was.

3.3. *Sources and Development of the Legend of Fazang's Bodhisattva-Precepts*

After identifying the possible source for an essential part of the "baptized insects" story, we are now in a position to compare the legends narrated in the following four sources: (1) *Xiyu zhuanji*, (2) *Huayan jing zhuanji*, (3) *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying zhuan* and (4) *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn*, in terms of four narrative elements: (1) the inconceivable merits of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, (2) in particular, the legends of the "baptized insects," (3) Fazang's efforts to seek bodhisattva-precepts and finally (4) the foreign monk Śākyamitra. For the sake of clarity, see the following table of these four narrative elements in the four textual sources:

Table 1. Four Narrative Elements as Variously Recorded in Four Texts

	AVATAṂSAKA MERITS	BAPTIZED INSECTS	BODHISATTVA-PRECEPTS	ŚĀKYAMITRA
Xiyu zhuanji	•	•		
Zhuanji	•	•		•
Ganying zhuan	•	•	•	• (implied)
Pŏpjang chŏn	•		•	

The table shows that *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying zhuan* is the most fully developed, including as it does all four elements. Our question is, can we accept them as facts, as given there?

According to *Huayan jing zhuanji*, when Śākyamitra visited Western Taiyuansi he remained blissfully unaware of the existence in China of any Chinese version of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*. Because Western Taiyuansi was built in 670, this Śākyamitra episode means that he did not learn this fact until that year at the earliest. However, on the other hand, the story in *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying zhuan* implies that two years before 670 the unnamed Indian monk (Śākyamitra) became aware of Fazang's familiarity with the *sūtra* and therefore the existence in China of at least one Chinese version of it. Obviously, the stories contradict each other. We might suppose that in the course of Śākyamitra's visit at Western Taiyuansi in 670 he was feigning ignorance of the existence of *Huayan jing* in China. But that is highly unlikely given that Fazang was both the subject of one story (in *Da*

Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying zhuan) and reporter (and therefore very likely a witness) of the other (*Huayan jing zhuanji*). Thus Śākyamitra would have found it difficult to mislead people, since it would have destroyed his credibility as a Buddhist master in the eyes of Fazang. Obviously, even if one imagines Śākyamitra to have been unscrupulous, one still has to concede that he must have had enough discretion not to pretend ignorance if he were eager to impress his Chinese colleagues at Western Taiyuansi with the marvelous power of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*. In view of this, we have to reject one of the two stories. Which one is to be rejected? Unless any evidence is found to show that Fazang fabricated the story about Śākyamitra's visit at Taiyuansi, we have to reject the story in *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying zhuan*.

First, as is shown in Appendix D, Śākyamitra could not have arrived in China as late as 668, this according to both Fazang and Daoxuan. Second, it would have been impossible for Śākyamitra, who had no knowledge of the Chinese language, to refer directly to a Chinese text like *Xiyu zhuanji*. In other words, we cannot assume that Śākyamitra was the unnamed Indian monk to whom Fazang turned to seek the bodhisattva-precepts in 668. Accordingly, insofar as Lokāditya and Śākyamitra are the only two possible candidates who could be identified as the "unnamed *brahmin*" in the Fazang story mentioned by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn, we have to accept Lokāditya, rather than Śākyamitra, as the unnamed *brahmin*. Thus, putting aside the issue of whether or not the "unnamed *brahmin*" story has any historicity, the identification of this individual that Antonino Forte proposed twenty one years ago remains plausible.[67]

If we cannot accept the historical veracity of Fazang's bodhisattva-precepts given in *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying zhuan* because it names Śākyamitra, then what of the *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn* version, which leaves the Indian monk unnamed? Admittedly, the fact that Śākyamitra could not have been the unnamed *brahmin* who received Fazang's request for the bodhisattva-precepts does not necessarily refute the credibility of the "unnamed *brahmin*" episode itself, which is another issue that needs to be treated separately.

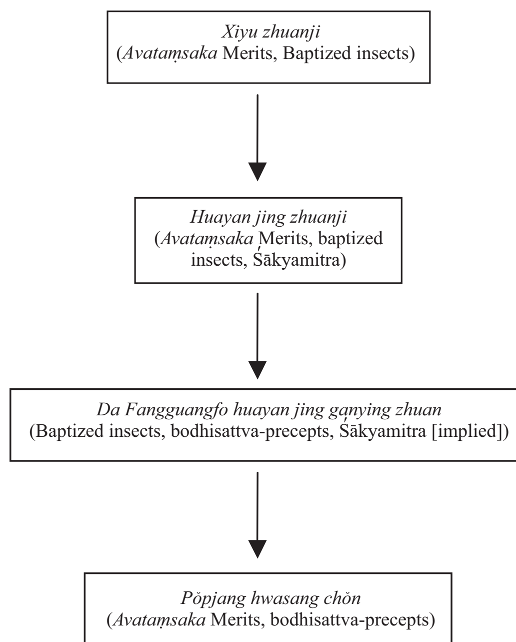
Given that *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying zhuan* is the only known source prior to Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn that mentions Fazang's seeking bodhisattva-precepts from an Indian *brahmin*-monk, there are two possible explanations for the relationship between the two versions of the same story in these sources. One, Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn directly borrowed from *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying zhuan*. If this is true, we

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[67] Forte now thinks that Śākyamitra is the likely candidate to be identified with the "unnamed *brahmin*" (Forte, "Fazang and Śākyamitra").

can easily dismiss the credibility of the *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn* version, since it is merely cloned from a rejected version. If the *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying zhuan* version was the primary version of this story, which was also used (though with an important modification) by *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn*, it was actually fabricated on the basis of the story recorded in Fazang's *Huayan jing zhuanji*: Huiying simply inserted the bodhisattva-precepts story into the Śākyamitra story narrated by Fazang and switched the focus from the extolling of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* (through the legend of the "baptized insects") to Fazang's status as "One Who Transcends the Bodhisattva-precepts," in the meanwhile making the Indian monk anonymous. In adopting this story in *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying zhuan*, Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn took the bodhisattva-precept story and omitted that of the baptized insects. He also omitted the identity of the Indian monk even though a comparison of *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying zhuan* and *Huayan jing zhuanji* makes it clear that it must have been Śākyamitra. We can thus reconstruct the evolution of the stories in *Xiyu zhuanji*, *Huayan jing zhuanji*, *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying zhuan*, and *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn* as such:

Chart 3. Development of the Śākyamitra-Fazang Episode, 1



Second, we need to consider another possibility—viz., that these two texts were both based on an earlier source. This possibility requires

a more cautious assessment since it presupposes the existence of a primary story of Fazang's bodhisattva-precepts before the compilation of *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying zhuan*. It remains impossible to tell how this story was rendered before it was quoted (and probably also recast to some degree) in *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying zhuan* and *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn*. As seen in our comparison, the former contains two elements absent in the latter—the baptized insects and the implicit reference to Śākyamitra. If *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying zhuan* and *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn* both rely on this primary story in narrating Fazang's reputed effort to seek bodhisattva-precepts from Śākyamitra, then we can infer that the primary story is closer to either the *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying zhuan* version or the *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn* version. Although the way that Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn treated his sources suggests that, compared to Huiying's version, his might have been more faithful to the primary story,[68] let us try to be as circumspect as possible by considering both possibilities. First, let us suppose that the primary story is more faithfully represented in *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying zhuan*. In this case, we can challenge the historical veracity of the primary story for the same reason that we challenged *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying zhuan*. What, then, of the plausibility of the primary story, supposing it is indeed closely reflected in the *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn* version? In other words, could we take it as a historical fact that Fazang requested bodhisattva-precepts from an unnamed Indian *brahmin*-monk who assured him of both the great merits of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* and his privilege of being exempted from the necessity of receiving such precepts?

It is clear that the story has two goals: one is to extol the power of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* through the mouth of a prestigious Indian Buddhist priest (very likely Lokāditya); the second is to celebrate Fazang's status as "One Who Transcends bodhisattva-precepts," as recognized and sanctioned by this Indian monk. Given the reputation of this Indian monk within the contemporary Chinese imperial house and the enthusiasm with which he is said to have praised the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, one might expect that this story should have made its way into *Huayan jing zhuanji*, which was compiled by Fazang himself for promoting the *sūtra* and the practices related to it. Since it is not, is it possible that Fazang excluded it out of modesty? Assuming that Fazang was too humble to present to his readers the story as a whole because part of it was about himself, he might have

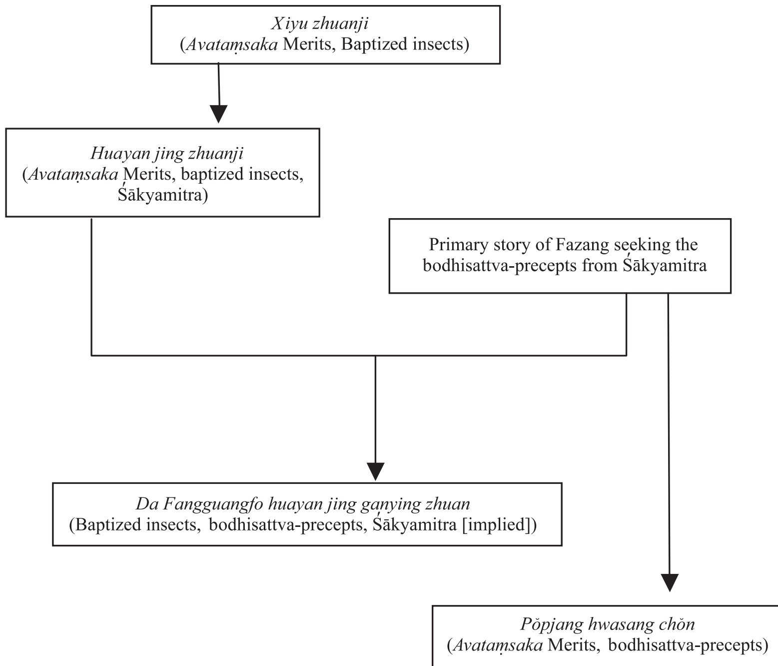
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[68] Near the beginning of his Fazang biography, Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn explicitly states, "For now, let me just investigate the fragmentary documents and separate biographies [of Fazang], select those stories about [Fa]zang, which are [extraordinary] enough to startle people's eyes and ears, and collect [them] together." 今且討片文別記中，概見藏之軌躅可聳人視聽者，掇而聚之 (*PHC* 280c27-28).

included an appropriate paraphrase, knowing that a comment from this Indian monk would help boost the standing of the *sūtra*. Thus, I am inclined to discredit the episode of Fazang's seeking bodhisattva-precepts from an unnamed *brahmin*, the invention of which seems to have been inspired by the story reported by Fazang about Śākyamitra.

After comparing the *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying zhuan* version of Fazang's bodhisattva-precepts episode with the same episode related by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn—which seems to have originated from a source earlier than *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying zhuan*—on the one hand, and the Śākyamitra episode at Western Taiyuansi reported by Fazang on the other, one gets the impression that Huiying just rewrote the story of Fazang's receiving bodhisattva-precepts and that of Śākyamitra into a new one. The main thrust of the bodhisattva-precepts story was kept intact except for the following two changes: first, one of the two heroes in the story, the unnamed *brahmin*, was replaced by Śākyamitra (although Huiying avoids explicitly giving his name); second, the Indian account of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*'s supernatural power was added. The evolution can be illustrated as follows:

Chart 4. Development of the Śākyamitra-Fazang Episode, 2



Thus, neither the *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying zhuan* nor *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn* version of the story concerning Fazang seeking

bodhisattva-precepts from an Indian *brahmin* monk (no matter whether he is identified as Śākyamitra or not) can be accepted as historically true. What then, was the purpose for its invention? It is obvious that promotion of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* was high on the agenda. However, there is also the possibility that depicting Fazang as "One Who Transcends the bodhisattva-precepts" constituted a more fundamental and deliberate thrust. This might have been, in turn, triggered by the fact that for some reasons Fazang was not fully ordained at all throughout his life, something embarrassing to Fazang's followers. I suggest that it was primarily as a response to this embarrassment that the ordination episode was manufactured, either sometime after Fazang died and before Huiying compiled *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying zhuan*, or by Huiying himself in this same collection.

4. Concluding remarks

As shown by the sources examined here, we do not have solid evidence to support the supposition that Fazang was fully ordained; in fact there is much evidence that some of his direct disciples and/or his later followers invented stories to demonstrate that not only was he fully ordained, but also that he received the precepts in exalted circumstances. Even if we assume that he was eventually fully ordained, this must have happened in a rather late phase of his career. In spite of his reputation as a great Buddhist master, Fazang's full ordination warrants thorough scrutiny. The research presented here may stand as a first step in this direction.

The uncertainty brings up the question of how to evaluate Fazang's obvious enthusiasm for bodhisattva-precepts and especially the possibility that he might have acted as a verifier for the full ordination that the young Jianzhen/Ganjin 鑒真 (688-763) received in 708. While it is out of question that Fazang paid a great deal of importance to such precepts, we should also recognize that the relationship between them and the more conventional and conservative (or "elitist") "Hīnayāna-precepts" was a major issue in medieval East Asia. There were attempts in both China and Japan by some "reformist" monks to militate against the necessity (or at least importance) of "Hīnayāna precepts" through use of bodhisattva-precepts.[69] Fazang's bodhisattva-precepts might reveal his lukewarm attitude toward the "Hīnayāna precepts." As for his involvement in Jianzhen's full ordination, even though it was true, Fazang was invited primarily because of his prestige and his knowledge of bodhisattva-precepts.[70]

[69] On the Tendai monk Saichō's 最澄 (767-822) efforts, see Groner, *Saichō*.
[70] Chapter 6.2.3.

This study uncovers two strands of legend which were created and developed as responses to the problematic issue of Fazang's full ordination. It seems that the first strand can be traced back to a story that Fazang reported about the Indian monk Śākyamitra, who visited Taiyuansi sometime after 670. Although included in a work with a highly polemical agenda, the story probably has a basis in historical fact. The Śākyamitra story was very likely the prototype for an episode that extols the importance and power of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* and presents an unnamed Indian monk who recognizes and sanctions Fazang's status as transcending the need for the bodhidsattva-precepts. Then, a combination of this episode with the Śākyamitra story resulted in a new episode of an unnamed "Indian Buddhist Trepiṭaka master," which has three foci: (i) the power of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, (ii) Fazang's exemption from the bodhisattva-precepts by virtue of his superior spiritual achievements, and finally (iii) the Trepiṭaka master's prediction about Fazang's future as a great Buddhist master capable of providing immense benefit to sentient beings.

Probably some time after the creation of this strand of legends, Fazang's followers started to weave a new strand, a typical example being the Ordination Episode. In this episode, through his supernatural powers, Fazang brings forth a ray of light from his mouth, a miraculous feat which immediately attracts the attention of Empress Wu, who not only orders his ordination at the hand of ten Buddhist leaders, but also invites him to participate in the project of preparing a new Chinese translation of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*. Our analysis reveals that this episode was obviously based on two tales in *Zuanling ji* (a collection that Fazang's disciples compiled on the basis of a work he left unfinished, *Huayan jing zhuanji*). They are about the so-called "divine light" associated with Fazang and the bestowal by Empress Wu of "Xianshou" as Fazang's honorific title. We cannot accept the former as anything more than legend, and the latter is also unlikely to have any historical basis.

Thus, it seems that these two strands employed opposite approaches: one is negative insofar as it shows that Fazang's advanced spiritual cultivation over-qualifies him for the bodhisattva-precepts (and implicitly any form of precepts), while the other is positive in that it asserts Fazang's full ordination and situates it in a miraculous context. However, it seems that both strands actually originated from the same concern about Fazang's lack of full ordination and were designed to promote Fazang as an eminent Buddhist master with all the necessary qualifications.

In addition to reminding us of the necessity of reading medieval Chinese Buddhist historical and biographical sources critically, this case also underlines the possibility that some of the greatest shapers of

the medieval Chinese Buddhist landscape might not have been fully ordained and therefore might not have been Buddhist monks. I hope that this study provides a point of reference for scholars considering similar cases. I recall a controversy over the authenticity of an epitaph dedicated to a stūpa that purportedly enshrined Huineng's 惠能 (638-713) hair when it was shaved off, sometime after he became a renowned meditation master in a remote area.[71] It seems to me that a major factor that has discouraged scholars from considering the possible fabricated nature of this epitaph might be the distaste of admitting that a man with such influence within the Buddhist world could have been an "unordained" monk. Now, if such an "elite" scholar-monk as Fazang might not have been fully ordained, why should we be so reluctant to explore the possibility that Huineng, a "revolutionary" monk who was far more grass-roots based, was actually never ordained?

Not unrelated is the unique "Buddhist" institution known as *pusaseng* 菩薩僧 ("bodhisattva-monks"), which was introduced at the very end of the Northern Zhou dynasty (557-581). One hundred and twenty Buddhist monks who were forcibly laicized during the Northern Zhou persecution of Buddhism (574-578) were allowed to return to religious life with the condition that they kept their heads unshaven. This monastic system was attempted as a compromise between Buddhist and Confucian ideologies. The policy itself was rapidly made obsolete by the replacement of the Northern Zhou with the Sui dynasty, which strongly favored Buddhism.[72] However, the experiment was highly revealing of some aspects of medieval Chinese people's religious mentality and it also had a far-reaching influence. It was made possible by the considerable tolerance that medieval Chinese showed to religious practitioners who had to compromise on basic qualifications—at least for compelling socio-political reasons. I would not go so far as to suggest that Fazang was a Tang "bodhisattva-monk," as we do know that he took the tonsure. Rather, what I want to emphasize here is that an eminent "monk" without being fully ordained was not so unimaginable within a culture that was tolerant and flexible enough to allow the growth and maintenance of the *pusaseng* system.

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[71] The text of this epitaph is reproduced and carefully annotated in Yanagida, *Shoki zenshū shisho*, 535-38.

[72] Important studies of this monastic institution are those of Yamazaki, *Zui Tō Bukkyō-shi no kenkyū*, 39-44; Nomura, *Shūbu hōnan no kenkyū*, 235-58; Michihata, *Chūgoku Bukkyō-shi no kenkyū*, 177-213; Tsukamoto, "Hoku-Shū no shūkyō haiki seisaku no hōkai"; Tokiwa, "Shūmatsu Zuisho ni okeru bosatsu bukkyō no yōkyū"; and most recently, Chen Jinhua, "Bodhisattva-monks."

CHAPTER FIVE

A MAN OF MANY FACES: FAZANG'S LIFE RECONSTRUCTED, I

In framing Fazang's life, it is convenient to devote a chapter to the pre-700 period and one to the post-700 period, not only because his life covers two centuries—the seventh and eighth, but also in view of the fact that 699 marks the completion of a new translation of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, a text whose importance for Fazang's career can never be exaggerated. Here we look at the first part, with the years 670 and 690 as turning points. In 670 he entered the saṃgha, and in 690 Empress Wu founded her own dynasty, a watershed not only in Chinese history but also in the personal lives of the empress and Fazang. The second part of his life represents his influential position in China's political and religious centers, and is covered in the following chapter.

1. BECOMING A BUDDHIST MONK: 643-670

Fazang's biographical sources provide very little information about his activities from his birth in 643 to 670, when he formally renounced his life as a householder. Basically, what we know about him during this period is three facts: first, reclusion on Mount Zhongnan; second, discipleship under Zhiyan; and, finally, entering a newly established metropolitan monastery in 670, preparatory to his becoming a Buddhist monk.

1.1. *A Young Recluse at Mount Zhongnan*

Consistent with the stereotypical format of a bio-hagiography of a secular or monastic leader, Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn characterizes Fazang's birth in terms of myth:

> His mother became pregnant after dreaming of swallowing sunlight. She gave birth [to Fazang] on the day contiguous to that of *sipo*, of the lunar month of *chang*, the seventeenth year of the Zhenguan era, which was a *guimao* year. 母氏夢吞日光而孕,以貞觀十七年癸卯暢月旁死魄而生.[1]

[1] *PHC* 281a21-22.

In literary Chinese the expression, *changyue*, refers to the eleventh month, and the *sipo* day was the beginning day of a lunar month[2] (the contiguous day was thus the second day). According to Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn, Fazang was born on Zhenguan 17.11.2, which is equivalent to December 19, 643.[3]

In stark contrast to this specificity, Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn remained silent throughout the biography about the place where Fazang was born and raised, although we can fill this in by a passage in *Youyang zazu* that indicates that Fazang and his family lived in a Sogdian enclave in a ward of Chang'an.[4] Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn in fact says nothing about Fazang from the time of his birth until 658, when he turned sixteen *sui* (i.e., fifteen years old) and set his finger on fire in front of a so-called "Ayuwang shelita" 阿育王舍利塔. The pagoda is described as an "Aśokan pagoda," in reference to one of the 84, 000 pagodas that were allegedly built all over the world by supernatural agents commissioned by King Aśoka. According to Chinese Buddhist convention, there were a total of five such pagodas within Chinese territory.[5] The pagoda relevant to Fazang was located within the famous Famensi, in modern Fufeng 扶風, Shaanxi.[6] It enshrines a finger-bone considered to be Śākyamuni Buddha's.

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[2] For the eleventh lunar month being referred to as *changyue*, see the sources quoted in Luo Zhufeng, et al. (comp.), *Hanyu da cidian* 5: 816-817.

[3] Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn tells us that Fazang was born and died in the same calendar month—namely, *gu* (*guyue* 辜月, the 11th lunar month; on this usage in literary Chinese, see Luo Zhufeng, et al. [comp.], *Hanyu da cidian* 11: 480). Further, his birth was on the day after new-moon (*shuo* 朔, first day of the lunar month); his death, the day before full-moon (*wang* 望, the fifteenth).

[4] See Chapter 3.2.

[5] Daoxuan, *Ji Shenzhou sanbao gantong lu*, *T* 52: 1.404b12-19, 406b4-18, 407c1322, 408a6-10; Zürcher, *Buddhist Conquest of China*, 277-80.

[6] "Kang Zang bei," 280b13-14; *PHC* 283b10-11. We know the location of this "Aśoka pagoda" because Fazang was born and raised in Chang'an and also because he had ritualistically burned his finger there (*PHC* 284a2, discussed in Chapter 11.2.3). The Song Buddhist chronicler Zhipan 志磐 (?-1269+) wrongly identified it as that located in Siming 四明 (present-day Zhejiang), which was also known as an Aśokan reliquary *stūpa*; see *Fozu tongji, T* 49: 27.293a7-8. This mistake was repeated by the Ming-era monk Deqing; see his *Bashiba zu daoying zhuanzan*, *XZJ* 147: 2.970a9-10. This erroneous identification is accepted by some modern scholars; see Yusuki, *Kegon taikei*, 50. It seems that since Zhipan was a Tiantai monk he was misled by his enthusiasm for Siming, which had become a favorite place for Tiantai followers since the time of the Tiantai master Zhili 知禮 (960-1020). In particular, Zhipan may have been swayed by Zhili's vows to burn himself in Siming; see Getz, *Zhili*, Chapter 5; James Benn, "Where Text Meets Flesh," 311, 317.

One of Chengguan's commentaries still preserves a "vow verse" (*fayuan ji* 發願偈) attributed to Fazang. Chengguan, *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao*, *T* 36: 90.701a; see also *Zongjing lu*, *T* 48: 100.957b. Chengguan does not say if the verse was announced by Fazang when he confirmed his Buddhist quest by burning his finger.

Ch'oe continues: one year later, Fazang started to search for Buddhist teachers around the capital. After being disappointed by those he encountered, he left his family and entered Mount Taibai 太白 (i.e., Zhongnan 終南), where he spent several years reading the Mahāyāna Vaipulya (Ch. *fangdeng* 方等; "square and equal") literature and engaging in practices of a rather Daoist flavor (e.g., *erzhu* 餌朮, the consumption of herbal elixirs). It is probably during this retreat that he began his study of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, a text of exceptional length and doctrinal depth. We know this not only because Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's depiction of Fazang's first encounter with Zhiyan conveys the fact that he started to gain knowledge of the *sūtra* years before their encounter (see below), but also because the mountain was populated by a number of *Avataṃsaka* experts, some of whom had committed self-immolations and cultivated Daoist practices. Given Fazang's involvement in Daoist arts of self-cultivation and his enthusiasm for self-immolation before his entry, it is likely that a certain *Avataṃsaka* expert in reclusion on Mount Zhongnan introduced the young Fazang to the *sūtra*.[7]

1.2. *Discipleship under Zhiyan*

Several years later, hearing that his parent(s) had become ill, Fazang ended his seclusion and went back to the capital. He exerted himself to the utmost in serving his parents. It is during this time that he encountered Zhiyan in a dramatic way:

> At the time, Dharma Master Zhiyan was lecturing on *Huayan jing* at Yunhuasi. Once in the middle of the night, Fazang suddenly saw rays of divine light descending and lighting up his courtyard. He sighed saying, "There must be an extraordinary person glorifying the Great Teachings!" The next morning he went to the monastery. After [Fazang] paid homage to him by kneeling in front of him, [Zhiyan] posed several questions, to which Fazang's answers (lit. "words") all went beyond his expectation. Surprised and delighted, [Zhi]yan praised him, saying, "Even 'dragons of the doctrine' [*yilong* 義龍] among the *bhikṣu*s have rarely touched (lit. "knocked") on these delicate points. How could I expect that a benevolent and worthy [layman like you] should open up my ears and eyes!" Someone [on the spot] told him, "Having taken residence on the clouds and taken atractylis (*zhu* 朮) as his diet, this layman has studied *Zahua* [*jing*] 雜華[經] [i.e., *Huayan jing*] for a long time. He suddenly arrived here as he wished to visit his parents." After tasting [Zhi]yan's wondrous understanding, Fazang took him as his true teacher, while [Zhi]yan was also glad that he found someone to whom he could pass on his incense (i.e., teaching). 時智儼法師於雲華寺講華嚴經. 藏於中夜, 忽睹神光, 來燭庭宇. 乃歎曰: "當有異人, 弘揚大教." 翌旦, 就寺膜拜已, 因設數問, 言皆出意表.

[7] Chapter 11.2.3.

> 儼嗟賞曰: “比丘義龍輩, 尙罕扣斯端. 何計仁賢, 發皇耳目!” 或告曰: “是居士雲棲朮食, 久玩雜華. 爲覲慈親, 乍來至此.” 藏既餐儼之妙解, 以爲真吾師也. 儼亦喜傳炷之得人.[8]

Neither Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn nor Yan Chaoyin tells us when Fazang formally became a disciple of Zhiyan. Assuming that starting from seventeen *sui* (659) he spent one year searching for teachers in the capital and that he spent around three years (the original says *shunian* 數年, or “several years”) on Mount Taibai, his discipleship under Zhiyan might have commenced sometime around 663. This seems compatible with what Fazang says about Zhiyan’s life:

> However, he resided among the grasses and marshes, with no intent to compete with people in the world. It was not until his late years that he deigned to broadly preach the Buddha’s teachings to the public. When the heir apparent was enfeoffed as the Prince of Pei, he personally acted as the supervisor of his lectures. (His Highness) repeatedly ordered the bureau in his Princely Establishment to provide excellent offerings [to him and his group]. It was thanks to this (the prince’s generosity) that the dharma-wheel has never stopped turning. 而棲遑草澤, 不競當代. 及乎暮齒, 方屈弘宣. 皇儲往封沛王, 親爲講主. 頻命府司, 優事供給. 故使法輪無輟, 是所賴焉.[9]

This probably refers to Zhiyan’s descent from Mount Zhongnan’s Zhixiangsi to Yunhuasi, a monastery closely related with both the Sui and Tang imperial houses. According to Falin 法琳 (572-640), Yunhuasi 雲華寺 (var. Yunhuasi 雲花寺) was founded by the Sui official Dou Yi 竇毅 (a.k.a. Hedouling Yi 紇豆陵毅, 519-582).[10] Dou Yi married Zhou Wudi’s (r. 560-578) sister, the Princess of Xiangyang 襄陽, and one of his daughters was married to Li Yuan 李淵 (566-635), the future Tang Gaozu (r. 618-626), and because of this royal connection was to be known as Empress Taimu 太穆 (566?-610?).[11] In addition, Dou Yi’s paternal cousin Dou Rongding 竇榮定 (530-586) married Yang Jian’s 楊堅 (541-604; i.e., Sui Wendi, r. 581-604) older sister.[12]

Of Gaozong’s four sons who were appointed as *huangchu* 皇儲 (heir-apparent)—Li Hong 李弘 (652-675), Li Xian 李賢 (653-684), Li Xian 李顯 (656-710, Zhongzong) and Li Dan 李旦 (662-716, Rui-

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[8] *PHC* 281b2-8.

[9] *HJZ*, *T* 51: 3.163c20-22.

[10] *Bianzheng lun*, *T* 52: 4.519a19.

[11] Chen Jinhua, *Monks and Monarchs*, 235, 242.

[12] Chen Jinhua, *Monks and Monarchs*, 78-79n87. Dou Rongding’s biographies are located at *Zhou shu* 30.521-522, *Bei shi* 61.2178-2179. In addition to Zhiyan, other important monks associated with Yunhuasi include Huijin 慧璡 (ca. 584-634), Sengmeng 僧猛 (507-88), Facheng 法誠 (563-640), Zhensheng 真乘 (?-819+), and remarkably Chengguan and his disciple Wuzhuo 無著 (737-ca. 812). See *XGSZ*, *T* 50: 12.615b25, 23.631a24-25 (also 631a29-b1), 28.688c23; *SGSZ*, *T* 50: 15.803b16-17, 5.737c7-8, 6.740b21, 20.836c2-3.

zong)—only Li Xian 李賢 was enfeoffed with the principality of Pei. He held the title from October 18, 661 until October 10, 672, when he was appointed as Prince of Yong 雍.[13] This means that Zhiyan became affiliated with Yunhuasi sometime between these two dates or, between October 18, 661 and December 8, 668, this latter being his death date.[14]

Probably because he was then still a layman, Fazang did not remain with his teacher constantly after he became his disciple around 663. In 667 he probably traveled to Longmen, where he sponsored the construction of a statue of Amitābha Buddha which was completed on May 3, 667, and dedicated to the well being of his family members.[15]

Both Huiying and Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn record, with subtle differences in detail, an episode about how Fazang sought the bodhisattva-precepts from an unnamed Indian monk of Brahmin origin at the beginning of the Zongzhang era (April 22, 668-March 26, 670). This episode has been developed in a number of later sources. While I have argued against the historical credibility of this episode in Chapter Four, let me here remark that Fazang did indeed meet with a Singhalese monk called Śākyamitra at Taiyuansi of Chang'an, although this did not happen in 668, but after 670.[16] Also, Fazang himself did not tell us that he sought bodhisattva-precepts from the Singhalese monk but that their conversation was centered around the merits of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*.

Shortly before he passed away in 668, Zhiyan entrusted Fazang, who was then still a layman, to two vinaya masters Daocheng and Baochen, saying,

> This wise man has concentrated on the Huayan teachings. Able to obtain enlightenment without a teacher, he should be the person who shall take up and propagate the dharma that has been abandoned. It is my humble hope that thanks to your influence (lit. "over-abundance of illuminating rays" [*yuguang* 餘光]), he will be ordained in accor-

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[13] *JTS* 4.82, 5.97, *XTS* 4.82; *ZZTJ* 200.6325, 202.6369. *ZZTJ* dates Li Xian's reappointment as Prince of Pei October 11, 672 (Xianheng 3.9.15 [*kuimao*]), one day later than *JTS* does.

[14] The date of Zhiyan's death is given by Fazang in Zhiyan's biography; see *HJZ*, *T* 51: 3.163c28-29. In view of the general practice, one might assume that the biography was written shortly after December 8, 668, when Zhiyan died. However, it should be noted that it refers to Li Xian as "heir apparent" (*huangchu* 皇儲), a status he held between July 3, 675 (Shangyuan 2.6.5 [*xuyin*]) (see *JTS* 5.100, *XTS* 3.72, *ZZTJ* 202.6377), and September 20, 680 (Tiaolu 2.8.22 [*jiazi*]) (see *JTS* 5.106, *XTS* 3.75, *ZZTJ* 202.6397). This means that the biography must have been written (or at least, revised) sometime in this five-year period. In other words, the biography could not have been completed until seven years after Zhiyan's death.

[15] Chapter 3.3.3.

[16] See *HJZ*, *T* 51: 4.169c23-170a5, discussed in Chapter 4.3.2.

dance with the government policies. 此賢者注意於華嚴，蓋無師自悟，紹隆遺法，其惟是人．幸假餘光，俾沾制度.[17]

Zhiyan died on December 8, 668 at Qingjingsi 清淨寺.[18] "Qingjingsi" is otherwise unknown, and thus would be an error for Qingchansi 清禪寺 in view of Zhiyan's presence at Qingchansi as of November 20, 668, only eighteen days before his death.[19] We do not know when and why Zhiyan moved to Qingchansi (presumably from Yunhuasi), although this definitely happened before November 20, 668. That Fazang was in Zhiyan's company shortly before the latter's death suggests that he was probably also at Qingchansi, at least between November 20 and December 8, 668.

Given that this monastery was not only the place where Fazang attended Zhiyan at his death-bed, but also the venue for one of Fazang's translation projects, a few words must be said about its history. According to Daoxuan, it was built from a mansion that Duke Gaotang 高唐公 had donated to the monk Tanchong 曇崇 (515-592)[20] and the name was bestowed by Wendi. Daoxuan also tells us that Yang Guang, Prince of Jin 晉王, volunteered to be the *dānapati* (supporter) of the monastery.[21] Several later sources inform us that this happened in 583 and that the monastery was located east of South Gate 南門, in Chang'an.[22] Duke Gaotang is very likely the well-known Sui general Yu Juluo 魚俱羅 (?-513?; enfeoffed as Magistrate Duke of Gaotang 高唐縣公),[23] rather than Li Yuan 李淵 (566-635), the future Tang Gaozu, as some sources claim.[24] In addition to Tanchong, there were other

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[17] *PHC* 281b14-16.

[18] Zongzhang 1.10.29. *HJZ*, *T* 51: 3.163c29-164a1.

[19] See *Pŏpgye togi ch'ongsu rok* (*T* 45: 2.737a), which records a conversation between Zhiyan and Ŭisang at the monastery.

[20] Tanchong was a monk of extensive and important ties with the Northern Zhou and Sui rulers, in particular Sui Wendi; his biography at *XGSZ* (*T* 50: 17.568a15-c19) is summarized and discussed in Shinohara, "Guanding's Biography of Zhiyi," 143-45; see also Chen Jinhua, *Monks and Monarchs*, 203n76.

[21] Falin (*Bianzheng lun*, *T* 52: 3.509c), followed by *Shishi jigu lüe* (*T* 49: 2.811a7-8), tells us that Qingchansi was built by Sui Yangdi. Falin's opinion might have been based on the role that Daoxuan attributes to Yang Guang, that is, that while Yang Guang was Prince of Jin, he volunteered to be the *dānapati* of the monastery.

[22] *Chang'an zhi*, *SKQS* 587: 9.1b; *Tang liangjing chengfang kao* 3.82 (cf. Li Jianchao, *Zengding Tang liangjing chengfang kao*, 138-39).

[23] *Beishi* 78.2641, *Sui shu* 64.1517.

[24] Of the five editions that the *Taishō* editors checked, only the Korean edition has Gaotang gong 高唐公, while all the others (Kunai 宮內, Song, Yuan and Ming editions) have Gaozu Tanggong 高祖唐公, which means Duke Tang, the future Tang Gaozu. See *T* 50, p. 568, editorial note 13. This reading was endorsed by Zhipan in *Fozu tongji* (see 39.359c, 53.464a), twice stating that the monastery was built on an old mansion that Li Yuan donated to the saṃgha. This is problematic given that the noble title that Li Yuan held under the Northern Zhou and Sui, Tang

important monks associated with Qingchansi, including Tanchong's disciples Huihuan 慧歡 (542-610) and Faying 應 (539-618), Faying's own disciple Huize 慧賾 (582-638),[25] Huizhou 慧冑 (559-627), who played a major role in expanding Qingchansi and developing its economic power,[26] and Degan 德感 (?-703+), a major ideologue of Empress Wu.[27] Śikṣānanda's translation bureau, in which Fazang participated, was based there from late 701 to 702.[28] It was renamed Anguosi 安國寺 in 852.[29]

1.3. *Entry into Taiyuansi*

Because Daocheng and Baochen were established vinaya masters, Zhiyan asked them to take care of his beloved disciple after he passed away. This decision soon turned out to be a sagacious one. In 670, only a couple of years after Zhiyan died, Daocheng was appointed as one of the three temple principals (*sangang* 三綱) at a major monastery newly built in Chang'an.[30] This was none other than Taiyuansi. Built on the foundation of an old mansion left by Empress Wu's mother, Madam Rongguo 榮國 (*née* Yang 楊, 579-670), who died on August 22 of

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Guogong 唐國公 (see *JTS* 1.1, *XTS* 1.1), is rather different from Gaotang gong. Li Yuan was only seventeen when the mansion was rebuilt into a monastery in 583. Qingchansi's reputed association with Li Yuan has misled some scholars including the current author (see Chen Jinhua, *Monks and Monarchs*, 203n76).

[25] Huihuan's affiliation with Qingchansi and his discipleship under Tanchong are mentioned in his biography at *XGSZ*, *T* 50: 18.577a29-b3. For more about this monk, see Chen Jinhua, *Monks and Monarchs*, 203-4. Faying's discipleship under Tanchong is mentioned in his biography at *XGSZ*, *T* 50: 19.580a13-15. Huize was a learned scholar who participated in translation activities and left an eight-*juan* collection of works; see his biography at *XGSZ* (*T* 50: 3.440c-441c). For affiliation with Qingchansi, see his biography at *XGSZ*, *T* 50: 3.440c18-20; his discipleship under Faying (called Meditation Master Ying 應禪師) mentioned at 440c22-23.

[26] See his biography at *XGSZ*, *T* 50: 29.697c6-698a11.

[27] Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 105-6 (1st edition)/134-36 (2nd edition).

[28] See Chapter 9.2.1.

[29] *JTS* 18.615; *ZZTJ* 248.8024; *Chang'an zhi*, *SKQS* 587: 9.1b; *Tang liangjing chengfang kao* 3.82 (cf. Li Jianchao, *Zengding Tang liangjing chengfang kao*, 138).

[30] The three principal positions at a Buddhist temple/monastery were: [1] *sizhu* 寺主 (Skt. *vihārasvāmin*; abbot), [2] *shangzuo* 上座 (Skt. *sthavira*; elder) and [3] *(du)weina* (都)維那 (Skt. *karmadāna*; administrator). Daocheng, who, in a Dunhuang manuscript copied on July 3, 671 (Xianheng 2.5.22), is called Elder of Taiyuansi; he very likely held this position from the monastery's founding, which happened, according to Forte ("Chongfusi," 457), sometime between November 9, 670 and February 14, 671; that is, less than eight months earlier. The Dunhuang manuscript in question is *S* 5319 (*DB* 41: 633), edited by Fujieda, "Tonkō shutsudo no Chōan kyūtei shakyō," 648-49; also Ikeda, *Shikigo*, 211-12. Baochen also became a member (and very likely a leader given his eminence) of Taiyuansi as soon as it was founded, as is proved by Siheng's funeral epitaph, which identifies him, along with another monk Chishi 持世 (?-670+) (Siheng's teacher), as a *bhadanta*. See "Da Tang gu dade Siheng lüshi muzhiwen," *TMH* 2: 1322.

that year, the monastery was dedicated to her posthumous benefit.[31] This record has led some later Buddhist sources to conclude that Empress Wu appointed Fazang as the abbot of Taiyuansi, a view which has been widely accepted by modern scholars.[32] This is untrue because another monk—Huili 慧立 (615-?), well known for his status as a biographer of Xuanzang 玄奘 (602-664), was serving as abbot at that time.[33]

Shortly after he entered Taiyuansi, at the time of the *duanwu* 端午 festival (later to be known as Dragon Boat festival) of an unspecified year (either during the time when Fazang entered Taiyuansi or several years after), Empress Wu favored him with a set of five monastic robes to match the symbolism implied in the *duanwu* festival, which was celebrated annually on the fifth day of the fifth month. This gift was accompanied by a short, laudatory message:

> As now the season turns to the fifth month, it is time to enjoy the *zongzi* 粽子 dumpling. Now that the weather is gradually getting hot, does the Master's "spiritual body" still feel light and comfortable? It happens to be the good season for wearing the longevity-thread, and an excellent time to receive the "ribbon of life."[34] Now We have sent the five kinds of monastic dress to match the number implied in the

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[31] See "Kang Zang bei," 280b15-17; a more detailed account can be found in *PHC* 281b15-20. For the epigraphic evidence establishing Madame Rongguo's dates, see Forte, "Chongfusi," 456-57. Madame Rongguo was herself a Buddhist nun before marriage with Empress Wu's father Wu Shihuo; see Chen Jinhua, *Monks and Monarchs*, 112n7.

[32] See, for example, *Fajiezong wuzu lüeji*, *XZJ* 134: 273b14; Fang Litian, *Fazang*, 4; Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, 46. The misunderstanding that Fazang was appointed as the abbot of Taiyuansi might have been partly due to the expression Yan Chaoyin used to describe Fazang's affiliation with this monastery, *zhu Taiyuansi* 住太原寺, which could mean "resided at" or, "supervised" (*zhuchi* 住持, to be the abbot of), Taiyuansi.

[33] In a biographical note for Huili, Zhisheng (*KSL*, *T* 55: 9.564c8) records his status as the abbot of Taiyuansi, without giving dates for that. Fortunately, evidence for Huili's abbacy of Taiyuansi as July 4, 671 (Xianheng 2.5.23) is provided by *S* 5319 (*DB* 41: 633); see Ikeda, *Shikigo*, 211-12. Given that Taiyuansi was founded between November 9, 670 and February 14, 671 (less than eight months before Huili was known as its abbot), we have reason to believe that he was its first abbot. Another Dunhuang manuscript shows that Huili had remained at the position as late as January 29, 677 (Shangyuan 3.12.21, actually Yifeng 1.12.21 given that a change of reign-name from Shangyuan to Yifeng did not occur until December 18, 676 [Shangyuan 3.11.8 (*renshen*)]); see *S* 2956 (*DB* 24: 667; Ikeda, *Shikigo*, 230). He might have still been so until June 26, 677 (Yifeng 2.5.21) if a Huide 慧德, noted by another Dunhuang manuscript as the Western Taiyuansi abbot as of this date, was a mistake for Huili; see *S* 3094 (*DB* 25: 686; Ikeda, *Shikigo*, 231-32).

[34] Here *changsi* and *minglü* both refer to *changmingsi* 長命絲 (or *changminglü* 長命縷), five-colored threads that were worn during the *duanwu* festival in hope of extending one's life, hence the name *changmingsi*/*changminglü*— "longevity thread."

> festival of Duanwu (5.5).[35] It is Our hope that following this season of collecting artemisia-leaves,[36] you, O Master, will grow evergreen like the aging of a pine! The lamp of dharma-transmission will be alight forever and you will always be the guiding head. This brief letter is written [merely] to convey Our regards and We will not linger on it now. 蕤賓應節，角黍登期. 景候稍炎，師道體清適? 屬長絲之令節，承命縷之嘉辰. 今送衣裳五事，用符端午之數. 願師承茲采艾之序，更茂如松之齡. 永耀傳燈，常爲導首. 略書示意，指不多云.[37]

Given that Fazang was then no more than a Buddhist novice, the attention from Empress Wu is quite impressive. In addition to Fazang's reputation as an excellent Buddhist scholar, there must have been other contributing factors. One may have been his prestigious family background in Kangju and China. Another likely reason for Fazang's access to the royal family was the close relationship between his teacher Zhiyan and Li Xian. Add to that the extent to which Fazang was favored by Zhiyan, and it seems likely that Fazang would have unusual access to the imperial court.

2. Emergence of a Buddhist Master: 670-690

Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn and other biographers give us the impression that ever since Fazang entered Taiyuansi in 670 he spent the rest of his life in the two Tang capitals—Chang'an and Luoyang—as a cosmopolitan priest. This view must be revised, in light of the evidence from textual and epigraphic sources composed by two of Fazang's contemporaries. This section begins with a brief discussion of this rarely touched aspect of Fazang's life, then moves on to the relatively well known part—his early career as a cosmopolitan priest.

2.1. *Returning to Mount Zhongnan*

According to Huixiang, sometime during the Xianheng era (March 27, 670-September 20, 674) a monk called Fazang served as the Elder (*shangzuo* 上座) of Wuzhensi, a temple on Mount Zhongnan. If this monk was our Fazang, his affiliation with the monastery can be dated to at least 674. This is bolstered by the evidence that Fazang was at the

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[35] The five sets of monastic dress included *saṅghāṭi* (patch robe), *uttarāsaṅgha* (kind of toga passed over the left shoulder and under the right armpit), *antarvāsa* (waistcoat), *saṃkakṣikā* (garment) and *kūsula*/*kūsulika* (skirt).

[36] This was also a custom during the *duanwu* festival; put on doors, it was meant to ward off evil spirits.

[37] *PHC* 281b24-28.

same temple three years later.[38] Huixiang reports in another of his works that on August 29, 677 Fazang helped monks erect a pagoda at Wuzhensi celebrating the miracles that occurred in the process of copying the *Diamond Sūtra*.[39]

An epigraphic source proves that Fazang extended his activities to Mount Zhongnan during this period. Li Zhijian's epitaph of 730 for the pagoda of nun Facheng observes that some time after becoming a nun in Shangyuan 2 (February 1, 675-January 20, 676), Facheng

> went to Zhixiangsi to attend the dharma lectures delivered by Master Kangzang. She investigated the subtleties [of the dharma], making them open up with a flash of enlightenment, just as happened to bodhisattva Shancai.[40] In steadfastly controlling her own three karmic actions (of body, speech and mind), how could one see any difference between her and bodhisattva Haiyi (Skt. Sāgaramati)?[41] Master Kangzang frequently pointed to our master and announced to his disciples, "This master is exactly the person who is able to uphold and maintain the Buddhadharma!" 於至相寺康藏師處聽法. 探微洞悟, 同彼善才; 調伏堅持, 寧殊海意? 康藏師每指法師謂師徒曰: "住持佛法者, 即此師也!"[42]

This Master Kangzang was none other than Fazang, who was mentioned in this way because of his Sogdian origin. Given that Facheng

[38] *Shimen zijing lu*, *T* 51: 1.805a-b. This is to be discussed in detail in Chapter 12.2.2. Fazang had newly become a monk, without full ordination. It was unusual that he was recognized as "Elder" at Wuzhensi. The possibility should be considered that this was another monk of the same name. However, certain evidence (discussed below) shows Fazang's activities on Mount Zhongnan at the time, and thus I believe this to be the same Fazang. It seems that full ordination was not a prerequisite to be a leader of a temple. For example, Huaiyi 懷義 (Xue Huaiyi 薛懷義, ?-695), who might have never been fully ordained, was still appointed as abbot of Great Baimasi 大白馬寺 in Luoyang. A similar exception might have also been made for Fazang, who was close to the empress too. In addition, it is also possible that *shangzuo* here just indicated a prestigious monk. Fazang was regarded so at this mountain temple probably because he was from a cosmopolitan monastery and he had already gained a reputation as a Buddhist scholar. His status as a chief disciple of Zhiyan, who spent a great deal of time at Mount Zhongnan, might have also contributed to high esteem among his Wuzhensi colleagues.

[39] *Hongzan Fahua zhuan*, *T* 51: 10.47b7-13, where Fazang is addressed as "Huayan Dharma-master Xianshou" (花嚴法師賢首).

[40] 善才, probably an error for 善財; that is, Shancai tongzi 善財童子 (Skt. Sudhanaśreṣṭhidāraka).

[41] Bodhisattva Sāgaramati is the subject of the "Haihui pusa pin" 海慧菩薩品 (*Sāgaraprajñabodhisatta varga*) translated by Dharmakṣema (385-433), which constituted a chapter (*pin* 品, Skt. *parivarta*) of *Daji jing* 大集經. See *Da fangdeng daji jing*, *T* 13: 13.46bff.

[42] "Xingsheng sizhu ni Facheng taming bing xu," *QTW* 100.8b1-5 (*TMH* 2: 1362).

became a nun in 675 or early 676, this implies that in 675 or shortly thereafter Fazang was in residence at Zhixiangsi.[43]

2.2. *A Cosmopolitan Priest in Chang'an*

Thus, although Fazang was ordered to preach on *Huayan jing* sometime after he was formally ordained at Taiyuansi in 670, he seems also to have been traveling between Mount Zhongnan, where he stayed at Wuzhensi and Zhixiangsi, and the capital, where he was formally affiliated with Taiyuansi. No matter how he divided his time during the 670s, Fazang returned to Taiyuansi by the spring of 680, since he himself assures us that he was then working there with the Indian monk Divākara, who had recently arrived in Chang'an after spending a couple of years in Luoyang:

> In collating various versions from India with the Kunlun version and another that was separately circulated in Khotan, Trepiṭaka [master] Rizhao and I found that all these versions contained these passages. Therefore, in the year of the Yonglong era (September 21, 680-November 14, 681), the Trepiṭaka master, Dharma Master Dipoheluo (i.e., Divākara) of Western Taiyuansi in the Western capital (i.e., Chang'an), along with ten *bhadanta*-monks in the capital including Vinaya Master Daocheng and others started to translate these passages, which were to be added [to the old translation of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* prepared by Buddhabhadra] in accordance with an imperial edict. Śramaṇa Fuli acted as a scribe in person. 余共日照三藏勘天竺諸本，及崑崙本，并于闐別行本，並皆同有此文. 是以於大唐永隆年，西京西太原寺三藏法師地婆訶羅，唐云日照，共京十大德道成律師等，奉敕譯補. 沙門復禮，親從筆受.[44]

Fazang repeats this story elsewhere in the same commentary and another of his works, where he specifies that his collaboration with Divākara happened in the third month of Yonglong 1.[45] Fazang here must have meant the third month of Tiaolu 2, which lasted from April 5 to May 3, 680.[46]

That Fazang was at Western Taiyuansi during the Tiaolu era (July 15, 679-September 21, 680) is supported by a legend that in Tiaolu 2.5

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[43] Chen Jinhua, "Tang Nuns," 59-60.

[44] *Tanxuan ji*, *T* 35: 20.484cff.

[45] *Tanxuan ji*, *T* 35: 1.123c24-27, and *Huayan jing wenyi gangmu*, *T* 35: 493b23-25; cf. *HJZ*, *T* 51: 1154c18-24; Huiyuan, *Xu huayan jing lüeshu kanding ji*, *XZJ* 5: 1.24d12-13; Chengguan, *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing shu*, *T* 36: 3.524a1-9; and *PHC* 282a11-14, which dates this to sometime in the Tiaolu era (July 15, 679-September 21, 680). Huiyuan and Chengguan provide the names of more of Divākara's collaborators (Baochen, Kuiji).

[46] This is because the new reign-name Yonglong was not adopted until Tiaolu 2.8.23 (September 21, 680). Fazang here simply followed the general practice of referring to a year with multiple reign names by the last one.

(June 2-July 1, 680) he was asked to help copy *Huayan jing* for a pious layman.[47] Although the content of the legend cannot be accepted as historical fact, we can still believe what it says about Fazang's whereabouts at the time, since the legend finds its way into a compilation by Fazang's direct disciples, who would have known their teacher's itinerary.

The collaboration between Fazang and Divākara lasted a long time. During his stay in Chang'an, from the beginning of 680 until sometime between July 31, 685 and January 19, 687, when he returned to Luoyang,[48] Divākara was mainly affiliated with Western Taiyuansi, where he finished around ten translations. Fazang seems to have been his assistant during this five-to-six-year period.[49]

It seems that Fazang did not follow Divākara to Louyang. Evidence shows that as of the fourth month of Chuigong 3 (May 17-June 15, 687) Fazang was lecturing on the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* at Great Ciensi 大慈恩寺[50] and that in the summer of the same year (May 17-August 13, 687) he performed rain-prayer rituals at Ximingsi 西明寺, when the capital area was threatened by drought.[51] The magistrate of the Chang'an Sub-prefecture Zhang Luke 張魯客 (?-687+)[52] acted as the "host of prayers" (*qingzhu* 請主). After fasting and observing precepts for nearly seven nights, the rain came.[53] Since both Ciensi and Ximingsi were in Changan, Fazang was still in the western capital as late as the summer of 687.

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[47] *HJZ*, *T* 51: 5.171c20-172a13, discussed in Chapter 12.1.1.

[48] For the rough timeframe of Divākara's return to Luoyang, see Appendix J.

[49] Chapter 9.1.1.

[50] *GYZ* (*T* 51: 175c12-29) records that in Chuigong 3.4 (May 17-June 15, 687), Fazang was lecturing on *Huayan jing* at Ciensi. A *pañcavārṣika* was held after the lecture, and then Fazang went to Chongfusi (i.e., Western Taiyuansi) to visit Daocheng and Baochen, his former mentors. Baochen told him a story about the layman Guo Shenliang, who, through his experiences in hell, learnt the mysterious power of a certain *gāthā* in *Huayan jing*. A story of a similar trope with Guo Shenliang as a hero is found in other sources (see Chapter 12.1.1). The same *GYZ* (176a1-14) also records a story of how Fazang, after a lecture session at Ciensi, told Huiying about Ratnamati's death under unusual circumstances, which is found in earlier sources like *XGSZ* (*T* 50: 1.429a5-27).

[51] *PHC* 283c7-9.

[52] "Zaixiang shixi" 宰相世系 (Lineages of the [Tang] Prime Ministers) of *XTS* (72B.2719) lists him as a member of the prestigious Zhongshan Zhang 中山張 clan and identifies him as the magistrate (*ling* 令) of Chang'an. It is important to note that Zhang Luke was a younger brother of Zhang Xizang 張希臧, whom the same work identifies as the adjunct revenue manager (*sihu canjun* 司戶參軍) of Yongzhou 雍州 and father of Zhang Yizhi 張易之 (676?-705) and Zhang Changzong 張昌宗 (676?-705) (themselves teenagers at the time). This important information is also mentioned in Fujiyoshi, "Kegonkyō denki no kanta," 320.

[53] *PHC* 283c7-9.

2.3. *Going to Luoyang*

It was probably one year later (688, or early 689) that the government ordered him to go to the eastern capital, which marks his collaboration there with Devendraprajña, another foreign missionary-cum-translator who had recently arrived in China. Compared with his collaboration with Divākara, Fazang worked with Devendraprajña rather briefly, probably about two years (from the latter part of 688 to 690).[54] On February 2, 689 (Yongchang 1.*zheng*.7), the emperor Ruizong (through his Regent Empress Wu) ordered Fazang and others[55] to build a high *Avataṃsaka*-seat (Huayan gaozuo 華嚴高座) and a *bodhimaṇḍa* of "Eight Assemblies" (*bahui* 八會)[56] at the Northern Gate of Xuanwu 玄武北門 in Luoyang. We are told that the assembly was held for the purpose of elucidating and promoting the wondrous text of "correctness and broadness" (*fangguang* 方廣, Skt. *vaipulya*), the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, translated into Chinese as "Da Fangguangfo huayan jing" 大方廣佛華嚴經. As we will see later, this event entailed profound political implications.[57]

In addition to helping Empress Wu fulfill her dynastic ambition, Fazang continued to work with Devendraprajña on the translation project:

> Recently, in Shendu 神都 (i.e., Luoyang) I collaborated with the Khotanese Trepiṭaka [master] (i.e., Devendraprajña) in translating "Xiuci fen" 修慈分 (in one *juan*), "Bu siyi jingjie fen" 不思議境界分 (in one *juan*) and "Jin'gangman fen" 金剛鬘分 (in ten *juan*) of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*. Before this part (i.e., "Jin'gangman fen") was translated, the Trepiṭaka [master] passed away. 近於神都, 共于闐三藏翻華嚴修慈分一卷, 不思議境界分一卷, 金剛鬘分十卷. 此分翻未成, 三藏亡歿.[58]

Although Fazang here provides a rough timeframe ("recently"), without knowing exactly when this passage of *Tanxuan ji* was written, we cannot know when these parts (*fen* 分, Skt. *avayava*) were translated or when Devendraprajña died. According to Zhisheng, the two whose full titles are "Da Fangguangfo huayan jing busiyi fo jingjie fen" 大方廣佛華嚴經不思議佛境界分 and "Da Fangguangfo huayan jing xiuci fen"

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[54] Chapter 9.1.2.

[55] The original has *chi seng deng* 敕僧等 ("ordered this monk and others") (*HJZ*, *T* 51: 3.164a23). Since Fazang was the author of this composition, "this monk" would refer to himself, showing that he was designated the coordinator of the *Avataṃsaka* dharma-assembly. Although this record of the assembly is attached to the biography of Zhiyan, the subject could not have been Zhiyan, who died twenty-one years earlier.

[56] The expression *bahui* refers to the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, which was believed to have been delivered by the Tathāgata in eight assemblies.

[57] Chapter 10.1.2.

[58] *Tanxuan ji*, *T* 35: 1.123a.

大方廣佛華嚴經脩慈分 were translated at Weiguo dongsi in Yongchang 1 (January 27-December 17, 689) and Tianshou 2 (December 6, 690-November 25, 691), respectively.[59] Forte argues that these dates marked the publication (canonization) of the texts, rather than their actual completion, which he believes happened before Empress Wu founded her dynasty on October 16, 690.[60] I agree with Forte, since Fazang took trips a long way from the capital shortly after October 690. It would have been impossible to provide constant attention to a translation project based in a specific location. It is to these activities that we now turn.

Before continuing with Fazang's life, we should note that Fazang maintained an important correspondence with his senior fellow-disciple Ŭisang in Korea. The evidence consists of a letter sent to Ŭisang in which Fazang conveys personal affection, and a separate list along with the letter that named seven of Fazang's works (all but one completed) that he had sent to Ŭisang through one of Ŭisang's envoys. According to Forte, this letter should be dated January 14, 690. This document is important not only for the rare glimpse that it provides of the close friendship between two East Asian Buddhist philosophers, but also for the way the Chinese and Korean *Avataṃsaka* traditions formed ties between the two nations. Through Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn, we learn of the impact of religious doctrine: despite Ŭisang's seniority, right after receiving Fazang's works he shut himself up in his chamber to peruse these profound and precious documents as attentively and respectfully as though he were attending Zhiyan's lectures. He emerged twenty or thirty days later and acknowledged that Fazang had broadened his vision, and he had four of his most advanced disciples lecture on different parts of Fazang's commentary on the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*.[61]

3. Fazang under Empress Wu's Reign up to 699

Evidence shows that in 690 or early 691 Fazang set off on his travels, which carried him to Xiazhou, where his family was then located.[62] One year later, he went to Caozhou 曹州, where he delivered lectures

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[59] *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.565b9-11.

[60] Forte, *Jewel*, 58.

[61] *PHC* 285a16-b3. Fazang's commentary, entitled "Huayan jing tanxuan ji" 華嚴經探玄記 (Account of Investigating the Mysteries of *Huayan Jing*) (*T* no. 1733), treated the "old translation" of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* (in sixty *juan*) made by Buddhabhadra (359-429) from 418 to 420 (or 421). The project of making a new translation of the same text (in eighty *juan*) was still underway when Fazang composed this commentary.

[62] Chapter 3.2.

and debated with a Daoist leader. Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn does not date this trip, but according to Huiying's *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying zhuan*, it was in Tianshou 2 (December 6, 690-November 25, 691). It is also important to note that this happened in Cengzhou 曾州, the place in which, according to Huiying too, Fazang's "grandmother" was then staying. It is also Huiying's opinion that Fazang stayed in Cengzhou until the next year, when he encountered a group of hostile Daoist priests. As argued above,[63] it was in Xiazhou rather than in Cengzhou that Fazang visited his family—his parents and not his grandmother. This said, Huiying is the one to have dated Fazang's debate, and it seems an acceptable date. What then of the location? Was it in Cengzhou, which corresponds to present-day Cengzhou in Sichuan, or Caozhou, which is present-day Jiyin 濟陰 in Shandong? This question should be considered in connection with a major frustration that Fazang suffered in 694 or early 695—his being exiled to south. Surprisingly, for a scholar-monk of Fazang's eminence, he also participated in a military campaign. In addition to these two experiences, the rest of this chapter examines his activities as a Buddhist translator and preacher, toward the very end of the seventh century.

3.1. *Exile*

The tenth-century Avataṃsaka scholar-monk Kyunyŏ 均如 (923- 973) provides this fascinating mention of an aspect of Fazang's life that so far has eluded the attention of almost all Buddhist scholars:[64]

> It is the true intention of the author of this exegesis (i.e., Fazang) comprehensively to subject those who have achieved mature, sudden and perfect realization to the category of provisionally-named bodhisattvas. In the "major catechism" (*da liaojian* 大料簡) composed by the authors of old exegeses they expound the meanings of the perfect realization in the three vehicles and do not believe that this *sūtra* is also about the provisionally named [bodhisattvas]. Monks of outstanding virtues respected by the ordinary people, like Master Fuli 複禮 (?-706?)[65] and others, who therefore started to entertain resentments and jealousy [against Fazang], sent a memorial to the court, saying, "This servant has heard that the Supreme World-honored Lord, who succeeded in ascending the seat of great enlightenment by diligently cultivating ten thousand kinds of practice throughout the three *kalpa*s, is the supreme being above whom there is none, and the [most respected] deity among deities. By degrading [him] as a provisionally-named bodhisattva, this dharma master, Fazang, has committed a crime that is by no means slight and

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[63] Ibid.

[64] The only scholar I know of who has noticed this is Ishii Kōsei 石井公成. See Ishii, *Kegon shisō no kenkyū*, 429.

[65] For this monk and his political power, see Appendix G, note 38.

is punishable by the state's laws." Therefore an imperial edict was issued ordering [Fazang] to be exiled to the Jiangnan area. After Trepiṭaka [master] Śikṣānanda arrived [in China], Fuli started to translate with him the eighty-*juan* [*Avataṃsaka*] *sūtra*. They could not go on after reaching the place on "xinman chengfo" 信滿成佛 ("Attaining Buddhahood upon the perfection of faith") in the chapter "Xianshou." The emperor (i.e., Empress Wu) ordered Fuli to translate it with Upādhāya Fazang. Privately, Fuli told the author of this exegesis (i.e., Fazang), "If you change your thesis that the [person of] perfect realization of the three vehicles is also a provisionally-named bodhisattva, I will translate the great *sūtra* with you so that what is incomplete in the old version can be supplemented." In order to stop people's disparagement and also in fear that other people [without him] might wrongly translate the *sūtra* and mislead people of later generations, the master of this exegesis hid his catechism, instead of which he composed *Gangmu zhang*[66] and attached it to *Tanxuan ji*. 章主實意，通取熟頓，極果之人，爲假名菩薩也．古辭章主大料簡中，明三乘極果，不信此經亦是假名之義．世俗勝德復禮師等，便懷嫌嫉奏云："臣聞無上世尊，三大劫中，勤修萬行，登大覺位，無上之上，天中之天．法藏抑挫爲假名菩薩，此法師罪甚是不少，國法可理．" 御勅擯於江南．及實叉難陁三藏至，復禮與三藏翻八十卷經，至賢首品"信滿成佛"之處未能翻譯，天子勅復禮與法藏和尚譯也．復禮私與章主云："汝若改立'三乘極果，亦是假名'之義，則同譯大經，以補舊闕." 章主欲息他人之謗，又恐错翻大經以誤後人，遂隱秘料簡，造"綱目章"附於探玄，替爲料簡.[67]

At first glance, the fact that Fazang was once exiled to Jiangnan (a common expression meaning southern China in general) encourages the acceptance of Huiying's statement that in 691 Fazang was in Cengzhou: the latter was in southern China, and Caozhou was in the north. Perhaps because of his forced stay in the south, Fazang went to Cengzhou in 691. This impression, however, cannot stand in the face of Kyunyŏ's foregoing statement, according to which Fazang was called back to the capital from exile after Śikṣānanda arrived in China and started to translate the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* on May 3, 695. In other words, Fazang's exile must have happened before this date.

On the other hand, we have evidence that Fazang was in Chang'an in 694 and sometime during the summer of the following year. Huiyuan tells us that he studied with Fazang for nineteen years,[68] which means that he became a disciple of Fazang in 694, remaining so until Fazang's death. Further, since Huiyuan was a native of Chang'an, it seems likely that Chang'an was where he became a disciple; in other words, in 694

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[66] This probably refers to the one-*juan* work by Fazang, *Huayan jing wenyi gangmu* 華嚴經文義綱目 (*T* no. 1734, vol. 35), which circulated as an independent work rather than an appendix to *Tanxuan ji*, as Kyunyŏ claims.

[67] *Sŏk hwaŏm kyopun ki wŏnt'ong ch'o*, *HPC* 4: 1.256c19-257a11.

[68] *Xinyi Da Fangguangfo huayan jing yinyi*, *ZH* 59: 424b: 索隱從師，十有九載. Cf. Sakamoto, *Kegon kyōgaku no kenkyū*, 6.

Fazang was very likely in Chang'an. This is verified by another record. According to Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn, in Yanzai 1 (June 19-November 22, 694), Fazang was known to have been lecturing at Yunhuasi.[69] This means that although the decree must have been issued sometime before May 2, 695, Fazang's exile could not have happened before June 19, 694, given that the exile was not over until some time after Śikṣānanda's project was started on May 2, 695. Thus, Fazang's exile must have been decreed at some time between June 19, 694 and May 2, 695.

Do we know when he returned from exile? Fortunately, we do, thanks to Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn, who tells us that in the Tiancewansui era, at the request of Prince Jian'an 建安 (i.e., Wu Youyi 武攸宜 [?-707?]),[70] who was then acting as the sub-prefect of Yongzhou 雍州 (near Chang-an), Fazang went out of his way to help the area of Yongzhou during a drought.[71] Since the Tiancewansui era only lasted for three months, from October 22, 695 to January 20, 696, and Fazang's intervention in Yongzhou must have been in a summer, Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn was simply using the Tiancewansui era to denote the year-long period from November 23, 694 to January 20, 696, during which two reign-eras were used: Zhengsheng, ranging from November 23, 694 to October 21, 695, to be followed by Tiancewansui (October 22, 695-January 20, 696). Using the second of two reign-names was common practice. Thus, it was in the summer of Zhengsheng 1—that is, sometime between the fourth to the sixth month of the year (May 19-August 15, 695)—that Fazang was asked to help. He must have been in Chang'an sometime between May 19 and August 15, 695. This is the timeframe of his return to Chang'an from exile. Ultimately, we can conclude that Fazang was ordered exiled to south China sometime between June 19, 694, and May 2, 695, and that he returned between May 19 and August 15, 695.

Although Kyunyŏ's claim is not found elsewhere, it is not surprising that Fazang was banished, due to his absence from an important politico-religious project of 695—the compilation of *Da Zhou kanding zhongjing mulu*, an officially sanctioned Buddhist catalogue which included (and thereby canonized) those texts (some of dubious origins) which had been newly translated under the aegis of the empress. The colophon to the catalogue is dated December 7, 695 (Tiancewansui 1.10.26), and the work was formally completed near the end of 695;

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[69] *PHC* 281b28-c24.

[70] A grandson of one of Empress Wu's paternal uncles, Wu Youyi was her first cousin once-removed.

[71] *PHC* 283c9-11. Wu Youyi was enfeoffed as Prince Jian'an in Tianshou 1 (October 16-December 5, 690), shortly after Empress Wu declared her own dynasty. See *JTS* 183.4729; cf. *XTS* 206.5837, *ZZTJ* 204.6468. For more details about his connections with Fazang and with Buddhism in general, see Chapter 6, note 22.

therefore it must have been ongoing for months prior. The pertinent aspect of the colophon is a list of the main participants in the project, who included almost all the best-known scholar-monks in the two capitals—luminaries such as Mingquan 明佺 (a.k.a. Mingquan 明詮, ?-712+)[72] (editor-in-chief), Linggan 靈幹, Xuanyi 玄嶷 (?-696+, miswritten as Xuanyi 玄疑 in the *Taishō* edition), Xuanfan 玄範 (?-700+), Degan 德感 (?-703+), Huiyan 慧儼 (?-703+), Bolun 波崙 (?-703+), Hongjing 弘景 (634-712), Fabao 法寶 (?-703+), Shenying 神英 (?-703+), Wŏnch'ŭk (Ch. Yuance) 圓測 (613-696), Bodhiruci, Baosiwei 寶思惟 (Manicintana?, ?-721), and Fuli.[73] Fazang's name is conspicuously absent, another fact that strengthens the idea that he was gone from the two capital: he would have been an excellent candidate for this immense enterprise, on which Empress Wu's government and the Buddhist church had staked much of their legitimacy.

In view of Fazang's exile at this time, we can deduce that he probably did not take part in the first phase of the even grander project, which was to translate the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* under Śikṣānanda's direction (who was assigned on May 2 of that year). This is contrary to what Buddhist sources generally say about Fazang's role in the project—that he was a participant from start to finish. Kyunyŏ's text shows that it was not until Śikṣānanda and Fuli encountered insurmountable difficulties in translating a chapter of the *sūtra* that Fazang was called in, which happened within several months of the start.

3.2. *Fighting the Khitan*

An important episode in Fazang's life occurred sometime in June of 697, when the Great Zhou army was fighting against the rebellious Khitans. It is described by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn, the only known source:

> In the first year of the Shengong era (September 29-December 19, 697), the Khitan refused to submit to the authority [of the Great Zhou]. Empress Wu declared war on them. Her Majesty issued a special decree ordering [Fa]zang to stem the havoc caused by the rebels in accordance with the teachings of the Buddhist scriptures. [Fazang] therefore memorialized the empress saying, "In order to destroy and subdue the ferocious enemies, please allow me to resort to the

[72] Zanning mentions a *bhadanta*-monk of Foshoujisi called Minggan 明幹, who was ordered by Ruizong to go to Bianzhou 汴州 to supervise the renovation and expansion of Jianguosi 建國寺 (the future Xiangguosi 相國寺); see *SGSZ*, *T* 50: 26.874c9-875a2. I have argued elsewhere that this Minggan was very likely an error for Mingquan. If this is true, Mingquan was still alive in 712. See Chen Jinhua, *Collusion and Collision*, Chapter 3.

[73] The list is discussed in Ōuchi, "Dai Shū kanjō shukyō mokuroku no seiritsu to yakkyō soshiki."

> 'left-hand.'"[74] Imperial permission was granted. The Dharma Master took a bath and changed his robes before building a ritual-precinct (Ch. *daochang* 道場; Skt. *bodhimaṇḍa*) of the Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara, in which he placed images of that bodhisattva and started to carry out the rituals. Within only a few days, the barbarians saw countless warriors of the King and a congregation of deities. Some of them witnessed images of Avalokiteśvara floating in the sky and then slowly descending to the battlefield. Flocks of goats and packs of dogs started to harass them. Within a month, [the Great Zhou army] prevailed and the news of victory was reported [to the throne]. Her Majesty rewarded [Fazang's] merits with a kindly worded decree, which says, "Outside Kuaicheng, the warriors heard the sound of heavenly drums; within the district of Liangxiang, the enemy crowd saw images of Avalokiteśvara. Pure wine spread its sweetness in the battalions, while the chariots of the transcendentals led the flags in front of the army. This [victory] was accomplished by the divine army sweeping away [the enemy], and that must have been aided by the [Buddha's] compassionate power!" 神功元年，契丹拒命，出師討之．特詔藏依經教，遏寇虐．乃奏曰，"若令摧伏怨敵，請約左道諸法." 詔從之．法師盥浴更衣，建立十一面道場，置光音像行道．始數日，羯虜睹王師無數，神王之眾，或矚觀音之像，浮空而至．犬羊之群，相次逗撓．月捷以聞．天后優詔勞之，曰："蒯城之外，兵士聞天鼓之聲；良鄉縣中，賊眾睹觀音之像．醴酒流甘於陳塞，仙駕引纛於軍前．此神兵之掃除，蓋慈力之加被!"[75]

Ch'oe's timeframe is clear: Fazang performed the rituals one month before the victory over the Khitans was declared on July 27, 697.[76] However, the locales are hazy. The two locations Kuaicheng and Liangxiang were in what is present-day Baoji 寶雞, Shaanxi, and Fangshan 房山, Beijing, respectively. The rebel Khitans never penetrated the Kuaicheng area but rather engaged in close combat with the Great Zhou army in some areas of Hebei Circuit 河北道 (parts of modern Shandong, Hebei, and Henan), including Tanzhou 檀州, Pingzhou 平州, Dingzhou 定州, Yizhou 易州, Zhaozhou 趙州, and particularly Youzhou 幽州, a strategic place in the Sui and Tang defense systems.[77] I suspect that in the current edition of *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn*, the character *kuai* 蒯 is a mistake for the similar-looking *ji* 薊 (a place in present-day Daxing 大興, Beijing, and very close to Liangxiang[78]). It would mean that the miraculous effect of Fazang's rituals, as Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn believed, occurred in two battlefields that were quite close to each other, in the area of present-day Beijing.

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[74] *Zuodao* 左道; that is, Buddhistically unorthodox path.

[75] *PHC* 283c16-25.

[76] See below for this date.

[77] Li Songtao, "Lun Qidan Li Jinzhong Sun Wanrong zhi luan," 100-1.

[78] As a matter of fact, sometime during the Northern Qi dynasty, Liangxiang once became a part of Ji subprefecture 薊縣 (see a passage quoted from *Liaoshi*, to be discussed below).

Further, it is important to note that Liangxiang happened to be in Fangshan, where Yunjusi is located, the monastery which has over the past several decades earned a world-wide reputation for its immense repository of Buddhist scriptures carved on the stone slabs (the so-called "Fangshan shijing" 房山石經).[79] *Liao shi* provides the following detailed description of the changes of name that Liangxiang underwent:

> Liangxiang Subprefecture was called Zhongdu Subprefecture under the Yan [of the Warring States period, 403 BC-221BC]. Its name was changed to Liangxiang under the Han (206 BC-220 AD). In the past it belonged to Zhuojun. In Tianbao 7 (January 28, 556-February 14, 556) of the Northern Qi (550-577), it was annexed to Jixian. Its status as an independent subprefecture was restored in Wuping 6 (January 27, 575-February 14, 576). It was renamed Gujie Garrison in Shengli 1 (December 20, 697-May 26, 700) of the Tang. In Shenlong 1 (January 30, 705-January 18, 706) it was reinstalled as Liangxiang Subprefecture. 良鄉縣: 燕爲中都縣, 漢改良鄉縣, 舊屬涿郡, 北齊天保七年省入薊縣, 武平六年復置. 唐聖曆元年改固節鎮, 神龍元年復爲良鄉縣.[80]

The *Liao shi* compilers here have erred in assigning the Shengli era to the Tang. As a matter of fact, the Shengli era—lasting from December 20, 697 to May 26, 700—fell under the reign of Empress Wu (r. 690-705).[81] Thus, it seems that Empress Wu had Liangxiang renamed as Gujie shortly after successfully cracking down on the Khitans in July 697. Its status was also changed from a subprefecture to "garrison" (*zhen* 鎮), underscoring its military importance.[82] A Qing-era geographical work continues to narrate the history of name-changing that Liangxiang underwent after the Shenlong period:

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[79] Pending Lothar Ledderose's current project, the most comprehensive survey to date of the history of the Fangshan stone-canon remains Tsukamoto, "Bōzan Ungoji no sekkoku daizōkyō." Zhongguo fojiao xiehui (*Fangshan Yunjusi shijing*) contains new materials not available to Tsukamoto. For its history under the Tang, see, particularly, Kegasawa, "Tōdai Bōzan Ungoji no hatten to sekkyō jigyō"; under the Liao and Jin dynasties, see Chen Yanzhu, *Fangshan shijing zhong Liao mo yu Jindai kejing zhi yanjiu*.

[80] *Liao shi* 40.494-95.

[81] Wang Pu 王溥 (922-982) specifies that the renaming happened on Shengli 1.*la*(*run*).29. *THY* 71.1261.

[82] The Zhonghua shuju 中華書局 editors of *Liao shi* state that it differs from the "Geographical Monograph" (*Dili zhi* 地理志) of *JTS* and *Taiping huanyu ji* 太平寰宇記, both of which record Gujie's (*Taiping huanyu ji* miswrites it as Guojie 國節) status as *xian* 縣, not *zhen* 鎮; see editorial note 7, *Liao shi* 40, p. 502; the editors refer to *Taiping huanyu ji*, *SKQS* 469: 69.10a. In view of the decisive victory that the Great Zhou army won over the Khitans in this place, I am inclined to accept this emendation made by the compilers of *Liao shi*, not least because the Liao (907-1125) was a dynasty founded and ruled by the Khitans and we might expect them to remember this place of their earlier defeat.

> Liangxiang as a subprefectural unit was abolished under the [Later] Tang dynasty (923-936) of the Five Dynasties period (907-959). In Dading 29 (January 19, 1189-February 6, 1190) of the Jin dynasty (1115-1234), a subprefecture called Wanning 萬寧 was instituted there, and the income from the subprefecture was used to serve the royal mausoleum within the territory. In Mingchang 2 (February 7, 1190-January 26, 1191) it was renamed Fengxian, and was subjected to the jurisdiction of Zhuozhou. In Zhiyuan 27 (February 11, 1290-January 31, 1291) it was renamed Fangshan, and continued to be under the jurisdiction of Zhuozhou. During the Ming dynasty (1368-1662), it belonged to the Shuntian Prefecture of Zhuozhou. 五代唐時徙廢. 金大定二十九年, 置萬寧縣, 以奉山陵. 明昌二年更名曰奉先, 屬涿州. 至元二十七年, 又改曰房山, 仍屬涿州. 明屬順天府, 涿州.[83]

According to this, Liangxiang was called Fangshan from 1290 or early 1291.

Although Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn identifies the place of the miracles, he does not tell us how they were accomplished. One might wonder, for example, whether Fazang performed the rituals in Luoyang, where Empress Wu and her government were based at the time, and the rituals projected their miraculous effects hundreds of miles away, or whether Fazang went to a place close to the two battlefields to perform his skills.

A contemporary epigraphic source sheds some light on this:

> In the [Wansui]tongtian era (April 7, 696-April 25, 697) the Khitans rebelled. An imperial edict was issued to order [Daoist priests] to visit the Five Marchmounts, to pray for occult help from spirit troops. Our Venerable Master went to [Mounts] Heng and Huo on imperial orders, and thereby brought about an illustrious response [from the deities]. 通天年, 契丹叛逆. 有敕祈五岳恩, 請神兵冥助. 尊師銜命衡霍, 遂致昭感.[84]

The Venerable Master referred to here is Hou Jingzhong 侯敬忠 (651-718), the Head of Great Hongdao Abbey and Ritual-master of Three Caverns (Sandong fashi 三洞法師), a Daoist leader under the reign of Empress Wu and several emperors following. He was once forcibly ordained as a Buddhist monk by Huaiyi during the Yongchang era (January 27-December 17, 689).[85] He did not have the opportunity

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[83] *Jifu tongzhi*, *SKQS* 504: 13.21b.

[84] "Da Tang Da Hongdao guanzhu gu sandong fashi Houzun zhiwen," *TMH* 1: 1207.

[85] The son of a low-ranking local official, Hou Jingzhong's religious career seems to have been closely related to the Tang and Zhou imperial families. In addition to his ties with Empress Wu just observed, he became a Daoist priest following a special imperial edict that was issued to celebrate the birth of Li Dan 李旦 (662-716), the future Ruizong, which happened on June 22, 662 (Longsuo 2.6.1 [*jiwei*]). In Yonglong 2 (January 25-October 26, 681), several months after the Hongdao Abbey

to file a petition to the court asking for his return to the Daoist priesthood until the Wansuidengfeng era (January 10-April 6, 696), shortly after Huaiyi was murdered on February 22, 695.[86] Empress Wu granted him the request[87] just before he offered her his timely assistance by going to the two marchmounts.

This important source from the Daoist side is unfortunately too sketchy about Hou Jingzhong's role during the crackdown against the Khitans. However, it proves beyond any reasonable doubt that in her desperate effort to halt the Khitans, Empress Wu ordered Daoist clerics to invoke Daoist deities. It is not unwarranted to assume that she actually sent both Buddhist monks and Daoist priests to key sites at this time.

We can correlate this general picture of cooperation between the secular and monastic authorities in 696 or 697 with the services that Fazang rendered to the empress at this critical moment. Most likely, just as Hou Jingzhong was sent to the Daoist Marchmounts, Fazang went to great Buddhist places. If we accept my deduction about the general locations of Liangxiang and Jicheng, which received divine influences stemming from Fazang's rituals, then the key Buddhist locale in which Fazang operated was very likely Yunjusi—arguably the most celebrated Buddhist sacred site in the area since Northern Qi times.[88] In favor of this, we must remember that Yunjusi had a close relationship with the

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was built on the foundation of an old residence of Li Xian 李顯 (656-710) (the future Zhongzong) following his appointment as the heir-apparent on September 21, 680 (Yonglong 1.8.23 [*yichou*]), Hou was lodged at this cosmopolitan abbey (for the establishment of the Great Hongdao Abbey, see *THY* 50.870). He was elected as its head shortly after 696 (probably after his visit to Mounts Heng and Huo). Before his affiliation with the Hongdao Abbey, he successively stayed at the Chongling 崇靈 Abbey in his hometown Zhengzhou 鄭州, Taiyi 太一 Abbey on the Central Marchmount (i.e., Mount Song) and the Songyang 嵩陽 Abbey (probably also at Mount Song). It is quite remarkable that Hou's teacher at the Taiyi Abbey was a Daoist master here addressed as Venerable Master (*zunshi* 尊師) Liu He 劉合, obviously the famous Liu Daohe 劉道合 (d. ca. 672), for whom Gaozong built the Taiyi Abbey on Mount Song and who assisted Gaozong and Empress Wu in their effort to perform the *feng* 封 and *shan* 禪 ceremonies on Mount Tai in 666. See *JTS* 192.5127, *XTS* 196.5605; Lei Wen, "Tangdai daojiao yu guojia liyi."

[86] For Hou's conflicts with Huaiyi, see Forte, "Huaiyi," 20.

[87] Zhou Shaoliang 周紹良 and Zhao Chao 趙超 punctuate the sentence following those quoted and translated above (ending with 遂致昭感) as: 遂抗表欲復其道人, 願天從還居仙境 (*TMH* 1: 1207). This punctuation is problematic. The correct punctuation should be: 遂抗表欲復其道, 人願天從, 還居仙境. A similar expression "善願天從" is found in Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's biography of Fazang: *PHC* 284b12. It seems that the author of Hou's epitaph has deliberately used the character 天 meaning both "Heaven" and "Zetian" (Empress Wu).

[88] "Zhuolushan shijingtang ji," *QTW* 526.22a. Yunjusi is located in the southeastern part of Liangxiang; see Zhu, Lü, et al. (comps.), *Liangxiang xianzhi* 6.78.

Chinese *Avataṃsaka* tradition, as established by its founder Jingwan 靜琬 (var. Jingwan 淨琬, Zhiyuan 知苑, Zhiyuan 智苑, ?-639).

Influenced by the Ming source *Dijing jingwu lüe* 帝京景物略 (A Brief Description of the Scenes and Products in the Imperial Capital [i.e., Beijing]) by Liu Tong 劉侗 (?-1634+) and Yu Yizheng 于奕正 (fl. 1615-1635), scholars are generally of the opinion that Jingwan was a disciple of the Tiantai master Huisi 慧思 (515-568).[89] Contrary to this, Luo Zhao 羅炤 has given us evidence that casts doubt on the master-disciple relationship between Huisi and Jingwan, instead arguing for Jingwan's discipleship under Lingyu 靈裕 (518-605), a disciple of Daopin 道憑 (488-559)—one of the ten chief disciples of Huiguang. Huiguang was recognized as a major forerunner of the Chinese *Avataṃsaka* tradition.[90] Probably because of this intellectual background, the Chinese translation of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra—Da Fangguangfo huayan jing*—was chosen as one of the nineteen texts that was carved inside Leiyin 雷音 Cave, representing the early part of the stone-canon project supervised by Jingwan.[91]

During the military mission of 697, Fazang very likely used Yunjusi as the platform for enemy-quelling rituals. It explains an extraordinary event that happened at Yunjusi eighteen years after Fazang's death. In 730, Princess Jinxian 金仙 (689-732) memorialized her brother, emperor Xuanzong, on the necessity of sending more than four thousand *juan* of Chinese Buddhist translations to Yunjusi. Her request was honored, and a mission was sent, led by the great Buddhist cataloguer and historian Zhisheng and another less known monk Xiuzhang 秀璋 (fl. 710-740). Xiuzhang, like Zhisheng, was a vinaya master belonging to Chongfusi, a cosmopolitan monastery that Fazang eventually led after many years of affiliation.[92] The huge collection of Bud-

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[89] *Dijing jingwu lüe* 8.347-48. Tang Lin's 唐臨 (600-659) *Mingbao ji* 冥報記, the earliest source on Jingwan which also contains most of the information currently available on him, like other early sources, is silent on Jingwan's lineage.

[90] Luo Zhao, "Jingwan."

[91] Luo Zhao, "Jingwan," 88-90. The inscription attributed to Jingwan about his plan to carve *Huayan jing* is still extant. See Beijing tushuguan jinshi zu and Zhongguo fojiao tushu wenwuguan shijing zu, *Fangshan shijing tiji huibian*, 10-11.

[92] This important scripture-delivering mission urged by Princess Jinxian is recorded in "Shanding shi futu houji" 山頂石浮屠後記, an inscription written by an otherwise unknown Wang Shoutai 王守泰 (?-740+) in 740. A rubbing is photocopied in Zhongguo fojiao xiehui (comp.), *Fangshan Yunjusi shijing*, 15; a transcription is in Beijing tushuguan jinshizu and Zhongguo fojiao tushu wenwuguan shijingzu (comp.), *Fangshan shijing tiji huibian*, 11-12; English translation of the whole inscription is provided in Jinhua Chen, "A Daoist Princess," 267-68. In addition to Wang Shoutai's inscription, I have so far found only one more source which mentions Xiuzhang's name—a colophon attached to a translation by Yijing, in which Xiuzhang is identified as a "*bhadanta*-preceptor of the Western Chongfusi." See Ikeda, *Shikigo*, 276-79; translated and discussed in Appendix I (note 154), where I

dhist texts sent to Yunjusi constituted the main body of the Buddhist canon generally known to history as the Kaiyuan canon ("Kaiyuan zang" 開元藏).[93] One of the catalogues that Zhisheng compiled, *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*, was probably intended as a catalogue of this very canon. Zhisheng's monastery, Chongfusi, was thus very likely the headquarters at which the Kaiyuan Buddhist canon was compiled and hand-copied and from which copies of the canon were distributed to a select number of major monasteries all over the country, especially those designated "Kaiyuan monasteries" 開元寺.[94]

This mission of which Zhisheng was a chief member is both remarkable and puzzling. First, although Yunjusi, a local temple situated far from the capitals, was not a Kaiyuan monastery, it still had the honor of being chosen as a recipient of the Kaiyuan canon. Second, one cannot help but wonder why and how two Chongfusi monks, who were of obvious prestige, should have demonstrated enthusiasm in escorting so many Buddhist texts to this apparently marginal temple. Finally, it is most difficult to understand why Princess Jinxian, who was then an ordained Daoist nun, played such an active and decisive role in this project.

Yunjusi's probable ties with Chongfusi through its connections with its former abbot Fazang, along with Jinxian's possible friendship with Fazang, might explain the puzzles surrounding the princess's

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also raise the possibility that he was the same person with a slightly different name (Xiuzhang 秀章) who was very likely a disciple of the vinaya master Huaisu. Given that Huaisu was a disciple of Daocheng, a mentor of Fazang, it is likely that Huaisu befriended Fazang as well. Be that as it may, in addition to his being a colleague (and subordinate) of Fazang at Western Chongfusi, Xiuzhang might have had a personal relationship with Fazang through the connection to Huaisu.

[93] The existence of such a canon during the Kaiyuan era is verified by Heng'an's 恒安 (?-945+) *Xu Zhenyuan shijiao lu* (completed 945) (*T* 55: 1053a15-24). It is also Yuanzhao's 元照 (1048-1116) opinion that *KSL,* which he referred to as "Kaiyuan zang lu" 開元藏錄, was intended as a catalogue to the Kaiyuan Canon. See *Guan Wuliangshou fo jing yishu*, *T* 37: 285b23-24. We should note, however, that while the Kaiyuan canon contained, according to Zhisheng, 1,076 texts in 5,048 *juan* and 480 cases (*zhi* 帙) (*KSL*, *T* 55: 19.680b29-c2), only around 4,000 *juan* were sent to Yunjusi in 740. There are two possible explanations for this discrepancy. First, as Zhisheng clearly notes in the last two *juan* of *KSL*, the 5,048 *juan* actually covered thirty-seven texts (in 317 *juan*) that were compiled by Chinese monks in China, rather than translated Indian (and Central Asian) texts (*KSL*, *T* 55: 20.722b23-c28). The Yunjusi stone-canon was probably devoted to translated texts, which means that the Chinese texts were excluded purposely when a copy of the canon was sent there. Second, the texts that had already been carved in stone by this time might have been taken out of the canon before it was sent to Yunjusi.

[94] On December 5, 690 (Tianshou 1.10.29), Empress Wu proclaimed that in all prefectures in the empire and in the two capitals a temple called "Dayun" 大雲 ("Great Clouds") should be erected. Some of these Dayun temples were ordered to be renamed "Kaiyuan" 開元 on June 22, 738; see *THY* 48.850.

involvement in Yunjusi. The following scenario appears rather likely: eighteen years after Fazang's death, his former colleagues at Chongfusi found a wonderful way to honor the memory of their abbot by sending a copy of the newly compiled Kaiyuan Canon to a temple at which Fazang had rendered service to Empress Wu (it is not difficult to imagine how fond Fazang must have been of a place that had cemented a relationship with the empress and drastically changed his life). This plan was then enthusiastically supported by Jinxian, an erstwhile friend of Fazang.[95]

That Fazang went to Yunjusi or Liangxiang still remains unsure, but likely. However, it is certain that Fazang was believed to have performed black magic to help the Zhou army win a significant victory over the Khitans. Because of his highly desired service in this critical moment, Fazang became very close to Empress Wu.

3.3. *An Avataṃsaka Preacher*

The quelling of the Khitan rebellion convinced Empress Wu that her rule was blessed by the Buddha. This naturally inspired even more enthusiasm for Buddhism. With the enlarged support from her Zhou government, the immense project of preparing a new version of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* went smoothly, with its completion officially declared on November 5, 699.[96] On the same day, Fazang and other Buddhist monks, including Hongjing and Fuli, assisted Śikṣānanda in preparing a new Chinese version of *Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論 (Treatise on Awakening Faith in Mahāyāna). The new rendition was allegedly made on the basis of an updated Sanskrit version that Śikṣānanda brought to China, collated with a purportedly older version of the Sanskrit original that was newly discovered in a pagoda in Ciensi, where it presumably had been stored by Xuanzang.[97]

From November 12, 699, to January 14, 700, Fazang is also known to have delivered a series of lectures on the new *Avataṃsaka sūtra* at Foshoujisi, the base for Śikṣānanda's translation bureau. On the night

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[95] Chen Jinhua, "A Daoist Princess."

[96] Chapter 9, note 40.

[97] See the anonymous preface to *Dasheng qixin lun*, "Xinyi Dasheng qixin lun xu" 新譯大乘起信論序, *T* 32: 583c12-15. In its current version, the date is given as 大周聖曆三年歲次癸亥十月壬午朔八日已丑, which is incorrect because there was no *kuihai* year during the Shengli era and Shengli 3 did not have a tenth month (it lasted from Shengli 3.*zheng*.1 [November 27, 699] to Shengli 3.5.4 [May 26, 700]). The three years in the Shengli era were *wuxu, jihai* and *gengzi*. Therefore, it seems that Shengli 3 (a *kuihai* year) here is an error for Shengli 2 (*jihai* year). First of all, the eighth day of the tenth month of Shengli 2, corresponding to November 5, 699, was indeed a *jichou* day as is indicated here. Second, Shengli 2.10.8 was also the date on which the completion of the eighty-*juan Avataṃsaka sūtra* was formally declared.

of January 7, 700, an earthquake occurred while Fazang was lecturing, allegedly in response to Fazang's elaboration on a sentence in the new translation of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*. This was widely celebrated as a great sign. Buddhist leaders at Foshoujisi signed a joint memorial, which was submitted on January 14, 700.[98] The report greatly pleased Empress Wu, who issued a supportive edict:

> What is reported in the memorial is acknowledged. We understand the effort you made before to expound the subtle words and to glorify the mysterious essence. The day when the translation commenced, ambrosia appeared in Our dream so that the auspicious sign was displayed. When the lecture started an earthquake appeared as an extraordinary marvel. It must be that the Tathāgata sent down this miracle in accordance with the text about the "Nine Assemblies." How dare We, mediocre and empty, claim credit for the "Six Kinds of Response"? On reading the memorial that was handed in, We were comforted and pleased in Our heart. 省狀具之. 昨因敷演微言，弘揚祕賾.[99] 初譯之日，夢甘露以呈祥；開講之辰，感地動而標異. 斯乃如來降跡，用符九會之文；豈朕庸虛，敢當六種之應？披覽來狀，欣暢盈懷.[100]

The "dream of ambrosia" refers to another very famous episode associated with the new translation of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*. According to this story, Empress Wu dreamt of ambrosia on the night of May 2, 695, the very day when the ceremony to celebrate the commencement of the new translation of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* was held at Biankongsi, which Empress Wu attended and during which she acted (symbolically) as a scribe (*bishou* 筆受).[101]

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[98] This episode is discussed in Chapter 12.1.2.

[99] The original has it as 蹟, probably an error for 賾. Cf. Appendix A, note 30.

[100] *Xu Huayan jing lüeshu kanding ji*, *XZJ* 5: 1.25b-c; cf. *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao*, *T* 36: 15.113c26-114a20.

[101] For a detailed narrative of this episode, see *GYZ*, *T* 51: 176b10ff; discussed in Appendix C.

CHAPTER SIX

A MAN OF MANY FACES: FAZANG'S LIFE RECONSTRUCTED, II

The second part of Fazang's life, 700-712, though by far the shorter, was nonetheless more eventful. The twelve years witnessed a series of rapid, and sometime violent, developments in politics and religion. They also came under the shadow of contemporary rulers—his most important patron Empress Wu and two of her successors. Accordingly, we will divide this part of his life into the successive reigns: the five years from 700 to 705, which accounted for the last one-third of Empress Wu's reign; another five years (705-710), under Zhongzong; and eventually two more years (710-712) under Ruizong.[1]

1. FAZANG UNDER THE LAST FIVE YEARS OF EMPRESS WU'S REIGN (700-705)

Under the last third of Empress Wu's reigns, lasting from 700 to 705, two temples figured heavily in Fazang's career. They were Qingchansi and Famensi. The former was the venue in which Fazang engaged in a series of important translation projects, while the latter being the platform through which he projected his significant impact on the contemporary religious and political world.

1.1. *Qingchansi*

In the sixth month of Jiushi 1 (June 21-July 20, 700), Fazang was probably among those eminent monks who assisted Śikṣānanda's project to retranslate the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra* on the order of Empress Wu.[2] This project reveals the emphasis that Empress Wu placed on this *sūtra*, and it was carried out in one of Empress Wu's auxiliary palaces in

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[1] Strictly speaking, Fazang, who died on December 16, 713, actually spent his last three months under the reign of Xuanzong, who was enthroned on September 8, 713. However, given that Ruizong was then still holding a part of supreme power, which he did not relinquish until July 30, 713 (the day after Xuanzong successfully staged a court coup), we can assume that this month was actually also under the reign of Ruizong. Ruizong, who died in 716, outlived Fazang by four years.

[2] Chapter 9.2.1.

the Songshan area—Sanyang Palace 三陽宮. Since the empress was back at her palace in Luoyang on August 20, 700,[3] Śikṣānanda and his colleagues must have also returned to their monastery in Luoyang—presumably Foshoujisi—by that day. They did not stay in Luoyang long, leaving for Chang'an with the empress on November 7, 701. After arriving there nineteen days later, Śikṣānanda was lodged at Qingchansi, where the *Laṅkāvatāra* translation continued.[4] Fazang was probably with Śikṣānanda and Empress Wu on the return to Chang'an and may have stayed at his former monastery, Western Taiyuansi (known as Western Chongfusi or Da Zhou xisi at the time). However, evidence shows that he actually continued to help Śikṣānanda, and accordingly would have stayed at Qingchansi.

During his residence at Qingchansi in 702 or early 703, Fazang wrote a commentary on the *Heart sūtra,* as Fazang himself tells us in the postscript that he wrote for the commentary:

> *Bore boluomiduo xinjing lüeshu*: In Chang'an 2 (February 2, 702-January 21, 703), I, Fazang, had some leisure after translating Buddhist texts at Qingchansi. There was a Master Zheng of Xingyang, who was jointly the [director] of the Bureau of Rites and concurrent acting subprefect of Yongzhou. He is pure and simple in nature, loyal and filial from the innermost of his heart. He is a fragrant flower with a golden bulk and jade leaves, the subject of the profound hope from the imperial family. Acting as the example for the court officials, he is the buttress to the dharma-gate. From the time he wore the green dress (i.e., when he was young) until his hair has turned grey, he has chanted the *Heart sūtra* several hundreds of millions of times. With his mind wondering in the wondrous meanings [of this *sūtra*], his mouth recites the numinous text. Repeatedly and sincerely he has requested me to produce a brief commentary. Dare I look at the high [sky] through a peephole and measure the deep [sea] with a conch shell? 般若波羅蜜多心經略疏: 法藏長安二年於京清禪寺翻經之暇, 屬同禮部兼檢校雍州長史滎陽鄭公, 清簡成性, 忠孝自心. 金柯玉葉之芳葩, 九刊三王之重寄. 羽儀朝序, 城塹法門. 始自青衿, 迄于白首, 持此心經, 數千萬遍. 心游妙義, 口誦靈文. 再三慇懃, 令出略疏. 輒以蠡管, 詎測高深云爾.[5]

Fazang here does not reveal the identity of this Mister Zheng explicitly. It is Zhang Yue who identifies him as Zheng Wanjun 鄭萬鈞 (before 672-740+) in the preface that he wrote for Fazang's commentary.[6] Zheng Wanjun was no ordinary person, marrying as he did one of

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[3] *ZZTJ* 207.6548: Jiushi 1.7 (*run*).2 (*xuyin*).

[4] For the dates of Empress Wu's departure from Luoyang and her arrival in Chang'an, see Chapter 9.3.1. Since Fazang tells us that Śikṣānanda followed Empress Wu in leaving Luoyang for Chang'an, he also left Luoyang and arrived in Chang'an on the same dates as Empress Wu.

[5] *Bore boluomiduo xinjing lüeshu*, *T* 33: 555a17-23.

[6] "Bore xinjing zan xu," *QTW* 225.10b9 (*T* 33: 555b3-4).

Ruizong's daughters.[7] Zhang seems to have been a friend of Zheng.[8] Zhang Yue also reports that Zheng Wanjun had the *Heart sūtra* inscribed on a stele which he erected in a "precious quarter" of Shengshan[si] (*Shengshan zhi baofang* 聖善之寶坊).[9]

Śikṣānanda returned to Khotan in 702, leaving behind some unfinished work, including the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra* project. Fortunately, it was taken up by the Tokharian monk Mituoshan 彌陀山 (a.k.a. Mituoxian 彌陀仙) (Mitrasena or Mitrasanta?, ?-704+), whose arrival nearly coincided with Śikṣānanda's departure. Fazang was also known to have assisted Mitrasena in the translation, the completion of which was officially proclaimed on February 24, 704,[10] by Empress Wu in a preface she wrote for the translation. To celebrate the completion of this important translation, the empress also issued an edict, several sentences of which are preserved in Fazang's biography by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn:

> The version of the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra* acquired provides the passages missing in the version of Gunabhadra (394-468) and omits the redundant sentences in that of Bodhiruci (fl. 508-535). Searching out the most profound meanings and bringing one to the far area [of delivery], it is terse in text but comprehensive in meaning. The principles of the Yogācāra tradition are fully demonstrated here! 得所譯楞伽經, 補求那之闕文, 翦流支之繁句. 鉤深致遠, 文要義該. 唯識論宗, 於茲顯矣.[11]

Fazang wrote a commentary on the *sūtra*, which was completed between a point just after the above completion date and before the empress's abdication on February 23, 705.[12] He also helped Mitrasena

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[7] See Chapter 10.4.2. It is noteworthy that Fazang here does not introduce Zheng Wanjun by his status as a son-in-law of the emperor (*fuma* 駙馬). This is not only because he had not yet married Ruizong's daughter, but also due to the fact that he was called so only after Ruizong was re-enthroned eight years later (in 710). This presents a contrast to Zhang Yue's preface, which refers to Zheng Wanjun as a *fuma*. See "Bore xinjing zan xu," *QTW* 225.10b9 (*T* 33: 555b3-4).

[8] Zhang Yue's letter addressed to a Zheng Fuma 鄭駙馬 (who married an emperor's princess) is still extant (*QTW* 224.13b-14a). Since both Zheng Wanjun and his son Zheng Qianyao each married a princess (of Ruizong and Xuanzong respectively), the recipient of the letter could be the father or son. However, given that Zheng Qianyao did not marry Princess Linjin until 740 (or early 741) (see Chapter 10, note 86), one decade after Zhang Yue died, the letter must have been addressed to Zheng Wanjun.

[9] "Bore xinjing zan xu," *QTW* 225.11a1 (*T* 33: 555b5-6). Given that Shengshansi did not come into being until 706, had Zheng Wanjun inscribed the *Heart sūtra* on a stele installed there, this must have happened at least four years after Fazang wrote the commentary for Zheng Wanjun.

[10] Chapter 9.2.2.

[11] *PHC* 282b1-6.

[12] We know that Fazang's commentary was completed while Empress Wu was still on throne since in the commentary Fazang refers to her as "Shengshang" 聖上. See *Ru Lengqiexin xuanyi*, *T* 39: 430b27.

with the translation of a *dhāraṇī* text that has been associated with the spread of xylography in East Asia.[13]

During the two years in Chang'an, Fazang spent some time at another monastery, Ximingsi, where he collaborated with the great Buddhist translator Yijing, as attested in several colophons to translations that Yijing completed on November 17, 703 (Chang'an 3.10.4). The colophons identify Fazang as the abbot of Western Chongfusi;[14] he was given this appointment sometime between November 5, 699, when he was still known as a śramaṇa of the monastery,[15] and November 17, 703.

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[13] Chapters 8.1, 9.2.2.

[14] See seven largely identical colophons (all dated November 17, 703) to Yijing's *Jinguangming zuisheng wang jing* 金光明最勝王經; edited in Ikeda, *Shikigo*, 260, 261, 262, 263. See also a colophon to *Genben Shuoyiqieyoubu pi'naiye* 根本說一切有部毘奈耶 (*juan* 50) (Ikeda, *Shikigo*, 264). Note that in a colophon to *juan* 10 of the same translation, Fazang is simply identified as *Fanjing shamen Da Zhou xisi Fazang* 翻經沙門大周西寺法藏 (see Ikeda, *Shikigo*, 264). The character *zhu* 主 seems to have dropped out, following *Da Zhou xisi* 大周西寺, given that Fazang had obviously by the time become the abbot of the monastery.

[15] This is verified by Fuli's "Da Zhou xinyi Da Fangguangfo huayan jing zongmu," in which Fazang and Fuli are respectively identified as a monk (*seng* 僧) of Great Fuxiansi and the Western Monastery of the Great Zhou (Da Zhou xisi 大周西寺), as Western Chongfusi was then called. See P. 2314 (reproduced in *DB* 119: 126; Ikeda, *Shikigo*, 246-47). See also a colophon (dated thirty-seven days earlier than Fuli's list, on September 29, 699), which is consistent with Fuli's list in addressing Fazang and Fuli (Appendix G). Since most of the other translators on the list and the colophon are identified by their monastic positions, like *duweina* 都維那 (Administrator), *shangzuo* 上座 (Elder), and *sizhu* 寺主 (Abbot), Fuli and Fazang would have been so labeled had they at the time held any of these positions at their monasteries. As a matter of fact, as of December 7, 695, the day *Da Zhou kanding zhongjing mulu* was completed, the Fuxiansi abbot was a monk called Huicheng 慧澄; see *Da Zhou kanding zhongjing mulu*, *T* 55: 15.475c14; Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 118 (1st edition)/174 (2nd edition).

Furthermore, in a colophon (dated October 28, 701 [Dazu 1.9.23]) to Yijing's translation *Genben sapoduobu lüshe* 根本薩婆多部律攝 (*T* no. 1458, vol. 24), the Fuxiansi abbot is identified as Fazang (Ikeda, *Shikigo*, 258). Scholars debate on the identity of this Fazang, since between 692 and sometime in the Chang'an era (January 26, 701-January 29, 705), another Fazang (637-714), who was a six-year senior of the *Avataṃsaka* Fazang and who was famous for his connections with the Buddhist cult Sanjiejiao, was affiliated with Fuxiansi as the supervisor of the Sanjiejiao banking-welfare system headquartered there, the *wujinzang* 無盡藏 (Inexhaustible Store) (see "Fazang Chanshi taming bing xu," *QTW* 328.14b4-6). Fujiyoshi Masumi 藤吉真澄 maintains that this could not have been the Sanjiejiao Fazang on the grounds that as a "practitioner" (*jiken-ka* 實踐家) this Fazang could not have been a "*bhadanta*-translator" (*fanjing dade* 翻經大德), as this Fazang is here identified; see Fujiyoshi, "Kegonkyō denki no kanta," 324-25. Forte, on the other hand, suggests that here Fazang might have been an error for Faming 法明, another key monk under the reign of Empress Wu whose abbacy of Fuxiansi is verified by a colophon to Yijing's *Jinguangming zuisheng wang jing* (*S* 523, dated November 17, 703 [Chang'an 3.10.4]; reproduced in *DB* 4: 270; and edited in Ikeda, *Shikigo*, 263); see Forte, *Political*

The temple Wuzhensi on Mount Zhongnan also played a role in Fazang's life at this time. Sometime in the intercalary fourth month of Chang'an 3 (May 20, 703-June 18, 703), Fazang asked the monk Qingxu to perform a miracle at Wuzhensi, which resulted in the successful probing and excavation of a well of sweet water. According to the same source, Fazang discussed this miracle with the "three temple principals" (*sangang* 三綱) of Wuzhensi, a fact that, coupled with his already being the abbot of Western Chongfusi, suggests that Fazang was just a visitor at Wuzhensi.[16]

1.2. *Famensi*

On November 21, 703, Empress Wu left Chang'an for Luoyang and arrived on December 10.[17] It seems that this time Fazang followed the empress, since at the end of Chang'an 4 (February 10, 704-January 30, 705) he was reported to have had a conversation with her in one of her palace chapels in Luoyang—the Longevity Hall (Changshengdian 長生殿).[18] In the course of this audience, Fazang mentioned the Famensi relic, with which she was by no means unfamiliar. Forty-five years earlier when Gaozong developed health problems he and his empress ordered the transfer of the relic to the inner palace, where they worshipped it for almost two years, to get therapeutic relief.[19] Most likely, now, at the Longevity Hall, Empress Wu, whose own health was deteriorating, responded enthusiastically: she immediately ordered the vice director (*shilang* 侍郎) of the Phoenix Hall (*fengge* 鳳閣, that is, *zhongshusheng* 中書省 [Secretariat]) Cui Xuanwei 崔玄暐 (638-705)[20] and Fazang to go to Famensi to retrieve the relic. Before the pagoda-opening ceremony, the imperial emissaries and their entourages performed a seven-day observance, probably in front of the pagoda. The attendants of the ceremony had become so emotional that they competed with each other in immolating themselves and offering donations.

Propaganda (2nd edition), 176n39. However, given his long affiliation with Fuxiansi and the importance of the *wujinzang* for the monastery, I feel it hard to exclude the possibility that the Fazang who was known as the Fuxiansi abbot on October 28, 701, was actually the Sanjiejiao Fazang (there is just no reason to assume, as does Fujiyoshi, that a Buddhist "practitioner" could not have also been a translator).

[16] *Jin'gang bore jing jiyan ji, XZJ* 149: 3.47d-48b; discussed in Chapter 12.2.1.

[17] *JTS* 6.131, *XTS* 4.104, *ZZTJ* 207.6567.

[18] Empress Wu's palace chapels are discussed in Chen Jinhua, "Tang Buddhist Palace Chapels," 113-20. Sometime earlier in the same year Fazang probably revised one of his major works, *HJZ* (see Chapter 1, note 14).

[19] See the references cited in Chen Jinhua, "*Śarīra* and Scepter," 47n28.

[20] Cui Xuanwei's two official biographies are located at *JTS* 91.2934-35 and *XTS* 120.4316-17. One year after Empress Wu's death in 705, Cui Xuanwei was exiled by Zhongzong to Guzhou 古州 (in present-day Qiongshan 瓊山, Guangxi) and died on the way.

Fazang himself was alleged to have cut open his belly and "destroyed" his liver.[21]

The team returned with the relic to Chongfusi in Chang'an (that is, "Da Zhou xisi" as it was then known) on the very last day of that year (January 29, 705), when the regent (*liushou* 留守) of Chang'an, Wu Youyi,[22] led all the officials and five congregations of Buddhist believ-

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[21] *PHC* 284a1-6; the passage is translated and discussed in Chapter 11.3.3.

[22] Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn identifies the regent of Chang'an as Prince of Kuaiji 會稽, who was Empress Wu's first cousin once removed Wu Youwang 武攸望 (?-710?) and who was enfeoffed as Prince of Kuaiji in Tianshou 1 (October 16-December 5, 690) (*JTS* 183.4729; cf. *XTS* 206.5837, *ZZTJ* 204.6468, where the name of Wu Youwang's principality is not indicated). However, Sima Guang reports that in the seventh month of Shengli 2 (August 1-28, 699) Empress Wu ordered another of her first cousins once removed, Wu Youyi, to replace Wu Youwang as the regent of Chang'an (*ZZTJ* 206.6540) and that on November 2, 703 (Chang'an 3.9.19 [*dingwei*]), only nineteen days before her departure for Luoyang, which happened on the 21st of the same month (Chang'an 3.10.8 [*bingyin*]), the empress appointed Wu Youyi as the regent of Chang'an (*ZZTJ* 207.6567). Thus, it seems that it was Wu Youyi, rather than Wu Youwang, who was the regent of Chang'an when Fazang and his team stopped by there *en route* to Luoyang from Famensi. Ch'oe seems mistaken here. See Chen Jinhua, "*Śarīra* and Scepter," 99n165. The validity of my correction is also borne out by the fact that Wu Youyi was obviously a friend of Fazang and had cooperated with him on at least two occasions, once in late 695 or early 696 for a rain-prayer ritual, and the other in the 696-697 suppression of the Khitan, in which Wu Youyi once acted as commander-in-chief of the Zhou army. It is also important to note Wu Youyi's role in a round of activities centering around the veneration of Mount Wutai that involved Empress Wu, her court officials and many Buddhist monks and nuns. On June 14, 702 (Chang'an 2.5.15), Wu Youyi, in the capacity of Prince Jian'an and the vice prefect (*zhangshi* 長史) of Bingzhou 并州, memorialized the government on the necessity of renovating Qingliangsi 清涼寺 on Mount Wutai. An edict was issued ordering *bhadanta*-monk Degan to visit Mount Wutai in person. On August 17, 702 (Chang'an 2.7.20), a group of over one thousand people, both religious and lay, ascended the top of Mount Wutai and witnessed a number of propitious and miraculous signs, including the appearance of a gigantic monk who was believed to be Mañjuśrī himself. These propitious signs were then sketched and the picture was presented to Empress Wu, who was greatly pleased and lavishly rewarded Degan. Then, she ordered Hou Zhiyi 侯知一, the left mentor (*zuo shuzi* 左庶子; i.e., the head of left division of the Supervisorate of the Household of the Heir-apparent) and Wei Yuanzhong 魏元忠 (640?-710?), the censor (*yushi dafu* 御史大夫), to ask some craftsmen to sculpt a jade statue of her likeness (*yurong* 御容), which was to be sent to Mount Wutai to pay homage to Mañjuśrī on her behalf. During Chang'an 3 (January 22, 702-February 9, 704), when the statue was ready for delivery, monks and nuns all over the country competed to escort it to Wutai. The empress did not proceed with the plan on the grounds that Yanmen 雁門 was adjacent to the barbarians (*xianyun* 獫狁), who might damage the statue (?). As a compromise, she ordered it enshrined in the Great Hall of Chongfusi in Taiyuan to receive offerings. On Wutai a pagoda was erected instead and vegetarian feasts were held in homage. See *Guang Qingliang zhuan*, *T* 51: 1.1107a21-b9; Degan's visit to Mount Wutai is also briefly mentioned in Li Yong, "Wutaishan Qingliangsi bei," *QTW* 264.6b; this event is summarized in Barrett, "Stūpa, *Sūtra* and *Śarīra*," 44; and Forte, *Political Propaganda* (2nd edition), 134-35.

ers to prostrate themselves at the left side of the road, greeting the relic with extravagant offerings including fragrant flowers and various types of music. The relic purportedly restored faculties to the deaf and blind, enabling them to see the relic and hear the music honoring it.[23]

On the eleventh day of the first month of the new year (February 9, 705), the relic entered Luoyang. The empress ordered the officials below the ranks of Prince and Duke, along with commoners in Luoyang and its adjacent areas, to prepare banners, flowers and canopies. She also ordered the chamberlain for ceremonials (*taichang [qing]* 太常[卿]) to perform music and to greet the relic as it was placed in the Luminous Hall. As the third story of the Luminous Hall was actually a pagoda,[24] it should not come as a surprise that the empress chose it as the location for the ceremony honoring the Famensi relic. Then, on the day of "Lantern Watching [Eve]" (*guandengri* 觀燈日; i.e., the fifteenth day of the first month [February 13, 705]), with her mind and body properly purified, she asked Fazang to hold up the relic as she prayed for universal good.[25]

Several aspects of this relic veneration described by Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn are verified by an earlier epigraphic source:

> In the fourth year of the Chang'an era (February 10, 704-January 29, 705) under the reign of the Divine Empress Zetian, [the empress] ordered Fazang and Cui Xuanwei to go to there together in order to open it (i.e., the pagoda) …. [The relic was respectfully] carried to the Luminous Hall in the Eastern Capital, where it was displayed and worshipped. [The monarch of] ten thousand chariots (i.e., Empress Wu) burned incense [in front of it], while one thousand officials bowed to it and celebrated [its presence]. The clouds became five-colored, spreading into canopies, which tied themselves to the gate towers. The sun was surrounded by double layers of haloes, which formed a wheel and floated on the tops of the trees in the remote countryside. 則天聖后長安四年, 敕大周西[崇][福][寺]法藏鸞臺[侍][郎][博] [陵][崔][公]玄[26]暐同往開之. … 荷擔於東都明堂, 而陳其供

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[23] *PHC* 284a6-9.

[24] Forte, *Mingtang*, 161-63.

[25] *PHC* 284a9-12.

[26] The six characters (侍郎博陵崔公), missing in the *QTW* edition of the inscription, are added by referring to Ch'oe's biography, which presents Cui Xuanwei as 鳳閣侍郎博陵崔玄暐 (see *PHC* 283c27-28). Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn here identifies Cui Xuanwei as *fengge shilang* 鳳閣侍郎 (vice director of the Secretariat), which is compatible with how Cui is presented in the inscription—鳳閣侍郎 (vice director of the Chancellery)—given that on July 17, 704 (Chang'an 4.6.11 [*yichou*]), he was appointed as joint manager of affairs with the secretariat-chancellery (*tong fengge luantai ping zhangshi* 同鳳閣鸞臺平章事) (see *XTS* 4.104; cf. *JTS* 6.132, *ZZTJ* 207.6571), a position he very likely still held when he was commissioned by Empress Wu for the Famensi trip at the beginning of 705.

Kamata has reconstructed the six missing characters as 侍郎博陵崔玄, which will have 鸞臺侍郎博陵崔玄公暐. 崔玄公暐 is an irregular expression. The correct one

> 焉. 萬乘焚香, 千官拜慶. 雲五色而張蓋, 近結城樓; 日重光以建輪, 遠浮郊樹.[27]

1.3. *The Court Coup in 705*

Unlike earlier success with the prized relic, Empress Wu obtained no efficacious response this time, and a week after the ceremony at Luminous Hall, the political infighting that had been going on for years erupted in a coup d'état, which not only removed two of her favorites but also forced the ruler herself to retire. The Great Tang, which had been suspended for slightly over fourteen years, was thus successfully restored. The heir-apparent Li Xian was reinstated as emperor, twenty-one years after he was deposed and exiled. Fazang chose to side with the political group loyal to Li Xian, a decision that proved prudent.[28]

Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's biography touches on Fazang's involvement in court strife:

> In the first year of the Shenlong era (January 30, 705-January 18, 706), Zhang Jianzhi 張柬之 (625-706) [and his group] conspired against the state. While internally promoting the power of the dharma, Fazang externally assisted [Zhongzong in his] grand plan. After the "bewitching evil-doers" were killed, he was rewarded with [a prestigious title of] third rank because of his merit [in helping the emperor foil the rebels]. Although [Fazang] resolutely resisted this honor, [the government] insisted on offering. Therefore, Fazang petitioned to transfer [this honor] to his younger brother, so that his [brother's official] treatment could match his honor. In the second year [of the Shenlong era] (19 January 706-6 February 707), an imperial edict was issued ...... 屬神龍初, 張柬之叛 逆, 藏乃內弘法力, 外贊皇猷. 妖孽既殲, 策勳斯及, 賞以三品, 固辭固授. 遂請回於弟, 俾諧榮養. 至二年, 降敕曰, ...[29]

Ch'oe then gives us the edict: the emperor orders the promotion of Fazang's younger brother Kang Baozang, to whom he also grants the privilege of an official salary while staying at home to take care of his mother. The edict further expresses the emperor's appreciation for Fazang's contributions in quelling the "rebellion":

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should be 崔公玄暐. In other words, I believe that in the *QTW* edition the character 公 before 暐 must be an error for 玄.

[27] "Da Tang shengchao Wuyouwangsi Dasheng zhenshen baota beiming bing xu," *QTW* 516.10a5-9 (cf. *Jinshi cuibian*, *Shike shiliao xinbian* I, 3: 1669). The inscription recorded in *Jinshi cuibian* and *QTW* contains numerous lacunae, including the names of Fazang and Cui Xuanwei, which Kamata Shigeo has for the most part successfully retrieved by referring to the relevant passage in Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's biography. See Kamata, "Genju daishi Hōzō to Hōmonji," 236.

[28] Chapter 10.3.

[29] *PHC* 283b18-21.

> Wielding the sword of wisdom, he was able to subdue the enmity of *mara* (devils). When the fierce and malicious were plotting rebellion, he was able to recognize the presages of their conspiracy. Out of his sincerity from the bottom of his heart, he repeatedly memorialized Us (on the conspiracy). He indeed made many contributions to the extirpation of the evil and sinister. 揮智慧之劍, 降伏魔怨. 凶徒叛逆, 預識機兆. 誠懇自衷, 每有陳奏. 姦回既殄, 功效居多.[30]

Looking over these quoted sources, we notice a problem stemming from the mention of Zhang Jianzhi as head of the "rebellion." Historically, we know that he was a leader of the 705 *coup d'état* that led to Zhongzong's restoration. It is illogical that he is called the anti-Zhongzong leader. In fact, the *Taishō* version of *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn* has apparently made a mistake. *Fajiezong wuzu lüeji*, compiled by Xufa during Qing times, indicates that the leader of the "rebellion" was Zhang Yizhi, not Zhang Jianzhi.[31] This means that either the edition of *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn* that Xufa consulted had Zhang Yizhi, not Zhang Jianzhi, or Xufa substituted the name Zhang Jianzhi with Zhang Yizhi. Thus, at least one edition of *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn* might have had Zhang Yizhi instead of Zhang Jianzhi. Is it possible that Zhang Jianzhi as presented by the *Taishō* version of *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn* is an error for Zhang Yizhi?

This turns out to be correct, as I argue in Appendix K. This seemingly trivial lexical issue indeed has far-reaching implications. If the imperial edict that Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn quotes in his biography can be trusted—and so far there is no evidence to prevent us from doing so—Fazang was actually an "accomplice" of Zhang Jianzhi and his group, who were supported by Zhongzong.

2. Under the reign of Zhongzong: 705-710

The above-quoted edict of Zhongzong suggests that Fazang leaked to Zhongzong damaging privileged information about the Zhang brothers, who, according to standard sources of Tang history, were plotting to preempt any possible offensive on the part of their rivals after the death of Empress Wu.[32] Fazang's information was crucial in helping to eliminate the Zhang brothers, and the secrets he possessed were probably gained through his special status as a court priest. We know from Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn that Fazang was then a chief director of the relic veneration at

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[30] *PHC* 283b24-26.
[31] *Fajiezong wuzu lüeji*, *XZJ* 134: 548a3.
[32] *JTS* (6.132, 7.135), *XTS* (4.103, 102.4015).

court, especially the enshrinement ceremony in the *mingtang* complex.[33] We can imagine that with the arrival of the relic to Luoyang on February 9, 705, he must have stayed in close communication with Empress Wu. This provided opportunities to keep abreast of what the two Zhangs, the empress's close favorites, and their clique were planning. He cunningly turned the close relationship with his patroness into a valuable political asset that he used to ingratiate himself with Zhongzong, who waited beside his mother's sickbed for the chance to rule again. Fazang emerges as politically sophisticated, someone who was ready to abandon his most important secular supporter when he sensed that the political situation had started to spin out of her control. Fazang thus ended up being a traitor rather than a supporter and sympathizer of Empress Wu. This switch of loyalty also partly explains the glory and success that he continued to enjoy under the succeeding rulers, as we will see.

2.1. *Reward and Recognition*

The year following his restoration on February 24, 705, Zhongzong ordered that Fazang be rewarded for his role in removing the Zhang brothers:

> Kang Baozang, a gentleman for court discussion and the vice-director of the Directorate in the Tongwan Citadel, was distinguished for his conduct and talent and began in the state ranks as a youth. His brother Fazang has long been one of the enlightened Brahma retinues, deeply penetrating into the wondrous gates [of dharma]. Transmitting the perpetual lamp with light illuminating the dark spheres ...[34] Although in accepting and converting [people to the Dharma] monks should not show any attachment, and in accordance with Buddhist principles they should abstain from [receiving] repayment and rewards, one has come into being due to the functioning of proper conditions and causes, and the Way consists in taking care of one's parents. He (Fazang) has therefore reiterated that within rendering support to one's parents reside the principles of the natural relationship [between children and parents]. Honors and salaries should be added [to his brother's] in order to demonstrate government reward. Baozang should be appointed as mobile corps commander and the left commandant of the Courageous Garrison (*zuo guoyi[fu] duwei* 左果毅 [府] 都尉) [belonging to] the *weiwei* (Awesome Guard) based in the Commandery of Longping.[35] [Since Baozang will] take care of his

[33] A 708 inscription confirms Fazang's role as a (or the) superintendent of the Famensi relic while it was stored in the imperial palace. See Wu and Han, *Famen digong Tang mi mantuoluo zhi yanjiu*, 70; Barrett, *Rise and Spread of Printing*, 16.

[34] The passage omitted here, about Fazang's role in the 705 court coup, has already been translated and analyzed above (see Chapter 6.1.3).

[35] Hucker, *Official Titles,* 565 (no. 7680): "2 prefixed left and right, included among the sixteen Guards (*shih-er wei*) at the dynastic capital, generally responsible for defense of the eastern sector of the capital city; created in 622 to replace the Left

> mother at home, he should not be given any actual responsibilities. People who are in charge should see to it that this edict be properly implemented! 朝議郎行統萬監副監康寶藏, 頗著行能, 早從班秩. 其兄法藏, 夙參梵侶, 深入妙門. 傳無盡之燈, 光照暗境 … 雖攝化無著, 理絕於酬賞; 而宅生有緣, 道存於眷顧. 復言就養, 實寄天倫. 宜加榮祿, 用申朝獎. 寶藏可游擊將軍, 行威衛隆平府左果毅都尉, 兼令侍母, 不須差使. 主者施行![36]

This must be the same occasion recorded in other sources on which Fazang, along with other eight monks, was awarded a fifth-rank title, although some of these sources tell us that he and his colleagues were rewarded for their merits in reconstructing a major monastery dedicated to the posthumous benefits of Empress Wu—namely, Shengshansi:

> In the second year of the Shenlong era of Tang Zhongzong (January 19, 706-February 6, 707), when the construction of Shengshansi was completed, nine monks (original: "persons") including Huifan 慧範 (?-713), Huizhen 慧珍, Fazang, Daxing 大行, Huiji 會寂, Yuanbi 元璧, Renfang 仁方, Chongxian 崇先 and Jinguo 進國 were [each] granted a fifth-ranked title, [which is] grand master for closing-court, and granted a subprefectural dukedom. Their mansions, utensils, salaries and other materials were provided by the government as they were for other secular officials. 唐中宗神龍二年, 造聖善寺成. 慧範, 慧珍, 法藏, 大行, 會寂, 元璧, 仁方, 崇先, 進國九人, 加五品, 並朝散大夫, 縣公. 房室器用料物, 一如正員官給.[37]

Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's biography, above, had Fazang receive a higher, third-ranked, title as early as 705, and now he receives a lower one, at fifth-rank. Generally a better conveyor of facts than Zanning, Ch'oe nonetheless was the one who was mistaken. Both *chaosan daifu* (for Fazang) and *youji jiangjun* (for his brother) were fifth-rank, middle-middle (that is, 5b2) (從五品下).[38] Given that it was on behalf of his brother that Kang Baozang received the new position, we may assume that the position initially offered to Fazang was also of the fifth rank. It is hard to believe that after offering Fazang a title of third rank in 705, Zhongzong, one year later, could have bestowed on him a title two ranks lower (especially if Fazang had repeatedly declined the third-rank

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and Right Encampment Guards (*t'un-wei*) inherited with the Sui dynasty's Twelve Guards (*shih-erh wei*) organization; in 684 renamed Guards of the Leopard Strategy (*pao-t'ao wei*); in 705 briefly named Awesome Guards; from late 705 to 711 again called Encampment Guards; from 711 once again called Awesome Guards." Thus, although Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn dates this edict to Shenlong 2 (January 19, 706-February 6, 707), the appearance of the title *weiwei* 威衛 therein reveals that it had actually been drafted by late 705, when the title was still in use. So shortly after the official reversion of the title back to *tunwei* 屯衛 (Encampment Guards) there was no time to do the necessary correction in the edict to reflect the change.

[36] *PHC* 283b18-c1.

[37] *Da Song sengshi lüe*, *T* 54: 3.250b3-11.

[38] *XTS* 46.1197.

honor). Thus, if the position that Fazang was offered in 705 was of the same rank as that which he and the other eight monks were officially awarded in 706, we can assume that it was also a title of the same rank that Fazang was granted in 705 (that is, *chaosan daifu*). In other words, the process of rewarding rank to Fazang had already been initiated in 705, although the announcement of the edict was not issued until one year later. The edict rewarding Kang Baozang as quoted by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn might have been issued sometime after the edict rewarding Fazang (and the other eight monks) when the government became assured of Fazang's determination to decline the honor.

In addition, Zanning's claims are supported by secular sources, including *Jiu Tang shu* and *Zizhi tongjian*, according to which three Daoist priests, including Shi Chongxuan 史崇玄 (?-713) and Ye Jingneng 葉靜能 (?-710), were among those rewarded for their merits in building Shengshansi, a monastery of exceptional importance for Zhongzong. Displaying its usual exactitude, *Zizhi tongjian* even dates the announcement of these rewards to April 9, 706.[39]

Given his political stance at the turn of 705, one might wonder whether after the coup Fazang was allowed to maintain his position as the abbot of Western Chongfusi, which was one of Empress Wu's private temples. Thanks to the preface that Zhongzong wrote for Yijing's translations—probably on August 8, 705 (Shenlong 1.7.15) as suggested by Antonino Forte—we know that Fazang's Chongfusi abbacy did continue for at least six months after the coup.[40] It thus seems, logically enough, that after getting deposed, Empress Wu was no longer able to appoint or dismiss abbots of her own monasteries, for she surely would have thrown Fazang out.

As another gesture of respect towards Fazang, in the winter of 705 Zhongzong commissioned a portrait of Fazang, for which he penned four eulogies:[41]

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[39] *JTS* 7.141, *ZZTJ* 208.6598: Shenlong 2.2.22 (*bingshen*). All the relevant sources and their implications are discussed in Chen Jinhua, *Collusion and Collision*, Chapter 1. In the same book I also discuss the importance of Shengshansi as an essential part of the political and religious programs under the reign of Zhongzong.

[40] Forte, *Political Propaganda* (2nd edition), 177-78n44; Chen Jinhua, "Yijing."

[41] *PHC* 284a18-29; *Wŏnjong mullyu*, *HPC* 4: 22.631b-c; *QTW* 17.21b-22a. Ku Cheng-mei 古正美 understands the phrase 敕令寫藏真儀 as "Zhongzong ordered Fazang to draw a portrait of Zangzhen 藏真, that is, Qiujiuque 丘就卻 (Kujūla Kadphises, 5 BC-78 AD)." Kadphises was the founding emperor of the Kushān dynasty, whom some scholars—including Ku—believe to be the prototype for the Buddhist king Aśoka. On the basis of this understanding, Ku has read the following verses written by Zhonzong as dedicated to Qiujiuque, rather than to Fazang. See Ku, "Longmen leigutai," 175-76. This reading seems questionable given that the character *zang* 藏 in the phrase obviously refers to Fazang and therefore that *zangzhen* cannot be understood as a separate term. In other words, I read 寫藏真儀 as *xie Zang*

Verse 1:

宿植明因 With the luminous causes planted from past [lives],
專求正真 [He] has single-mindedly searched for the right and true.
菴園晦跡 Although the [Buddha's] traces turned into obscurity in the "park of *āmra*,"
蓮界分身 His body appeared in the Realm of the Lotus.
闡揚釋教 Expounding the teaching of the Śākya,
拯濟迷津 Saving and delivering people mired in the swamp of illusion.
常流一雨 Always pouring out the rain of oneness,
恒淨六塵 For the constant purification of the "six dusts."

Verse 2:

辯囿方開 When the garden of eloquence opens,
言泉廣濬 The spring of words gushes out broadly.
護持忍辱 Protect and maintain the dharma in the spirit of enduring humiliation,
勤修精進 Diligently cultivating the way of vigor.
講集天華 His lectures caused a gathering of heavenly flowers,
徵符地震 An unusual sign emerged in response to [the explanation of the] earthquake.[42]
運斯法力 Exerting this dharma-power,
殄茲魔陣 He removed the demonic camps.

Verse 3:

爰標十觀 The ten contemplations are raised,
用契四禪 To accord with the "Four Dhyānas."
普斷煩惱 Universally cutting off the afflictions,
遐袪蓋纏 Ridding himself of secular ties from afar.
心源鑒徹 With the source of mind mirrored and penetrated,
法鏡澄懸 The dharma-mirror brilliantly suspended.
慧筏周運 The boat of wisdom steered perfectly,
慈燈永傳 The lamp of compassion to be transmitted forever.

Verse 4:

名簡紫震 His names echoing in the imperial palace,
聲流紺域 His reputation circulating among the monastic world.
梵眾綱紀 The guiding principle for the Brahmanic Congregation (i.e., the saṃgha),
僧徒楷則 The standard and example for Buddhist followers.
鎭洽四生 In protecting those born in the four ways,[43]

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zhenyi ("to draw [*xie* 寫] the portrait [*zhenyi* 真儀] of Fazang"), rather than *xie Zangzhen yi* ("to draw a portrait of Zangzhen") as is suggested by Ku. Consequently, the four verses should be regarded as dedicated to Fazang, rather than to Qiujiuque.

[42] Chengguan, *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao*, *T* 36: 3.17a21-23: 謂晉譯微言, 幽旨包博. 玄義全盛, 賢首方周. 故講得五雲凝空, 六種震地. This also suggests that Chengguan had access to Zhongzong's verses dedicated to Fazang.

曾無懈息	He never feels fatigue.
播美三千	Spreading the beautiful [name] in the three thousand worlds,
傳芳百億	Transmitting the fragrant [reputation] to the ten billion generations.

Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn claims that the verses were written in the first year of the Shenlong era (January 30, 705-January 18, 706). However, it seems more likely that Zhongzong wrote them some time later (i.e., between December 7, 706, and March 23, 709).[44]

Fazang, like other palace chaplains, followed the emperor on his return to Chang'an at the end of 706[45] and took up residence at his monastery Western Chongfusi; right away he joined Bodhiruci's translation bureau to work on the *Mahāratnakūṭa sūtra*. The project was not completed until May 7, 713, just after Fazang's death. Emperor Ruizong, who had by then abdicated in favor of his son Xuanzong but who still maintained considerable power and influence, composed a preface to the collection.[46]

2.2. *Famensi Again*

In view of the size of *Da baoji jing*, it is likely that Fazang was preoccupied by it and that it became the focus of his activity over the years to come. Since Bodhiruci and Fazang had shared the same temple until shortly before Fazang's death, we might deduce that Fazang was a chief member of Bodhiruci's translation office. However, we should note that Fazang participated in other important affairs as well. In the spring of 708, Zhongzong entrusted Fazang, Wen'gang, two of the ten monks who accompanied the relic to the capital from Famensi, and other monks with the task of sending back the Famensi relic. Fazang made for the relic a "spirit canopy" (*lingzhang* 靈帳), which was excavated nearly thirteen centuries later, in 1987.

Wen'gang's part in the veneration is verified by Zanning,[47] but Fazang's role is recorded in none of his biographical sources, including

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[43] The four forms of birth (*sisheng* 四生) are: *taisheng* 胎生 (*jarāyu-ja*) birth from the womb (humans, animals); *luansheng* 卵生 (*aṇḍa-ja*) birth from an egg (birds), *shisheng* 濕生 (*saṃsveda-ja*) birth from moisture (insects), and *huasheng* 化生 (*upapādu-ja*) birth by transformation (dwellers in the heavens and hells).

[44] For this time frame for the composition of these four verses, see my discussion in Chapter 10.4.1.

[45] Zhongzong left Luoyang on November 18, 706, and arrived in Chang'an twenty days later. See Chapter 9, note 49.

[46] Chapter 9.3.2; Appendix H.

[47] *SGSZ* biography at *T* 50: 14.792a21-22. Fazang and Wen'gang's roles in this relic-veneration must have been recorded in a three-*juan* collection Yuanzhao compiled of accounts related to the Famensi relic, entitled "Shengchao Wuyouwangsi

Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's. This is supplemented by the "spirit canopy" unearthed from the Famensi underground chamber containing the finger-bone relic, which bears an inscription:

> On the fifteenth day of the second (*jimao*) month of the second (*wushen*) year of [the Jingyun Era], the Great Tang Dynasty (March 11, 708), śramaṇa Fazang and others made one "spirit canopy" of white jade, for the purpose of enshrining the relic to be interred in the pagoda. [The inscription] is therefore written in order to record this. 大唐景龍二年戊申二月己卯朔十五日, 沙門法藏等造白玉靈障一鋪, 以其舍利入塔. 故書記之.[48]

A stone stele unearthed in 1978 from near the Famensi pagoda reveals an extraordinary practice on the part of the royal family: Zhongzong, Empress Wei 韋后 (?-710) and other members of the imperial family cut off their hair to be buried with the re-enshrined relic at Famensi on March 11, 708.[49] We do not know whether the relic was sent back to Famensi from Luoyang or Chang'an, to which Zhongzong switched his imperial court on December 7, 706. On March 15, 710, Zhongzong decided to honor the Famensi relic once again by bestowing on the pagoda the title, "Dasheng zhenshen baota" 大聖真身寶塔 ("Treasure-pagoda for the True Body of the Great Sage"), with Famensi renamed "Shengchao Wuyouwang si" 聖朝無憂王寺 (The Monastery of King of No Sorrow [i.e., King Aśoka] of the Divine Dynasty). He had forty-nine monks ordained to mark the occasion.[50]

2.3. *Fazang and Jianzhen?*

Less than one and half months after the Famensi ceremony was executed, Fazang was said to have been involved in an important event in the life of a young monk who was to play a key role in transmitting the Chinese vinaya tradition and different forms of Chinese culture to Japan. On April 23, 708 (Jinglong 2.3.28), when Jianzhen (Jp. Ganjin) 鑑真 (688-763) received his ordination at Shijisi 實際寺 under the tute-

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Dasheng Shijiamounifo zhenshen sheli taji" 聖朝無憂王寺大聖釋迦牟尼佛真身舍利塔記. The collection was presented to the throne on May 22, 794 (Zhenyuan 10.4.19). See *Da Tang Zhenyuan xu Kaiyuan shijiao lu*, *T* 55: 2.765c19-766a6 (cf. *Da Tang Zhenyuan xu Kaiyuan shijiao lu*, *T* 55: 3.770a15-16). Unfortunately, this collection is not extant now.

48 Wu and Han, *Famensi digong*, 70.

49 Han and Luo, "Famensi chutu Tang Zhongzong xiafa ruta ming." The three leaders of this nunnery are indicated as Miaowei 妙威, Xianjia 仙嘉 and Wushang 無上 (the first being the *sizhu* 寺主 and the latter two both *duweina* 都維那). The part of the epitaph in which the name of the nunnery is supposed to have appeared is too damaged to be legible.

50 "Wuyouwangsi baota ming," *QTW* 516.10a-b; "Da Tang Xiantong qisong Qiyang zhenshen zhiwen," 42; Chen Jinhua, "*Śarīra* and Scepter," 102-3.

lage of Fazang's colleague Hongjing, Fazang was invited to be one of seven verifiers according to Gyōnen's *Bommō kaihon sho nichiju shō*:

> When Preceptor Ganjin received his full ordination, Great Master Xianshou acted as one of the "Seven Verifiers" (*qizheng* 七證).[51] Therefore, his "extensive biography" says, "He reverently entreated Vinaya Master Fazang, a *bhadanta*-monk of Heensi in the Western Capital (i.e., Chang'an), as a Reverend Verifier of Ordination. Fazang was a fundamental vessel of the Mahāyāna, and his intents and manners were lofty and profound. Concealing his traces [as a sage] and at the appearance of an ordinary person, his movements were hard to fathom. Whenever he preached on *Huayan jing* and other *sūtra*s and *śāstras*, the ground shook because of his lectures. He composed commentaries on *Huayan jing*, *Qixin lun* and *Pusa jie*. All of them have been circulated in the world." ([quoted as] above) 鑒眞和尙受具足之時, 賢首大師居七證位. 故彼廣傳上云: "奉請西京荷恩寺大德法藏律師爲尊證師. 大乘根器, 意度沖淵. 隱跡同凡, 動止難測. 每講花嚴, 及諸經論. 其地爲之振動, 作花嚴經, 起信論疏, 菩薩戒疏. 見傳於世也." 已上.[52]

Here Gyōnen claims to have based himself on an "extensive biography" (*guangzhuan* 廣傳) of Ganjin. This probably referred to the biography that Ganjin's disciple Situo 思託 (722-809) wrote for him, now nonextant.[53] Given that no other source identifies Fazang as a vinaya master or a Heensi monk, one might suspect that the vinaya master mentioned here was a different person:[54] none of the extant biographies of Ganjin connect him with such a monk. However, because the author of this "extensive biography," who was probably Situo, featured well-known elements of Fazang legend, it seems certain that he took this vinaya

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[51] These seven verifiers, along with other three masters superintending Ganjin's ordination, are mentioned on the back of a manuscript by Gyōnen—*Kegon nishu seishi gi* 華嚴二種生死義. See Andō, *Ganjin Daiwajō den no kenkyū*, 53-54; Wang Xiangrong, *Tang da heshang dongzheng zhuan*, 104.

[52] *Bommō kaihon sho nichiju shō*, *T* 62: 3.21b21-26.

[53] My reason for assuming that Gyōnen is here referring to the biography by Situo is that none of the extant biographies of Ganjin contains a similar passage. See *Tō daiwajō tōsei den*, *T* 51: 988a; *Kairitsu denrai ki*, *BZ* 64: 1.148c; *SGSZ*, *T* 50: 14.797a; *Genkō shakusho*, *BZ* 62: 1.72c; and *Honchō kōsō den*, *BZ* 63: 2.32b. Of these biographies, *Tō daiwajō tōsei den* 唐大和上東征傳, which was composed by Mahito Genkai 真人元開 (a.k.a. Ōmi Mifune 淡海三船, 722-785) in 779 (only sixteen years after Ganjin died), is the most detailed and reliable. It was composed on the basis of Situo's *Da Tang chuanjieshi sengming ji Daheshang Jianzhen zhuan* 大唐傳戒師僧名記大和上鑑真傳 (also known as "Da Heshang zhuan" 大和上傳, or "Heshang xingji" 和上行記), which, judging by its size (three *juan*), probably provided even more details than does the one-*juan Tō daiwajō tōsei den*. More importantly, at least according to an eighteenth century author, Situo's biography was referred to as *kōden* 廣傳 (extensive biography), in contrast with *Tō daiwajō tōsei den*, which was simply called "den" 傳 (biography). See *Shōdai senzai denki*, *BZ* 64: 9.282b; Kuranaka, *Tō Daiwajō tōsei den no kenkyū*, 13.

[54] See, for example, Andō, *Ganjin Daiwajō den no kenkyū*, 53-54.

master to be the Avataṃsaka Fazang. We should evaluate the historical credibility of this account, and ask if Situo, who probably started to write the biography shortly after Ganjin died in 763, misidentified Fazang: and was this inadvertent? Also, how likely is it (1) that Fazang was known as a vinaya expert, and (2) that he, as of 708, was affiliated with Heensi?

Heensi, along with its "twin" in the Eastern Capital—Hezesi 荷澤寺, which was much better known largely thanks to its ties with Shenhui 神會 (686-760), was founded by Ruizong sometime between December 16, 705, and January 18, 706. Ruizong dedicate the monasteries to the posthumous welfare of Empress Wu.[55] Although no other source asserts Fazang's association with this temple, one of his chief disciples, Zongyi, was a member.[56] Fajin 法津 (699-770), who was probably one

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[55] According to Song Minqiu 宋敏求 (1019-1079), Heensi, located in the Yongxing Ward 永興坊, was founded in Jingyun 3, which probably refers to a one-year period marked by no less than four reign-names: (1) Jingyun 3 (February 12-30, 712), Taiji 1 (March 1-June 20, 712), Yanhe 1 (June 21-September 12, 712), and Xiantian 1 (September 13, 712-January 30, 713), the first three adopted by Ruizong himself and the last by his successor Xuanzong. See *Chang'an zhi*, *SKQS* 587: 8.2a-b, which is followed by Xu Song in his *Tang Liangjing chengfang kao* 3.53; cf. *Cefu yuangui* 545.26b. However, one of Ruizong's edicts collected by Song Minqiu himself makes it clear that the temple, along with its twin Hezesi, was founded during the three year funeral period that Ruizong observed for his mother (705-708). See *Tang da zhaoling ji* 108.513. Given its memorial nature, it seems quite likely that the twin monasteries were built shortly after Empress Wu's death, which occurred on December 16, 705. Be that as it may, Heensi was founded either in late 705 or in early 706. Song Minqiu was misled to the assumption that Heensi was founded in Jingyun 3 probably by the date of Ruizong's edict, Jingyun 3.3 (actually Taiji 1.3 [April 11-May 9, 712] given that the reign-name Jingyun was replaced by Taiji on March 1, 712).

Wang Pu 王溥 (922-982), on the other hand, says something rather odd about Hezesi before turning to Heensi briefly:

> Hezesi was located in the Yiren Ward. On April 7, 712 (Taiji 1.2.27), when Ruizong was still a prince, he founded this temple for the posthumous welfare of Empress Dowager Wu. Originally named Cizesi, it was renamed "Hezesi" in Shenlong 2 (January 19, 705-February 6, 707). At the time, he founded another temple called "Heen" [for the same purpose]. 荷澤寺在宜人坊. 太極元年二月十七日, 睿宗在藩, 爲武太后追佛所立. 初名慈澤寺, 神龍二年改爲荷澤寺. 其時於西京亦立荷恩. (*THY* 48.849)

This account is confusing for a couple of reasons. First, on April 7, 712, Ruizong was ruling as an emperor, although he was to surrender the throne to Xuanzong five months later (on September 11). Second, how could a temple which was founded not until 712 have been renamed six years earlier (in 706, or early 707)? Obviously, one of the two dates given here (Taiji 1.2.27 and Shenlong 2) must be wrong. In view of the fact that the twin monasteries were founded when Ruizong was still a prince, I assume that the first date (Taiji 1.2.27) must be wrong. This suggests that the monastery was very likely built in Shenlong 1; or to be specific, sometime within the roughly one-month period between December 16, 705, when Empress Wu died, and January 18, 706, when Shenlong 1 ended.

[56] See Chapter 3.4.3.

of his second-generation disciples, was also related to it.[57] Further, Fazang's two mentors, Daocheng and Baochen, were both (especially Daocheng) distinguished vinaya masters.[58] According to Gyōnen, Fazang had another vinaya master, Manyi, as his teacher.[59] Finally, Fazang himself had keen interest in bodhisattva-precepts, as he tells us in his commentary on *Fanwang jing* that he used to compile a twenty-*juan* collection of texts on bodhisattva-precepts, and that he was so obsessed with some problems related with bodhisattva-precepts that he attempted in vain to go to the Western Region (either Central Asia or India):

> Although in my humble mind, [I, Fa]zang, aspired for this supreme practice, I usually regretted the lack [of its scriptural sources in this country], and I had desired to search for them in the west. Although this has never been fulfilled, I could not stop my feeling [toward them]. Later, by thoroughly searching through the canon, I have collected the traces [related to the bodhisattva-precepts], compiling them into *Pusa pini zang* in twenty *juan*. I subsequently found *Pusa jieben*, which has not been extensively expounded on by the sages from the past. Now, I dare to exhaust my silly but sincere heart in composing commentaries on it. It is my wish that those who share my aspirations will roughly recognize [the commandments regarding] what is to be upheld and what constitutes violation. 藏雖有微心, 冀茲勝行. 每慨其斥闕, 志願西求. 既不果遂, 情莫能已. 後備尋藏經, 捃摭遺躅, 集菩薩毘尼藏二十卷. 遂見有菩薩戒本, 自古諸賢, 未廣解釋. 今敢竭愚誠, 聊爲述讚. 庶同業者, 粗識持犯耳.[60]

Although there is no compelling evidence that our Avataṃsaka Fazang was the very vinaya master who verified Jianzhen's full ordination, such a possibility cannot be completely excluded. Fazang's mere interest in bodhisattva-precepts, as discussed in Chapter Four, would categorize him as a monk committed to monastic rites. This whole issue deserves further investigation.[61]

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[57] After receiving his full ordination in Jiangling 江陵, Fajin went for *sūtra*-lectures at Huayansi in Chang'an. See "Da Tang Heensi gu dade chi shihao Fajin chanshi muzhiming bing xu," *TMH* 2: 1773-74. A later epitaph dedicated to the same monk provides some more details about this: after receiving his full ordination during the Kaiyuan era (713-741), he went to attend lectures on *Huayan jing* delivered by a so-called "Great Master Huayan" 華嚴大師. See "Da Tang Heensi gu dade Fajin chanshi taming bing xu," *TMH* 2: 1956-57. This unnamed Great Master Huayan could not have been Fazang, who died before the Kaiyuan era started, but was probably a disciple of Fazang given his epithet and Huayansi's ties with Fazang and his group.

[58] Chapter 3.4.1.

[59] Ibid.

[60] *Fanwang jing pusa jieben shu*, *T* 40: 1.605b10-15.

[61] A crux to the solution of this puzzle will be any decisive evidence for the identity of the Heensi Vinaya Master Fazang.

2.4. *Drought-battling in 708 and 709*

In midsummer (i.e., the fifth month) of Jinglong 2 (May 24-June 22, 708), a drought threatened the capital area once again. Zhongzong ordered Fazang to gather one hundred dharma-masters at Jianfusi to pray for rain with proper religious rituals and procedures.[62] At dawn on the seventh day, a heavy downpour came and lasted for ten nights. Zhongzong was of course extremely satisfied about Fazang's performance, as expressed in his reply to the memorial concerning the result of the ritual:

> The Dharma-king follows the example [set forth by the Buddha] and the Regulator [the Buddha] [responds by] making flow the [rain of] compassion. With one hundred seats spread out to pray for grace, a response was elicited before ten days passed. Having expounded on the *sūtra* with such diligence and vigor, you O Master and the others must be fatigued now. As We repeatedly re-read the memorial, We are pleased again and again. 法王乖[63]範, 調御流慈. 敷百座以祈恩, 未一旬而獲應. 師等精誠講說, 當致疲勞. 省表循環, 再三欣悅.[64]

The next year, when the drought recurred, Fazang was efficacious once again. Zhongzong issued another edict:

> Upon the cultivation of the Three Jewels the rain fell down for ten days. The clouds of compassion formed shade and the dharma-rains contained moisture. O Master, you and the others are so diligent and sincere that the Buddha was touched. 三寶熏修,[65] 一旬流液. 慈雲演蔭, 法雨含滋. 師等精誠, 遽蒙昭感.[66]

The drought was so severe that, according to the two Tang histories, Zhongzong moved out from the main palace as a self-punitive gesture.[67] Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's biography states that from this point forward, Zhongzong and Ruizhong relied on Fazang as bodhisattva-preceptor.[68]

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[62] See below (3.3) for Zhongzong's ties with this important monastery.

[63] Emend *guai* 乖 to *cheng* 乘.

[64] *PHC* 284b3-5.

[65] Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn (*PHC* 284b6) here has an interlinear note to the effect that another version of the imperial edict has *xunxiu* 熏修 as *chongxiu* 重修, which would mean that a "lecture of one hundred seats" (*baizuo jiang* 百座講—that is, a lecture in which one hundred dharma-masters participated) was convened again in order to pray for rain.

[66] *PHC* 284b5-7.

[67] See *JTS* 7.147, which dates it to July 28, 709 (Jinglong 3.6.17 [*renyin*]); *XTS* 4.111, which dates it two days earlier, on July 26, 709 (Shenlong 3.6.15 [*gengzi*]).

[68] Cf. Chapter 10.4.1.

3. Under the reign of Ruizong: 710-712

This section will highlight the extraordinary esteem that Ruizong held for Fazang, which, as we emphasize, was not coincidental. As a highly political person, Fazang also cleverly capitalized on imperial favor to enhance the cause of Buddhism and in particular his own tradition.

3.1. *Drought-Battling Again*

In the winter of Jingyun 2 (November 15, 711-February 11, 712), one year before his death, drought conditions once again set Fazang to work. He went out to a mountain temple, where he performed a *dhāraṇī* ritual for snow:

> In the spring of Jingyun 2[69] a shortage of water was caused by lack of rain. It also did not snow in the winter (November 15, 711-February 11, 712), and the people all appealed to Heaven [for snow]. The emperor summoned Fazang to the inner palace, sincerely seeking from him a method for relieving the agricultural [crises caused by the imminent drought]. [Fazang] replied saying, "There is a scripture called 'Suiqiu zede da zizai tuoluoni.' If an altar (Ch. *tan* 壇, Skt. *maṇḍala*) is constructed upon which to copy the *dhāraṇī* in the *sūtra* with a pure mind, and if the *dhāraṇī* is then thrown into a dragon-pool, snow will follow immediately." 景雲再春, 時雨罕潤. 冬又不雪, 人皆籲天. 君命召藏禁中, 懇訊救農之術. 乃啓沃曰, "有經名'隨求則得大自在陀羅尼.' 若結壇淨寫是總持語, 投於龍湫, 應時必獲".[70]

Having received permission for his proposal, Fazang rushed to the dragon-pool somewhere near Wuzhensi, specifically in Lantian 藍田 valley[71] on Mount Zhongnan, to perform the rites. Before ten days' time, it started to snow heavily. A memorial was sent up, and in response came an edict:

> Let it be decreed to Master Huayan: In the past when drought occurred, We were so worried that We did not feel at ease in eating or sleeping. Therefore, We commanded [you] to go to the place of the pool to pray for the [Buddha's] grace. Rapidly, you were able to obtain the flowing compassion of the Three Jewels, and it snowed twice. O Master you and others touched Heaven above with your diligence and vigor, so that a snowfall one-*chi* thick demonstrated the propitious [result]. We are happy that a harvest can now be expected and that an abundant year may lie ahead. But in case the snow might not be spread widely enough, We request that you, O Master, should not leave the mountain hastily. We dare to trouble you, O Master, to make further efforts, and please wait [on the mountain to see] whether to go

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[69] That is, the first three lunar months of Jingyun 2—January 24-April 22, 711.

[70] *PHC* 284284b16-20.

[71] The *Taishō* version has Lantian as a mountain (Lantian Shan 藍田山), which is a mistake given that Lantian was a valley at Mount Zhongnan.

> (to the capital) or stay [there]." After it snowed six times and the snow reached all four directions, a decree was again promulgated: "Let it be decreed to Master Huayan: As the cold is getting [more and more] severe, how is his dharma body faring? Yesterday the messenger returned and said that no sooner had the Master finished burning incense than sweet snow started to fall. Although it was a demonstration of the compassion of the Tathagātha, it was also brought about by the pious prayers of the Master. It presages the happiness of a bumper harvest year. Thus we briefly convey our greetings [through this message]. 敕華嚴師: 比屬愆陽, 憂纏寢食. 故令潭所, 啓請祈恩. 遽得三寶流慈, 兩度降雪. 師等精誠上感, 遂乃盈尺呈祥. 欣稔歲之有期, 喜豐年之可望. 慮不周洽, 且未須出山. 屈師重更用心, 待後進止." 及六出遍四方, 復降詔曰, "敕華嚴師: 寒光稍切, 不委法體何如? 昨者使還, 云師燒香纔畢, 旋降甘雪. 雖則如來演貺, 實由啓懇虔誠. 預喜豐年, 略茲示意."[72]

3.2. *Establishment of a National Huayansi Network*

On Fazang's sixty-ninth birthday anniversary, which fell on December 4, 712 (Xiantian 1.11.2 [*dingmao*]), which turned out to be his last one, Ruizong sent gifts and a congratulatory letter:

> Let it be decreed to Master Huayan: As it reaches the eleventh month, the winter starts to dominate [the season]. Happily enjoying the bliss of your birthday, We also have the pleasure of celebrating your longevity. Taking advantage of this propitious day, We convey to you Our utmost sincerity. We hereby present a set of dharma-dresses and some noodles [as a symbol of] longevity. Not only presenting to you the tastes of "Four Dhyāna," We also provide the support of "Three Garments."[73] It is wished that your years be as numerous as the sands of the Ganges, and your longevity run as long as the *kalpa* stone. As it is turning cold in the season of frost, We wish that your body of dharma remain comfortable and healthy. The recent disruption in our communication has enhanced Our longing for you. Let this letter [temporarily] act as our personal conversation, although the brush is incapable of [exhaustively] conveying Our feelings." 敕華嚴師: 黃鐘應律, 玄序登司. 欣承載誕之祥, 喜遇高祺之慶. 乘茲令日, 用表單心. 故奉法衣, 兼長命索餠, 既薦四禪之味, 爰助三衣之資. 願壽等恒沙, 年同劫石. 霜景微冷, 法體安和? 近阻音符, 每增翹仰. 因書代敘, 筆不宣心.[74]

Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn then notes:

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[72] *PHC* 284b26-29.

[73] The *sichan* 四禪 denotes the four progressively subtle stages of meditation which lead one out from the "desire realm" into rebirth in the four meditation heavens in the "realm of form" (Skt. *caturdhyāna*). The *sanyi* 三衣 are three regulation garments of a monk: *saṅghāṭī* (assembly robe), *uttarāsaṅga* (upper garment) and *antarvāsaka* (vest or shirt).

[74] *PHC* 284c2-7.

> Ruizong took off his shoes and raised his dresses,[75] forgetting about state affairs and concentrating on nurturing virtue. 橋陵脫屣褰衣, 忘機養德.[76]

To this, another writer, Dōchū, made the following comment:

> In his late years, Ruizong relinquished the throne in order to nourish his virtues, all this was done in accordance to Fazang's instructions. 睿宗後讓位養德, 皆依法藏之勸導也.[77]

This refers to Ruizong's decision on August 8, 712, just four months before Fazang's death, to surrender the throne to his son Xuanzong. One year later, Xuanzong staged a court coup that removed the rival Princess Taiping and forced his father into full retirement.[78] Unfortunately, Dōchū did not mention his source claiming Fazang's role as mentor in these events. If true, it raises Fazang to a crucial position in the power-transition of 712, which ushered in one of the most prosperous eras in imperial China. Out of deep appreciation for Fazang's unflagging efforts, Ruizong bestowed upon him two thousand bolts of silk to cover the expenses of the rituals that Fazang had performed.

Fazang wasted no time in soliciting increased support from the government for the promotion of the Huayan tradition:[79]

> Seeing that the new *sūtra* had already effected an immense transformation, [Fa]zang realized that the roots (of Buddhism) in Zhendan (i.e., China) had already completely matured. He then submitted a memorial to the court proposing that five monasteries, all bearing the name-plaque of Huayan, be set up in the two capitals (Chang'an and Luoyang), Wu and Yue (traditional terms for areas in present-day Zhejiang and Jiangsu), and Mount Qingliang (i.e., Mount Wutai), so that commentaries and subcommentaries by Trepiṭaka [master] Mahāyāna (i.e., Gunabhadra)[80] and other exegetes could be copied and stored there. This virtuous intention would be fulfilled by Heaven and the merits of this proposal equaled those [of the Buddha], who caused

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[75] Ch'oe here refers to Ruizong by the name of his Mausoleum—Qiaoling 橋陵; see *JTS* 7.162, 8.176; *XTS* 5.125. *Tuoxi* 脫屣 and *qianyi* 褰衣 are two standard expressions for a ruler's retirement.

[76] *PHC* 284c7.

[77] *Shinkan Genju hiden shōgo*, *T* 50: 288c1.

[78] See Chapter 10.4.2.

[79] Xufa (*Fajiezong wuzu lüeji*, *XZJ* 134: 274c12ff) places this proposal under the reign of Zhongzong (705-710). The context of Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's biography suggests that this happened either in 708 or shortly afterwards.

[80] Gunabhadra was also known as "Moheyan" (Chinese transliteration for Mahāyāna) among his contemporaries in China for his great effort to promote Mahāyāna Buddhism; see his biographies at *Chu sanzang ji ji* (*T* 55: 14.105b) and *GSZ* (*T* 50: 3.344a). He was also a reputed preacher of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*.

> [jeweled pagodas] to rise out of the ground.[81] Shortly afterwards, his proposal was approved. Throughout streets and alleys in Yongzhou and Luozhou (i.e., the Chang'an and Luoyang areas), people vied with one another to attend the Brahmanic assemblies, and "incense societies" were widely established. Therefore, his portraits were drawn in seven places,[82] the number [of *Avataṃsaka* societies] exceeded ten thousand. His refined cultivation was like that of the Prince of Southern Qi (i.e., Prince Jingling 竟陵, Xiao Ziliang 蕭子良, 460-494) and [people said that] someone as good at teaching people as Master Hong of Western Shu[83] had appeared again in the present age, exceeding those of the former dynasties. Thus, people avoided calling him by his name, but rather addressed him as Upādhāya Huayan. 藏顧新經化大行焉, 知真丹根遍熟矣. 因奏於兩都, 及吳越, 清涼山, 五處起寺. 均牓華嚴之號. 仍寫摩訶衍三藏并諸家章疏貯之. 善願天從, 功侔踊出. 尋復請許. 雍洛閭閻, 爭趨梵筵, 普締香社. 於是乎像圖七處, 數越萬家. 南齊王之精修, 西蜀宏之善誘. 重興茲日, 敻掩前朝. 故人皆不名, 而稱華嚴和尙焉.[84]

Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn does not tell us when Fazang made this significant move. I assume that it occurred either in 712 or shortly before, given that Huayansi in Chang'an was built in 712.[85] It is not unexpected that Fazang should have proposed that one Huayan monastery be set up in each of the two capitals and at Mount Wutai, the putative residence of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī in China. It is noteworthy, however, that he selected Wu and Yue as the other two recipients for this particular honor. This is further circumstantial evidence that Fazang had spent some time in exile in the Jiangnan area, as discussed above.[86]

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[81] This refers to the "propitious sign" of pagodas' springing up from under the earth as described in the *Lotus sūtra*. See *Miaofa lianhua jing*, *T* 9: 5.39c18-42a29; Hurvitz (trans.), *Lotus*, 225-36.

[82] James Benn (personal communication, May 3, 2005) suggested to me the possibility that Fazang's image was painted into pictures of the seven places where the Buddha preaches—in eight assemblies (or nine assemblies, depending on the old and new translations)—on the sixty/eighty sections of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*. This is an idea known as *qichu shuofa* 七處說法, or *qichu bahui* 七處八會, *qichu jiuhui* 七處九會.

[83] Fazang notes in his *HJZ* (*T* 51: 5.172a23-b1) that Xiao Ziliang and Master Hong 宏法師 in Yizhou (i.e., Western Shu 西蜀) were enthusiastic promoters of vegetarian feasts based on *Huayan jing*. The former compiled a text called "Huayan zhaiji" 華嚴齋記, while the latter urged his lay followers to convene such a feast every half a month. *Huayan zhaiji* is not extant. Fazang's note on Xiao Ziliang might have been based on *Chu sanzang ji ji* (*T* 55: 12. 85c28), which attributes the text to the prince.

[84] *PHC* 284b9-16.

[85] Jingyun 3 (February 12-March 1, 712). See *THY* 48.849, according to which Huayansi in Chang'an was located in the Jingxing Ward 景行坊 and was renamed Tongdesi 同德寺 in Kaiyuan 21 (January 21, 733-February 8, 734).

[86] Chapter 5.3.1.

3.3. *Death*

Fazang died at Great Jianfusi on December 16, 712 (Xiantian 1.11.14), about one hundred days after Xuanzong was enthroned, thus ending an eventful sixty-nine-year life that spanned the reigns of no less than six Tang and Zhou rulers. Jianfusi maintained strong ties with the Tang rulers, particularly Zhongzong.[87] It was based on a mansion originally belonging to Yang Guang (i.e., Sui Yangdi). During the Wude era (June 18, 618-January 22, 627), it was bestowed on Xiao Yu as his "western garden" in which a mansion was built when Xiao Yu's son Xiao Rui 蕭銳 (?-644+) married Taizong's daughter Princess Xiangcheng 襄城 (?-651). After she died, the government purchased the mansion and assigned it to Prince Ying 英, the future Zhongzong. On the one hundredth day after Gaozong died on December 27, 683,[88] the mansion was turned into a monastery named Great Xianfusi 大獻福寺.[89] In Tianshou 1 (October 16, 690-December 5, 690), it was renamed Great Jianfusi. After Zhongzong's restoration in 705, the monastery was renovated and started to assume increasing importance.

Partly due to the fact that Fazang died at Great Jianfusi and partly because of its exceptional prestige, Yan Chaoyin's epitaph identified him as an affiliate principally of Great Jianfusi. This, in turn, misled Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn to identify him as its abbot, as worded in the title of the biography. The Jianfusi affiliation has been almost unanimously accepted by both traditional and modern scholars. I have serious reservations, however. There is very little evidence showing Fazang's connections with the monastery;[90] moreover there was little interaction with Yijing in his last six years. This is an extremely complicated issue that receives detailed treatment in a later chapter;[91] therefore, I will summarize its main points.

Bodhiruci and Yijing were the only two Trepiṭaka masters in Chang-an from the time when Zhongzong moved the court back from Luoyang

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[87] For the history of this important monastery, see *THY* 48.991, *Tang liangjing chengfang kao* 2.35-37; cf. Ono, *Chōan jiin* I: 3-10, II: 3-8.

[88] That is, Wenming 1.3.9 (*xinmao*) (March 29, 684); *THY* (48: 991) gives it as Wenming 1.3.12 (April 2, 684), which was actually the 103rd day after Gaozong's death.

[89] Zhongzong had then been deposed and exiled to Fangzhou 房州 thirty-five days ago, on February 26, 684 (Sisheng 1.2.6 [*xuwu*]).

[90] In addition to the fact that he died at Jianfusi, Fazang was known to be associated with this monastery on another occasion, when he performed a rain-prayer ritual there sometime between May 24 and June 22, 708 (see above, Chapter 6.2.3).

[91] The details of my argument for Fazang's abbotship of Chongfusi on the one hand and his ties with Great Jianfusi on the other can be found in Chapter 9.3.3, and Appendix I.

(December 7, 706)[92] until Fazang's death. As such, they were in charge of the two Buddhist translation centers based in Jianfusi and Western Chongfusi. Fazang's name is conspicuously absent from a list of translators contained in a colophon to several of Yijing's translations done in this period. This list appears so exhaustive that it cannot be taken as merely concerned with the persons involved in the translation of the individual texts; rather, it lists most, if not all, chief participants in the last stage of Yijing's translation project (from 706 to 710). This means that Fazang could not have been at Jianfusi at the time (much less its abbot). Also, Fazang is not listed as Yijing's collaborator in the latter's translation projects carried out between 710 and 712. On the contrary, as noted above, we have evidence that Fazang was engaged in the translation project that was carried out during the same period at Chongfusi under the direction of Bodhiruci. Thus, it seems more likely that Fazang served as the abbot of Chongfusi until sometime shortly before his death, when he was transferred to Jianfusi for better medical treatment, as in the cases of contemporary monks struggling to survive on their deathbeds.

Five days after Fazang's death, Ruizong praised his outstanding performance as a Buddhist leader and his valuable service to the state, as recorded by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn:[93]

> Imperial Commissioner: The late monk Fazang inherited his virtuous karma from the Heavens, and his open (literally "empty" [*xu* 虛]) intelligence marked a match with the [true] principle. With his eloquence and excellent understanding, his mind was infused with penetrating enlightenment. He opened wide a gate for [others to hear] the parables about [crossing *saṃsāra*] on a raft; he propagated in full detail the teachings for handing the lamp over [to the generations]. Demonstrating [proper] responses in accordance with conditions, he thereby accorded with transformations and exhausted his life. [This person who represented] the true dharma returned to extinction. Although he was already enlightened to the emptiness of no-birth, the regulations of the court regarding funeral embellishments required that an order be issued to praise the worthy. The title of chief minister of the Court of State Ceremonial should be bestowed [on him posthumously] and one thousand and twenty bolts of silk should be allotted [on his behalf]. His funeral should be conducted in accordance

[92] There was then a third Trepiṭaka in China—Manicintana, who was, however, probably living in Luoyang during this period. The reason for thinking so is that according to Zhisheng, Manicintana stopped translating any texts since 706. See Forte, "Manicintana," 312-15. It is hard to imagine that had Manicintana been in Chang'an at the time, how he could have avoided being involved in any of the translation projects supervised by Yijing and Bodhiruci. In view of this, the fact that he stopped his career as a translator after 706 strongly suggests his absence in Changan in the period.

[93] *PHC* 285b13-18.

> with the monastic regulations but the cost should be borne by the court. 中使: 故僧法藏, 德業天[94]資, 虛明契理; 辯才韞識, 了覺融心. 廣開喻筏之門, 備闡傳燈之教. 隨緣示應, 乘化斯盡. 法真歸寂, 雖證無生之空; 朝序飾終, 宜有褒賢之命. 可贈鴻臚卿, 賻[95]絹一千二百匹. 葬事準僧例, 官供.[96]

Ch'oe notes that the government's policy on the death of an official, whether military or civil, was to make a donation in proportion to his rank—from two hundred *duan* 端[97] and two hundred *shuo* 碩 (i.e., *dan* 石) of millet for a first-rank office, down to ten *duan* of silk for a ninth-ranked office. He further observes that the value of the posthumous donation for Fazang revealed the high respect that the imperial house held for him, and it included pay for the laborers to build Fazang's tomb. Additionally, the donations made by princes, dukes, and commoners were innumerable. His funeral followed the procedures of a ceremony reserved for a third-rank official.[98]

On the twenty-fourth day of the eleventh month of the year (December 26, 712), Fazang was buried south of Huayansi, at Shenhe 神禾 Plain.[99] The ceremonies at the funeral were in accordance with those stipulated for third-ranked officials. At the request of his disciples, Yan Chaoyin, who was then serving as an assistant inspector of the Imperial Library (*mishu shaojian* 祕書少監), wrote the funeral epitaph describing his conduct and events in his life. The inscription bearing the

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94 "Kang Zang bei" has *tian* 天 as *zi* 自.

95 "Kang Zang bei" has 賻 as 贈.

96 "Kang Zang bei" has 官供 as 餘皆官供.

97 *Duan* 端 was a unit of measurement for cloth (*bu* 布), while *pi* 匹 (bolt) a unit for silk (*juan* 絹). Under the Tang, four and six *zhang* equaled one *pi* and *duan*, respectively.

98 *PHC* 285b18-21.

99 According to Chengguan, the *quanshen ta* 全身塔 ("stūpa for the whole corpse") of Dushun, the first Huayan patriarch, was also at this temple; see *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao*, *T* 36: 15.116a26-27. Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn gives Shenhe 神禾 as Shenhe 神和 (*PHC* 285b22). However, Daoxuan, in his biography for Xingdeng 行等 (550-642), identifies Shenhe 神和 as the name for the plain where Xingdeng's stūpa was erected; see *XGSZ*, *T* 50: 15.543b1. The plain on which the monk Jingjie 敬節 (655-729) was buried is also called Shenhe 神和. See "Da Tang [ ]yisi gu dade Jingjie fashi taming bing xu," *TMH* 2: 1357. All this might suggest that the plain Shenhe was also known in this way. On the other hand, the name of the plain Shenhe 神禾 (rather than Shenhe 神和) is attested by the funeral epitaph for Siheng; see "Da Tang gu dade Siheng lüshi muzhiwen," *TMH* 2: 1322; for two more examples of Shenhe 神禾 being the name of the plain on which a monk and a nun were buried, see "Da Tang Longxing dade Xianji sizhu Jingye fashi lingta ming bing xu," *TMH* 1: 1296; "Tang gu Fajiesi biqiuni Zhengxing muzhiming bing xu," *TMH* 2: 1858. In his epitaph for Shi Shimian 施士丏 (734-802), Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824) also calls the plain "Shenhe" 神禾, which he says was located in the sub-prefecture Wannian 萬年; see Han Yu, "Shi Xiansheng muming," 204. It seems that the evidence for the reading Shenhe 神禾 outweighs that for Shenhe 神和. At any rate, it remains certain that the plain was located in Wannian (in present-day Wannian, Shaanxi).

epitaph was erected in the yard of the pagoda (*tasuo* 塔所) [at Huayansi?] in the spring of the following year (713).[100]

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Fazang lived a far more multifaceted and "worldly" life than the kind that we generally expect of a Buddhist philosopher. We note that in addition to a number of academic enterprises usually associated with exegetes and translators, he also was a significant court politician and mentor to the ruling circle; in addition he was a miracle-worker, implying a vast knowledge of technical ritual skills.

This biographical reconstruction has provided a glimpse into Fazang's complex life, but numerous holes and ambiguities remain in the overall picture. This is a task that we will undertake in the second part of this book. We will focus on the various historical and intellectual backgrounds against which Fazang performed all these multiple roles throughout his eventful career. We will also look closely into those hagiographical sources that have been omitted so far.

[100] "Kang Zang bei," 280c4-5; *PHC* 285b20-25.

PART TWO
THEMATIC AND HAGIOGRAPHICAL STUDIES

CHAPTER SEVEN

FAZANG THE PHILOSOPHER

The *Avataṃsaka* tradition usually conceives of the cosmos with an infinite number of interdependent and interpenetrating components; these make a web of connections of immeasurable magnitude. The *Avataṃsaka* literature frequently deploys the metaphor of Indra's Net (Ch. *yintuoluowang* 因陀羅網) to demonstrate the simultaneous, mutual identity and mutual causality of all phenomena. The aptest explanation of this often misunderstood metaphor remains the one Francis Cook first made almost thirty years ago:

> Far away in the heavenly abode of the great god Indra, there is a wonderful net which has been hung by some cunning artificer in such a manner that it stretches out infinitely in all directions. In accordance with the extravagant tastes of the deities, the artificer has hung a single glittering jewel in each "eye" of the net, and since the net itself is infinite in dimension, the jewels are infinite in number. There hang the jewels, glittering like stars of the first magnitude, a wonderful sight to behold. If we now arbitrarily select one of these jewels and look closely at it, we will discover that in its polished surface there are reflected all the other jewels in the net, infinite in number. Not only that, but each of the jewels reflected in this one jewel is also reflecting all the other jewels, so that there is an infinite reflecting process occurring.[1]

As the cornerstone of the *Avataṃsaka* philosophical and religious system, the worldview symbolized by the metaphor of Indra's Net has been the beneficiary of sustained scholarly attention for some time.[2] This chapter addresses the issues with a different approach. I will discuss the formation and development of two celebrated stories related to Fazang's effort to expound on this fundamental *Avataṃsaka* view.

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[1] Cook, *Hua-yen Buddhism*, 2.

[2] Cook, *Hua-yen Buddhism*; Fang Litian (coll. and annot.), *Huayan jinshizi zhang jiaozhu*; Stefano Zacchetti provides an annotated Italian translation of *Jin shizi zhang* (with introduction) in *Fazang—Il trattato del leone d'oro*.

1. Legends regarding the composition of the "Treatise on the golden lion"

Scholars agree that Fazang's *Jin shizi zhang* 金師子章 (Treatise on the Golden Lion, also called "Huayan Jin shizi zhang" 華嚴金師子章)[3] is not only the shortest and best-known of his works, but also important because it summarizes fundamental *Avataṃsaka* ideas. It is renowned for its brevity, clarity, and literary elegance, which is conveyed through ingenious metaphors and images. Rather than explore doctrines, something already done by other scholars, I shall focus on its provenance. Before doing that, I offer a summary of the ten-part argument contained in it:

1. "Ming yuanqi" 明緣起 clarifies the causes and conditions (*yuanqi* 緣起) through which a gold statue of a lion is produced. Fazang shows that since it lacks its own permanent nature (*zixing* 自性), gold, by means of the techniques of the craftsman and other conditions, can be cast into specific forms and features.

2. "Bian sekong" 辨色空 explicates the dialectic relationship between form (*se* 色) and emptiness (*kong* 空) implied in the golden lion. The fact that its substance and nature are empty does not prevent the golden lion from displaying its various forms and features.

3. "Yue sanxing" 約三性 explains the "Three Natures" (*sanxing* 三性) as understood in the Yogācāra school: *bianji suozhi xing* 遍計所執性 (Skt. *parikalpitah svabhāva*; "nature of existence produced from attachment to illusory discrimination"), *yitaqi xing* 依他起性 (Skt. *paratantra svabhāva*; "nature of existence arising from causes and conditions"), and *yuancheng shixing* 圓成實性 (Skt. *parinispanna svabhāva*; "nature of existence being perfectly accomplished"), all analyzed in terms of, respectively, the golden lion's "conceived existence" (*qingyou* 情有) (i.e., the artificial existence manufactured by human conceptualization), its provisional existence (*siyou* 似有) contingent on the combination of external factors, and the "unchanging nature" (*bubian* 不變) of gold.

4. "Xian wuxiang" 顯無相 holds that other than being made of gold, all the features and shapes demonstrated by the lion do not exist.

5. "Shuo wusheng" 說無生 holds that although birth and death can be spoken of in reference to a lion, the substance of gold is birthless.

6. "Lun wujiao" 論五教 is an elaboration of the Huayan Fivefold Teaching (*wujiao* 五教)[4] on the basis of the causes and conditions constituting the golden lion.

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[3] Both alternative titles are short forms of *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing jin shizi zhang* 大方廣佛華嚴經金師子章.

[4] The Huayan fivefold teaching consists of (1) *Yufa shengwen jiao* 愚法聲聞教 (the *śrāvaka* teachings for foolish people), (2) *Dasheng shijiao* 大乘始教 (Elemen-

7. "Le shixuan" 勒十玄 is a summary of Huayan teachings on the "Ten Mysteries" (*shixuan* 十玄), using the metaphor of the golden lion.

8. "Kuo liuxiang" 括六相 expounds the theory of "Six Characteristics" (*liuxiang* 六相).[5]

9. "Cheng puti" 成菩提 ("accomplishing bodhi"): as soon as one sees through the nature of the golden lion using the above teachings, one is able to penetrate the fundamental principle that all the dharmas are originally empty, which will, in turn, bring enlightenment.

10. "Ru niepan" 入涅槃 is to gain enlightenment as to the nature of gold and the lion, enabling one to enter nirvana, cutting off the source of suffering once and for all.

1.1. *The Early Sources*

Zongmi's 宗密 (780-841) *Huayan jing xingyuan pin shuchao* 華嚴經行願品疏鈔 is the earliest source claiming that Fazang wrote *Jin shizi zhang* for Empress Wu:

> Dharma Master Kang [Fa]zang, the third Huayan patriarch, by pointing to a golden lion, expounded for Emperor Zetian the teaching of the perfection of the "Six Characteristics," as is shown in his *Jin shizi zhang*. 華嚴三祖康藏法師，爲則天皇帝指金師子說六相圓融，如彼金師子章也.[6]

Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn differs by only stating that some time after Empress Wu replaced a male ruler of the Tang on the throne Fazang wrote *Jin shizi zhang* and presented it to her in order to instruct her in the *Avataṃsaka* teachings:

> When Wahuang 媧皇 (Emperor Nüwa 女媧) replaced Taigao 太皞 (i.e., Fuxi 伏羲) [as the ruler], the "jade-mirror" (i.e., the clear and bright Way) opened up its [grand] plans, as the [Queen of the] "Golden Wheel" radiated her virtues.[7] Realizing the large number of volumes written on *pattra* leaves and seeing[8] the number of the spells composed in *siddham*, [Fazang] submitted [to Empress Wu] a treatise titled *Jin*

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tary doctrine of the Mahāyāna, referring to Faxiang 法相 and Sanlun 三論 teachings), (3) *Dasheng zhongjiao* 大乘終教 (Final doctrine of the Mahāyāna, which asserts the existence of Buddha-nature in all beings), (4) *Dasheng dunjiao* 大乘頓教 (the Sudden Enlightenment doctrine of the Mahāyāna), and (5) *Yisheng yuanjiao* 一乘圓教 (the Perfect doctrine of the Mahāyāna, namely, the Huayan teaching).

[5] These are three pairs: generality (*zong* 總) vis-à-vis particularity (*bie* 別), identity (*tong* 同) vis-à-vis distinctness (*yi* 異), and construction (*cheng* 成) vis-à-vis destruction (*huai* 壞).

[6] *Huayan jing xingyuan pin shuchao*, *XZJ* 7: 6.487a7-8.

[7] This refers to the fact that Empress Wu proclaimed herself as the highest level of *cakravartin* King represented by a gold wheel. For a lucid discussion of various kinds of *cakravartin* kings, see Strong, *The Legend of King Aśoka*, 44-56.

[8] The original here has the character 祈, meaning "pray," which does not fit the context. I suspect that this character is miswritten.

> *shizi zhang* in the hope of enlightening her. This composition collects the treasures of River Li[9] and expounds on the wonders implied in the meditation of Jetavana Anāthapiṇḍada-ārāma (the Jetavana monastery donated to the Buddha by Anāthapiṇḍada). Only a few sheets of paper in length, it nonetheless comprehensively covers all the Buddhist teachings, just as a piece [of music] (*zhang* 章) may be composed using only ten tones. It is as good as the "lion's roar"[10] and is superior to the gift presented by the wild geese. Although it is said that this treatise has taken examples from afar, it actually employs instances from close at hand. It turns the "pearl (originally, "light" [*guang* 光]) under the chin"[11] into a "jewel on the palm." How could, then, the "baby jade dragon" (*yulongzi* 玉龍子),[12] an entertaining device in real life, be comparable with the golden lion, [the implications of which can only be] understood through emptiness? Fazang provided ample instructions to the empress and the beauty of this work finds no match from the past to the present. 媧皇之代太皞也，玉鏡披圖，金輪耀德．顧貝葉之書甚博，祈悉檀之訣稍頻，迺貢金師子章一篇而仰悟之．此作也，搜奇麗水之珍，演妙祇林之定.[13] 數幅該義，十音成章．疑觀奮吼於狻猊，勝獲賚睬於鵝雁．雖云遠取諸物，實乃近取諸身．以頷下之光，爲掌中之寶．則彼玉龍子之實玩，豈如金師子之虛求？(玉龍子之靈異具如明皇雜錄)．啓沃有餘，古今無比.[14]

Ch'oe does not say that the treatise was a record of a lecture to the empress in which Fazang pointed to a golden lion. Moreover, the word "emperor" suggests a time after October 16, 690, when Empress Wu assumed all the powers of an emperor.

Zanning, or one of his sources, developed the story along the lines initiated by Zongmi:

> [Fa]zang lectured on the new version of *Huayan jing* for [Empress] Zetian. Reaching the Teachings of the "Net of the Heavenly Sovereign (i.e., Indra)," the "Tenfold Gates of Mysteries," the "Samādhi-gate of the Ocean Seal," the teaching-gates about the integration of the "Six Characteristics," the "Gate of the Realms of the Universal Eyes"—all these chapters of meaning belonged to the net of significance both general and specific as advocated in *Huayan jing*. The emperor felt swamped by all these teachings. By pointing to the palace-guarding golden lion as a metaphor, Fazang composed [a treatise on] the access to the teachings. The treatise was concise and easy to understand, and it was titled "Jin shizi zhang," in which are listed the ten accesses of gen-

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[9] 麗水, a semi-legendary river that produced gold.

[10] Standard term for the sound of the dharma being preached.

[11] This refers to *Zhuangzi* (10A.1061): 夫千金之珠，必在九重之淵驪龍頷下 ("A pearl worth one thousand bolts of gold is always hidden under the chin of a dragon in an abyss).

[12] In the original, an interlinear note at this point states: "The wondrous and extraordinary nature of the baby jade dragon is amply described in *Minghuang zalu*." See *Minghuang zalu*, *SKQS* 1034: 1.9a-b.

[13] Cf. Appendix A, note 81.

[14] *HPC* 283a18-25.

> eral and specific characteristics. Thus, the emperor was enlightened to the essential points. 藏爲則天講新華嚴經. 至“天帝網義,” “十重玄門,” “海印三昧門,” “六相和合義門,” “普眼境界門,” 此諸義章, 皆是華嚴總別義網. 帝於此茫然未決. 藏乃指鎮殿金獅子爲喻, 因撰義門. 徑捷易解, 號“金師子章,” 列十門總別之相. 帝遂開悟其旨.[15]

Like Ch'oe, Zanning refers to Empress Wu as "Emperor," using the word *di* 帝. But the dating can be refined even further, because he says the lecture was on the new version of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* (referred to as the "new Huayan jing" 新華嚴經), which was completed on September 29, 699.[16] The logical conclusion is that according to Zanning, *Jin shizi zhang* was composed sometime between September 6, 699 and February 23, 705, the latter being the date of Empress Wu's abdication.

Another early source, Zuxiu's *Longxing biannian tonglun*, dates the events to Chang'an 1 (November 26, 701-February 1, 702) and tells us that *Jin shizi zhang* arose from a lecture solicited by Empress Wu after an earthquake that occurred during Fazang's "new Huayan" lecture earlier:

> This year (Chang'an 1) Empress Wu ordered Dharma Master Xianshou, Fazang, to lecture on the new version of *Huayan jing* at Foshoujisi in the Eastern Capital. When the lecture reached the *pin* 品 (*parivarta*) of the "Huayan shijie," an earthquake was felt, which did not cease until one hour later. On that very day, Empress Wu summoned [Fazang] to the Longevity Hall, inquiring about the teachings on the "Net of the Sovereign," "Tenfold Gates of Mystery," the Sāmadhi of the Ocean Seal, the integration of the "Six Characteristics" of "generality" vis-à-vis "particularity," "identity" vis-à-vis "distinctness, " and "construction" vis-à-vis "destruction." Fazang explicated them in an orderly fashion, and the mysterious essences were made coherent and consistent. Hearing all the teachings in such a rush, Zetian felt puzzled and awed. After repeated requests, Fazang pointed to the golden lion in a corner of the palace as a metaphor to explain these teachings. When he said that one hair on the head of the lion is equal to ten billion hairs on the head of the lion, Zetian was immediately brought to a full understanding. Thereafter, his words were collected into a treatise, which was titled "Jin shizi zhang." 是歲, 詔賢首法師法藏於東都佛授記寺, 講新華嚴經. 至“華藏世界品,” 感大地震動, 逾時乃息. 即日召對長生殿, 問帝網、十重玄門、海印三昧, 參合六相總別、同異、成壞之義. 藏敷宣有緒, 玄旨通貫. 則天驟聞, 茫然驚異. 伸請再三, 藏就指殿隅金師子, 爲曉譬之. 至所謂一毛頭師子, 百億毛頭師子, 則天豁然領解. 繇是集其語, 目爲“金師子章.”[17]

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[15] *SGSZ*, *T* 50: 4.732a22ff. Quoted in *Shishi jigu lüe*, *T* 49: 3.821a14-22. However, it should be noted that *Shishi jigu lüe* differs from *SGSZ* by dating this event to Chang'an 1 (November 26, 701-February 1, 702), perhaps showing reliance on *Longxing biannian tonglun*.

[16] For this date, see Chapter 9, note 40.

[17] *Longxing biannian tonglun*, *XZJ* 130: 14.281c4-10; quoted in *Fozu lidai tongzai*, *T* 49: 9.585b23-c2 and summarized in *Fajiezong wuzu lüeji*, *XZJ* 134: 274b10-14, where Xufa dates the event to the end of Chang'an 4 (February 10, 704-January 29,

Zhipan's *Fozu tongji* also correlates the Golden Lion Lecture with the earthquake story, although it dates the lecture to the tenth month of Shengli 2 (October29-November 26, 699):

> On the tenth month of Shengli 2, Fazang was summoned to preach [on *Huayan jing*] at the Lecture Hall of Foshoujisi. The whole area of the capital felt an earthquake. On that very day, he was summoned to the Longevity Hall for an audience [with the empress]. The master therefore pointed to the golden lion in a corner of the hall, saying, "The Great Sūtra (i.e., *Huayan jing*) contains profound principle and broad phenomena, the text is expansive and the meanings abstruse. None except for the sages who enter into the principle are able to understand its depth." Therefore, metaphors employing limited perspective are established in order to demonstrate the unlimited dharma. He compared gold with the essence of the dharma-realm, and the lion with the function of dharma-realm. In his lecture, he established five kinds of teachings: first, the *śrāvaka* teachings for foolish people; second, the primary teachings of the Mahāyāna; third, the final teachings of the Mahāyāna; fourth, the sudden teachings of the Mahāyāna; fifth, the perfect teaching of the Mahāyāna. Zetian suddenly attained understanding. Therefore, he compiled his lectures into *Jin shizi zhang*. 聖歷二年十月，詔講於佛授記寺講堂，京師地皆震動．即日召對長生殿．師乃指殿隅金師子，謂: "大經理深事廣，文博義幽，非入理聖人，無以達其奧." 是以立見邊之喻，曉無涯之法．以[金][18]況法界體，師子喻法界用．其中立爲五教: 一，愚法聲聞教; 二，大乘始教; 三，大乘終教; 四，大乘頓教; 五，一乘圓教．則天豁然領解．乃著其說，爲金師子章.[19]

To sum up, there are basically two traditions to explain how *Jin shizi zhang* was composed. One, by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn, dates it to after October 16, 690, and states its purpose as to awaken Empress Wu to the Buddhist truth without needing to absorb the numerous complicated concepts and incomprehensible *dhāraṇī*. The other tradition (Zongmi, developed by Zanning and completed by Zuxiu and Zhipan) differs by the claim that *Jin shizi zhang* was based on a lecture (or lectures) that Fazang delivered to Empress Wu in her palace. The texts in this tradition disagree, however, in dating, ranging from sometime between September 6, 699, and February 23, 705 (Zanning), to 699 (Zhipan), or 701 (Zuxiu).[20]

1.2. *Further Evidence for Dating*

Internal evidence in the text of *Jin shizi zhang* gives us room to make an earlier dating than that suggested by the various sources in the sec-

705). This version of the Golden Lion story is retold with elaborations by Garma Chang; see Chang, *The Buddhist Teaching of Totality*, 22-23.

[18] I suspect that here the character *jin* 金 is missing.

[19] *Fozu tongji*, *T* 49: 27.293a14-21.

[20] Note that Zongmi does not provide a date although the way of his referring to Empress Wu suggests a time frame between October 690 and February 705.

ond tradition, just mentioned. The evidence is as follows: Fazang stated two different definitions, at different times, of the well-known concept called “Ten Mysteries” (*shixuan* 十玄); they were known as *jiu shixuan* 舊十玄 and *xin shixuan* 新十玄 (the Old and the New Definition of the Ten Mysteries). With Zhiyan’s *Huayan yisheng shixuan men* 華嚴一乘十玄門 (Ten Mysterious Gates of the Huayan Single-vehicle) as its *locus classicus,* the Old “Ten Mysteries” are elaborated in Fazang’s *Huayan jing wenyi gangmu* 華嚴經文義綱目 (Essentials of the Teachings of *Huayan Jing*):

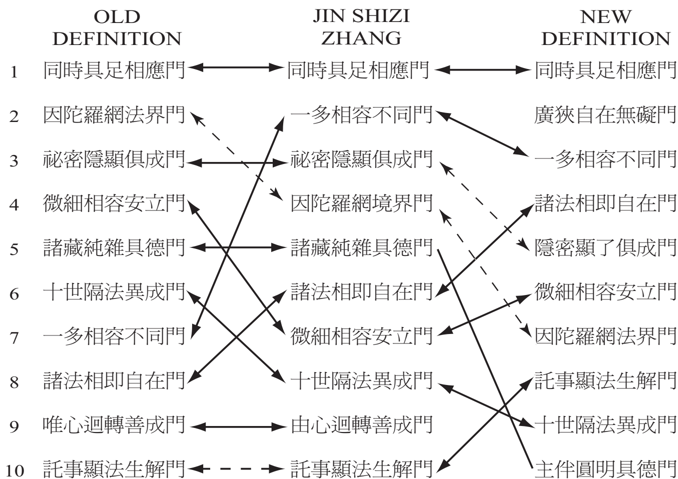
1. *tongshi juzu xiangying men* 同時具足相應門 (“gate of correspondence as demonstrated by simultaneous mutual sufficiency”);
2. *Yintuoluowang jingjie men* 因陀羅網境界門 (“gate of realms demonstrated by Indra’s net”);
3. *mimi yinxian jucheng men* 祕密隱顯俱成門 (“gate of mutual accomplishment as demonstrated by mysterious appearance and disappearance”);
4. *weixi xiangrong anli men* 微細相容安立門 (“gate of establishment as demonstrated in the mutual inclusion of subtle and minute forms of existence”);
5. *zhuzang chunza jude men* 諸藏純雜具德門 (“gate of possessing virtues as demonstrated in the purities and miscellanies of all the storehouses”);
6. *shishi gefa yicheng men* 十世隔法異成門 (“gate of formation by differentiation as demonstrated in the separate dharmas of the ten worlds”);
7. *yiduo xiangrong butong men* 一多相容不同門 (“gate of difference as demonstrated in the mutual implication of the one and many”);
8. *zhufa xiangji zizai men* 諸法相即自在門 (“gate of freedom as demonstrated in the mutual identification between all the dharmas”);
9. *weixin huizhuan shancheng men* 唯心迴轉善成門 (“gate of perfection as demonstrated in the conversion of the single mind”);
10. *tuoshi xianfa shengjie men* 託事顯法生解門 (“gate of the rising of understanding as demonstrated in the explication of the dharma by virtue of phenomena”).[21]

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[21] *Huayan jing wenyi gangmu*, *T* 35: 501b18-23; cf. *Huayan yisheng shixuan men*, *T* 45: 515b18-29, in which the fifth and sixth gates in *Huayan jing wenyi gangmu* (i.e., *zhuzang chunza jude men* and *shishi gefa yicheng men*) are presented as the sixth and fifth gates instead.

Fazang advanced the New Definition in *Huayan jing tanxuan ji*, his commentary on the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*. In addition to a different order of the Ten Mysteries, the New Definition introduced two new gates: *guangxia zizai wuai men* 廣狹自在無礙門 ("gate of non-impediment as demonstrated in the freedom without regards to broadness or narrowness"), and *zhuban yuanming jude men* 主伴圓明具德門 ("gate of possessing virtues as demonstrated in the perfect luminosity between the principle and subsidiary") to take the place of two gates in the Old Definition (nos. 5 and 9, above). He also renamed gate no. 3 as *yinmi xianliao jucheng men* 隱密顯了俱成門 ("gate of mutual accomplishment as demonstrated in the obscure and mysterious in contrast with the eminent and evident").[22] It is furthermore thought that Fazang abandoned the Old Definition once he introduced the new one.[23] Since *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* appeared around the beginning of 690, then we can assume that Fazang had started to conceive the New Definition no later than 690.[24] When comparing the Ten Mysteries as conveyed in *Jin shizi zhang* with the Old and New Definitions there is good reason to believe that it is the older Ten Mysteries being discussed. This is shown in the following chart:

Chart 5. Three Versions of the "Ten Mysteries"



[22] *Tanxuan ji*, *T* 35: 1.123a298-b4, in which the "Ten Mysteries" are listed in the following order: (1) *Tongshi juzu xiangying men*, (2) *guangxia zizai wuai men*, (3) *yiduo xiangrong butong men*, (4) *zhufa xiangji zizai men*, (5) *yinmi xianliao jucheng men*, (6) *weixi xiangrong anli men*, (7) *Yintuoluowang fajie men*, (8) *tuoshi xianfa shengjie men*, (9) *shishi gefa yicheng men*, and (10) *zhuban yuanming jude men*.

[23] Kobayashi, "Kegon Hōzō no jiden ni tsuite," 47.

[24] Fazang says (letter to Ŭisang) that he finished *Tanxuan ji* except for two *juan*. Forte (*Jewel*) has recently proposed dating the letter to January 14, 690.

In the above chart, any two identical items are linked by a solid-line arrow; there are several pairs that are nearly identical and are linked by dotted arrows. One pair is only slightly similar and is linked by a straight line.

There are eight strict matchups between the Old Definition and the *Jin shizi zhang* version. Two slight differences are found in two of the gates: *Yintuoluowang jingjie* (no. 2, above) contrasts with *Yintuoluowang fajie*; and *weixin huizhuan shancheng* (no. 9) contrasts with *youxin huizhuan shancheng*. The New Definition shows only six matchups. In the order of gates, the balance is also heavily in favor of the "Old Definition": the New Definition reflects hardly the same order at all.

On the other hand, different versions of the second tradition concerning the Golden-lion Lecture contradict this by dating the Golden-lion Lecture posterior to 690, either to a time after the new *Avataṃsaka* translation was completed (September 6, 699, to February 23, 705), 699, or even 701. Such a conflict undermines the credibility of these accounts and their theory on the provenance of *Jin shizhi zhang* (i.e., that it derived from a lecture [or lectures] that Fazang delivered at the request of Empress Wu). The other tradition of the provenance of *Jin shizi zhang*, represented by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn, though not generally as reliable in its dating, may be correct in saying that the treatise was presented to Empress Wu and did not derive from a lecture or a series of lectures that he delivered for the empress.

2. The Mirror Hall

While the golden lion was conceived as a functioning ritual object that existed ready to hand for Fazang to use in lectures, the "mirror-lamp"(*jingdeng* 鏡燈), probably a mirrored chamber containing a lamp and a Buddha-statue, would have to have been constructed for a specific heuristic purpose. Compared with the image of the golden lion, such a unique device as the mirror-and-lamp is much easier to compare with the metaphor of Indra's Net. Like *Jin shizhi zhang*, this device was also believed to have been intended for Empress Wu.

2.1. *Buddhist Sources*

Daoxuan, writing in 661, talks about a mirror hall:

> Now, I pay homage to the one Buddha, whose body pervades the dharma-realm, within which all the dharma-bodies without passion (*āsrava*) belonging to various ranks of the three realms all possess the Buddha-body. Now that the Buddha-body pervades all places, following the Buddha my body also pervades all places. Therefore, one

> should pay homage and make offerings to all the complete and elegant [Buddha-bodies] residing in all bodies. However, the dharma-realm is constantly tranquil in nature and it is through certain conditions that [the Buddha-body] pervades everywhere, to the extent that all walking, residing, sitting and lying [of all beings] and their retribution in accordance with the interaction of causes and conditions—all of these are not free from the dharma-realm. Since the body follows the mind, understanding becomes free of impediment. Because of causation in the dharma-realm, all things are accomplished. Just as if one were to hang one hundred or a thousand mirrors in a room, people would only see that there are reflections appearing in each of the mirrors. The Buddha-body, pure and clear, is brighter than those mirrors. All the dharmas in the dharma-realms appear in the [Buddha-]body. Therefore, whenever I pay homage to any of the ordinary or saintly beings, all the ordinary and saintly bodies will be worshipped. Those with eyes see them and those without do not. 我今禮於一佛，一佛之身遍於法界．法界之中，所有三界位地無漏法身，皆有佛身．佛身既遍一切，我身隨佛亦遍一切．所以禮敬供養一切身中具足莊嚴．然此法界性常寂然，隨緣遍滿．乃至行住坐臥，因緣果報，不離法界．身隨於心，故解無礙．法界緣起，一切事成．如一室中懸百千鏡，有人獨見鏡鏡之中，皆有像現．佛身清淨，明逾彼鏡．一切法界，悉現身中．故我供養一切凡聖，凡聖之身皆同供養．有目者見，盲者不睹．[25]

But the earliest known reference to a specifically pedagogical use for the device was made by Chengguan, the purported author of "Jingdeng shuowen" 鏡燈說文 ("An Exposition on the Mirror-lamp") at the request of Gao Chongwen 高崇文 (746-809).[26] The contents of Chengguan's treatise are completely unknown, yet in one of his *Avataṃsaka* commentaries he states: "It is like the world of Indra's Net. It is also like a lamp within a mirror hall, which creates the interpenetration of light ray after ray, as well as innumerable Buddha images."[27] The device here consisted of a lamp and a Buddha-image, plus a certain number of mirrors.

This is supported by Pei Xiu 裴休 (797-870), a friend and disciple of Chengguan's disciple Zongmi:

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[25] *Shimen guijing yi*, *T* 45: 2.865b4. Koichi Shinohara has recently contributed a stimulating study of the politico-social background for the composition of this text; see Shinohara, "Stories of Miraculous Images."

[26] *Fozu lidai tongzai*, *T* 49: 14. 609c18-19 (the treatise is also called "Jiandeng shuowen" 鑑燈說文, in one *juan*). Gao Chongwen served as vice-director of the Department of State Affairs (*puye* 僕射) at the time. He was a general with a brilliant career; biographies at *JTS* 151.4051-4053, *XTS* 170.5161-5162. He colluded with the "evil monk" Jianxu 鑒虛 (?-813) to take large bribes, a fact not exposed until 813, four years after Gao Chongwen died. See *JTS* 15.445-446, 147.3974. For Jianxu, see Chen Jinhua, "Tang Buddhist Palace Chapels," 138-39.

[27] *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing shu*, *T* 35: 2.515c4: 如因陀羅網世界等，亦如鏡燈，重重交光，佛佛無盡．

> If one wishes to explain with the metaphor of the mirror-and-lamp, then the principle of this device can be outlined as follows. First, eight mirrors should be placed in the four cardinal directions (i.e., east, west, south and north) and four secondary directions (i.e., southeast, southwest, northeast, northwest). On both the top and bottom is to be placed a mirror, making thus a total of ten mirrors. Then, within these ten mirrors is to be placed a lamp, so that the [reflections produced by] the ten mirrors interpenetrate. When [the reflection of] a mirror is reflected on the other nine mirrors, the nine mirrors are also absorbed into the mirror. Because of this broad absorption, we have the phenomenon of universal presence. Therefore, a tiny grain of dust universally pervades all the dharmas with their various distinct features. 若以鏡燈喻者，如四方四維布八鏡，又上下各安一鏡爲十．於中安一燈，即十鏡互入．如一鏡遍九鏡時，即容九在一內也．又由廣容，即是溥遍，故令此一塵還即遍在自內一切差別法中.[28]

Neither Chengguan nor Pei Xiu attributes the device to Fazang. As far as I know, the earliest source to do that is *Song gaoseng zhuan*:

> Furthermore, he set up some convenient methods for those who could not understand the teachings thoroughly. Once, he took ten mirrors and placed [eight of them] in eight directions, with [the remaining two] on the top and bottom. A distance of over one *zhang* was allowed between each two of the ten mirrors, which faced one another. In the central part [of the area thus encircled by the ten mirrors] was placed a Buddha-image. A torch was lit to illuminate the image so that the interpenetration of the shadows and light [was produced]. Students were therefore able to understand the teaching of the inexhaustible inter-implication between lands (Ch. *cha* 刹; Skt. *kṣetra*) and seas. 又爲學不了者設巧便，取鑑十面，八方安排，上下各一．相去一丈餘，面面相對．中安一佛像，燃一炬以照之，互影交光．學者因曉刹海涉入無盡之義.[29]

The author, Zanning, says that the target was "those who could not understand the teachings," rather than specifically Empress Wu. It is noteworthy that the story of the mirror hall (the specific target notwithstanding) does not appear in Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's biography of Fazang. It is perhaps *Longxing biannian tonglun* that first correlates it with Empress Wu:

> Furthermore, for Zetian [Fazang] once placed ten round mirrors in the eight corners, and above and below, arranging them in such a way that they faced one another. In the center he placed a Buddha-image and lit a candle to illuminate it. Then, each mirror emitted the reflections of the image, each of which interpenetrated with the other. When people

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[28] *Zhu Huayan fajie guanmen*, *T* 45: 1.690c23-28.

[29] *SGSZ*, *T* 50: 4.732a28-b2; quoted in *Shishi jigu lüe*, *T* 49: 3.821a21-25. See also *Fajiezong wuzu lüeji*, *XZJ* 134: 274d16-275a2. It is notewor*thy* that Xufa also avoids correlating this story with Empress Wu.

came to see them, the reflections inter-mingled with each other and appeared simultaneously. He used this to demonstrate the teaching of how the ten realms in lands and seas universally interplay with each other in an unlimited way.[30] 又嘗爲則天，以十圓鏡置八隅上下，皆使相向，中安佛像，然燭照之．則鏡鏡現像，互相攝入．及觀之者，交羅齊現，以表刹海十界普容無盡之旨．[31]

The fact that earlier sources for Fazang's mirror hall avoid correlating the story with Empress Wu undermines the credibility of the later sources in which Fazang constructed such a chamber for the empress. However, given Fazang's talent as a mechanic, which we will soon have a chance to appreciate, it seems very likely that he did construct such a "mirror hall" for heuristic purposes (although if it was constructed for Empress Wu is another question we need to discuss separately).

We saw that Daoxuan already had drawn analogies between the interconnectedness of bodies (including the Buddha-body and those of ordinary beings) and the mutual production of images and reflections on mirrors placed in a room. The possibility that Fazang drew inspiration from Daoxuan, his distinguished senior contemporary and a descendant of a family with a background in mechanical arts,[32] is worthy of further research. We should say, at least, that Fazang was not the first to conceive of the device.

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[30] For more details, see Chang, *The Buddhist Teaching of Totality*, 23-24.

[31] *Longxing biannian tonglun*, *XZJ* 130: 14.281c13-16; quoted in *Fozu lidai tongzai*, *T* 49: 9.585c6-9. A shorter version of this saying can be found in *Fozu tongji*, *T* 49: 33.318c23-24, where the device is named "wujin deng" 無盡燈 ("Inexhaustible Lamp").

[32] For Daoxuan's family background, see now an excellent study by Fujiyoshi, "Dōsen no shutsuji wo megutte." Daoxuan's ideas on the "mirror hall" might have, in turn, derived from the lengthy and meticulous description of "mirror walls" in an Indian text, *Zhengfa nianchu jing* (*T* 17: 17.178-184a; summarized in Eugene Wang, *Shaping the Lotus Sūtra*, 256; idem, "Oneiric Horizons and Dissolving Bodies," 499). There, mirror walls stand as huge screens displaying attractive scenes of beings reborn in the heavens, and in contrast, the horrifying situations of those suffering in hells. However, it should be noted that such mirror walls stood independent of each other, without mutually forming supporting walls (plus the ceiling and ground) of a piece of architecture. Thus, the imaginary hall created in this Indian text lacks key components of a full-fledged mirror-hall: (1) mirrors placed in the walls of all directions (ten in total), (2) a light source (either a candle, torch, or lamp) laid at the middle of the room, (3) the infinite multiplication of the reflections issued by these mirrors.

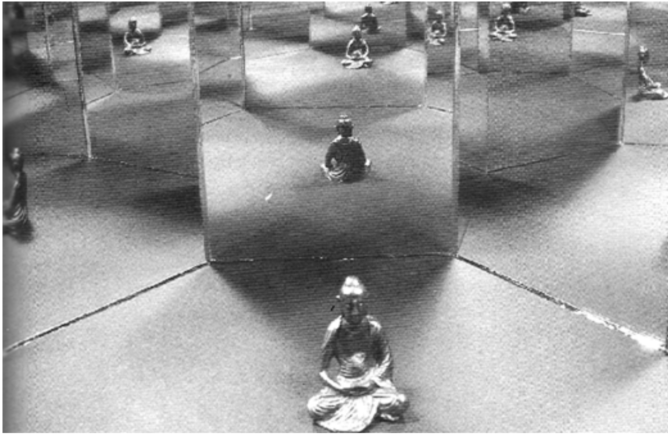


Figure 3. Modern Reconstruction of Fazang's Mirror-Hall Attributed to Fazang; by Boston-based artist Victoria I. From Eugene Wang, *Shaping the Lotus Sutra*, 259; by permission of author.

2.2. *Secular Sources*

Although it seems unlikely that Fazang ever built a mirror hall for Empress Wu, we do know that her husband Gaozong did once own a mirror hall, although only briefly and obviously not in order to satisfy his philosophical inquisitiveness or religious devotion. The builder was Pei Feishu 裴匪舒 (var. Pei Feigong 裴匪躬, ?-693), the director of the Directorate for Imperial Manufactories (*shaofu jian* 少府監), a man who was both scientifically and logistically minded.[33] After the

[33] Pei Feishu seems to have had a sharp eye for making profit. He once proposed to Gaozong that horse manure in the imperial park be sold to commoners (presumably as fertilizer), hopefully to bring the government over twenty million strings of cash per year. The prospect of such huge profit attracted Gaozong, who almost endorsed it but for the objection of Liu Rengui, who was concerned that it would create bad publicity for the imperial family. See *ZZTJ* 202.6400. *JTS* (6.123, 187A.4885), *XTS* (4.93, 76.3482, 103.3991, 191.5506) and *THY* (67.1184) mention a person called Pei Feigong 裴匪躬. In the summer of Chuigong 3 (January 19, 687-February 6, 688), he was in charge of the Imperial Park in Chang'an in the capacity of *shangfang jian* 尙方監 (supervisor of the Imperial Manufactories—the renamed *shaofu jian*) and suggested that the fruits and vegetables in the imperial park should be sold for profit. The proposal was rejected after Su Liangsi 蘇良嗣 (?-690), acting as the regent (*liushou* 留守) of Chang'an, strongly objected; see *ZZTJ* 204.6443-44 (cf. *XTS* 103.3991, *THY* 67.1184). He and other confidants of Ruizong were executed on January 9, 693 (Changshou 2.1.23 [*jiayin*]), accused of secretly visiting Ruizong, who was then downgraded as the heir-apparent and put under house arrest. Ruizong was not freed until another of his confidants protested by slashing his

hall was completed, Gaozong observed it with his court official Liu Rengui 劉仁軌 (602-685).[34] According to Sima Guang's narrative history, *Zizhi tongjian*, Liu was startled and scurried out of the hall. Asked the reason, he replied, "There should not be two suns in the sky, nor two lords on the surface of the earth. [Your Servant] just saw several Sons of Heavens on the four walls. Is there any thing more ominous than this?" Gaozong immediately ordered the mirrors removed.[35] Liu Rengui is known to have warned about a similar device built by the second Sui emperor, who was notorious for an extravagant and licentious lifestyle, as we see, below.

We know the existence of a hall called "Zhujing" 珠鏡 ("[Hall of] Pearls and Mirrors") within Daming Palace 大明宮.[36] I suspect that this was exactly the mirror hall mentioned in *Zizhi tongjian*. In other words, it is possible that after seeing Liu Rengui's negative reaction, Gaozong had the mirrors there reduced and/or readjusted in such a way that his image would not be infinitely duplicated, and that in the meantime pearls were used instead of mirrors, hence the renaming ("Pearls and Mirrors").

Hundreds of years later, Yang Shen 楊慎 (style name Yongxiu 用修, 1488-1559) gave a far more developed version of the story:[37]

> At the instigation of Empress Wu, Gaozong ordered a mirror hall to be built. With mirrors placed on the four walls, it was built for the purpose of performing "secret games" in the daytime. One day, the emperor sat alone in the hall when Liu Rengui entered to report some affairs to him. Startled, Liu Rengui ran down the steps saying, "There should not be two suns in the sky, nor two lords on the surface of the earth. [Your Servant] just saw several Sons of Heavens on the four walls. Nothing more ominous than this!" The emperor immediately ordered that the mirrors be removed [from the wall]. This irritated the empress, who had it rebuilt after Gaozong died. 唐高宗造鏡殿，武后意也．四壁皆安鏡，爲白晝秘戲之需．帝一日獨坐其中，劉仁軌

belly, thus catching Empress Wu's attention, a story to be discussed in Chapter 11.3.3. See *ZZTJ* 205.6490, *XTS* 4.93; cf. *JTS* 6.123, which has this event happening in Changshou 2.2 (March 13-April 10, 693); *JTS* 187A.4885 (dating it to the Zaichu era [December 18, 689-October 15, 690]); *XTS* 76.3482, 191.5506. Pei Feigong and Pei Feishu may be identical persons: first, they were both known as the director of Imperial Manufactories, one in 681 and the other in 693; second, both were known for making money; and, third, 躬 and 舒 are similar in written form.

[34] A capable general under Taizong and Gaozong, particularly renowned for his crucial role in the successive military adventures against Paekche and Koguryŏ between 661 and 675; official biographies at *JTS* 84.2789-97, *XTS* 108.4081-85.

[35] *ZZTJ* 202.6401.

[36] See, for examples, *Chang'an zhi*, *SKQS* 587: 6.8a and *Tang liangjing chengfang kao* 1.18a.

[37] See Yang Shen, *Sheng'an ji*, *SKQS* 1270: 60.20b-21a. See also *Shihua buyi*, *SKQS* 1481: 3.2b.

奏事入，驚走下階，曰，“天無二日，土無二王．臣見四壁，有數天子，不祥莫大焉!” 帝立命剔去．后聞之不悦．帝崩后，復建之.[38]

Yang Lianfu 楊廉夫 (i.e., Yang Weizhen 楊維楨, 1296-1370)[39] wrote a poem saying:

鏡殿青春秘戲多	Springtimes in the Mirror Hall witnessed many secret games,
玉肌相照影相磨	Along with the mutual reflection of their jade-like skin, their shadows rubbed each other.
六郎酣戰明空笑	Liulang fought hard, to the delight of Mingkong,[40]
隊隊鴛鴦漾渌波	While flock after flock of mandarin ducks swam over the green waves.

Yang Shen has added several elements: first the statement that it was Empress Wu's idea to build the hall; second, identifying the function of the mirror hall as "performing secret games in the daytime," pointing

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[38] A huge collection compiled in early-Qing and endorsed by Emperor Kangxi attributes the same story (with the omission of the last two sentences) to a source called "Tang shi" 唐史. However, the story is found in neither *JTS* nor *XTS*; see *Yuding yuanjian leihan*, *SKQS* 984: 380.21; the latter's compilers might have meant the 130-*juan Tang shu* 唐書 by Liu Fang 柳芳 (?-759+). However, that *Tang shu* had long been out of circulation by the time *Yuding yuanjian leihan* was compiled in 1710. It is therefore possible that it simply quotes indirectly: from a source that had access to *Tang shu*. But it would seem that Liu Fang, who finished his story in 759 or 760, could not have included such a negative story of Empress Wu, who was the great-grandmother of the contemporaneous emperor (Suzong, r. 756-762). As a matter of fact, it is hard to imagine that any men of letters throughout the Tang would have dared to do so. Stories of this nature mostly derived from the post-Tang period, when Empress Wu started to be perceived as a "usurper." We should remember that even *JTS*, which was completed under the Wudai period (945), still treats Empress Wu as an "emperor" by reserving an entry for her in the *benji* 本紀 section. See McMullen, "Ti Jen-chieh."

[39] A well-known poet active at the turn of the Yuan and Ming dynasties.

[40] Liulang 六郎 refers to Zhang Changzong 張昌宗 (676?-705). See *JTS* 78.2706, 90.2919, 96.3030; *XTS* 104.4014, 109.4099, 124.4390. He was ranked sixth among his male siblings. Mingkong refers to Empress Wu, who was selfnamed Zhao 曌, a character she created by combining two characters *ming* 明 and *kong* 空. The expression *hanzhan* 酣戰 ("fighting hard") is here used to illustrate the efforts that Zhang Changzong made to satisfy Empress Wu sexually. It is through the arrangement of Empress Wu's daughter Princess Taiping that Zhang Changzong started his relationship with the empress in Wansuitongtian 2 (November 30, 696-September 29, 697). Soon after that, he introduced his older brother Zhang Yizhi to the aged empress, who allegedly took both of them as lovers. The biography of the two brothers is attached to that of their grand-uncle Zhang Xingcheng 張行成 (585-651), who enjoyed the deep trust of Taizong and Gaozong; see *JTS* 78.2706-2708, *XTS* 104.4014-4016. While the nature of Empress Wu's relationship with the two Zhangs remains controversial (they were more likely her caretakers rather than her sexual partners [see Chapter 8.4]), there is no doubt that the empress relied on them heavily in her later years. Their birth years are not known. Given that they might have been in their early twenties when they first caught Empress Wu's attention in late 696 or 697, I assume that they were born around 676.

obviously to sexual entertainment; third, Liu Rengui offending the empress by his comments on the mirror hall, which led to its dismantling; fourth, Empress Wu's rebuilding of the edifice after Gaozong's death, which was used as a venue for satisfying her sexual desires with her partners, especially her favorite Zhang Changzong.

Not all of these new elements in the story can be verified in other historical sources. It does not seem true, for example, that people thought Liu Rengui had offended the empress, given that he continued to prosper under her regency beginning in 684.[41] However, the idea that Gaozong built the mirror hall for sexual diversions might not be far from the truth, considering that two of Gaozong's predecessors had used similar buildings for similar purposes.

Liu Rengui's mostly nonextant *Heluo ji* 行在河洛記 (10 *juan*; also known as "Xingnian ji" 行年記 [20 *juan*]) describes a number of Sui Yangdi's fantasies and debauchery, one being his infatuation with a screen of bronze mirrors.[42] The citation of this passage in later sources is brief and obscure. It only tells us that such a screen was presented by Wang Shichong 王世充 (?-621) and that it pleased Yangdi so much that he promoted Wang to be vice-governor (*tongshou* 通守) of Jiangdu 江都 (i.e., Yangzhou 揚州). It does not tell us what the device was exactly, nor why the emperor was so attracted to it.[43] But there is a parallel version in an anonymous Tang writing that may (or may not) have been based on Liu Rengui.[44] In it, Yangdi had an official called Shangguan Shi 上官時 (otherwise unknown), who, about to return to the capital from the south, cast several tens of black-copper screens. Each was five *chi* 尺 in height and three *chi* in width. He polished them into mirrors, which he intended as screens in sleeping chambers. Once at the capital, Shangguan Shi presented them to Yangdi, who used them in his Milou 迷樓, a labyrinthine palace constructed for his harem. When he had sex with his concubines in his newly embellished bedchambers, Yangdi was able to see each feature of their bodies—even tiny wrinkles and hairs—clearly reflected in the mirrors. Delighted, he exclaimed, "A picture can do no more than present an image. By retaining people's

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[41] For Empress Wu's esteem for Liu Rengui during his last years, see his biographies at *JTS* 84.2796, *XTS* 108.4084-85.

[42] The *Heluo ji* story of the "screen of bronze mirrors" is quoted, for examples, in *Lei shuo*, *SKQS* 873: 6.17b; *Yuding yuanjian leihan*, *SKQS* 984: 380.21. Liu's authorship of *Heluo ji* (full title: "Xingzai Heluo ji") is verified in Chen Zhensun's 陳振孫 (ca.1190-1249+) *Zhizhai shulu jieti mulu*, *SKQS* 673: 5.13a, where we learn that the book was identical with *Xingnian ji* 行年記 (10 *juan*), a title recorded in "Tang zhi" 唐志, which obviously refers to *XTS*' "Bibliographical Monograph" ("Yiwen zhi" 藝文志). Cf. *XTS* 58.1467. 行年 is probably an error for 行在.

[43] An even more brief and obscure version found its way into *ZZTJ* 183.5716.

[44] *Yangdi milou ji*, *SKQS* 886: 121.2b-3a.

real likeness, this device surpasses any painting ten thousand times over!" He rewarded Shangguan Shi with one thousand pieces of gold.

Another monarch, the last ruler (Youzhu 幼主; i.e., Gao Heng 高恒 [570-578], r. 577) of the Northern Qi (550-577) built three elegant halls for his concubines[45]: Treasure Hall (*baodian* 寶殿), Turtle-shell Hall (*daimao dian* 玳瑁殿) and Mirror Hall (*jingdian* 鏡殿), which was probably made of mirrors and not unlike that constructed by Yangdi. All of these halls were "carved in various colors (*danqing* 丹青) and displayed the utmost beauty as could be attained at that time" 丹青彫刻, 妙極當時.[46]

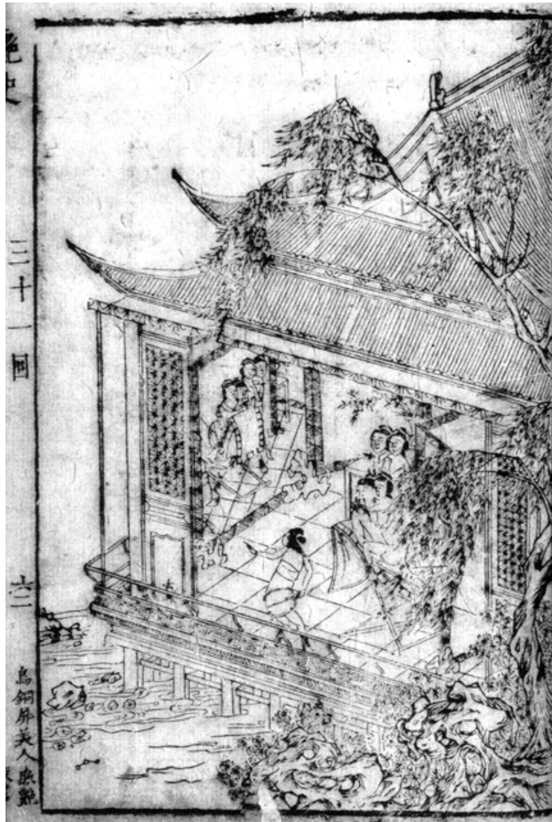


Figure 4. Sui Yangdi's "Mirror-Hall"

Woodblock print. Rare Book Collection, Harvard-Yenching Library. From E. Wang, *Shaping the Lotus Sutra*, 258; courtesy of author.

[45] Given that Gao Heng was only eight years old at the time, it was questionable whether these halls were ever filled with any imperial concubines, or even whether any concubines had been chosen for the child emperor. He had these halls built probably just in conformity with his status as a crowned emperor.

[46] *Bei Qi shu* 8.113, *Bei shi* 8.301.

Given the influence that Wu Zhao started to exert on Gaozong since 655, when she became his empress, and especially in view of her enduring thirst for the exotic, it is highly likely that the idea of a mirror hall was hers and that was for personal purposes. However, if we can trust Sima Guang, they never had the opportunity to use it in the way it was originally intended, since as soon as it was completed, it was stripped of its mirrors.

We do not know whether Empress Wu had the mirror hall rebuilt after Gaozong died and used it for sexual purposes, as Yang Shen claimed. However, we do have evidence that there existed such a hall under the reign of Zhongzong, although it was not installed in the imperial palace complex but at a monastery based on his former residence—Great Jianfusi. Writing in response to a poem that Zhongzong composed during one of his visits to Jianfusi, a poem by either Liu Xian 劉憲 (?-711) or Xiao Zhizhong 蕭至忠 (?-713) mentions a mirror hall, pearl-banners, a meditation hall, and a fragrant pagoda as architectural features for which the monastery was famous:

地靈傳景福 The spirit of the place transmits great fortune,
天駕儼鉤陳 The heavenly chariots are decorated with an imperial honor guard.
佳哉藩邸舊 Splendid was the old princely mansion,
赫矣梵宮新 Magnificent is this new Brahmanic Palace.
香塔魚山下 The fragrant pagoda at the foot of Mount Yu,[47]
禪堂雁水濱 The meditation hall at the bank of River Yan.[48]
珠幡映白日 The bright sun shining on the pearl banners,
鏡殿寫青春 With scenes of spring reflected by the mirror hall.
甚歡延故吏 The old subordinates invited with great pleasure,
大覺拯生人 The sentient beings rescued by the Great Enlightenment.
幸承歌頌末 Happily following the end of the Eulogies [by the emperor],
長奉屬車塵 Constantly prostrating ourselves on the dust left by the chariots of the imperial escort.[49]

[47] Mount Yu, in present-day Donge 東阿 of Shandong, was the mountain at which Cao Zhi 曹植 (192-232) allegedly heard the Brahmanic Sanskrit odes in praise of the Buddha and was later inspired to compose Buddhist music to be known as *fanbei* 梵唄. See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, *T* 55: 12.92b1; *Fayuan zhulin*, *T* 53: 36.574b18-19.

[48] This probably refers to a river or a pond beside the Small Goose Pagoda (Xiaoyanta 小雁塔) located within Jianfusi.

[49] See Liu Xian 劉憲 (?-711), "Fenghe xing Da Jianfusi yingzhi" 奉和幸大薦福寺應制, *QTS* 71.782. The same poem was also attributed to Xiao Zhizhong, see *QTS* 104.1092. This was only one of the poems that several of Zhongzong's court officials wrote in response to the emperor's poem composed during this visit to Jianfusi, which, according to *Tangshi jishi* (9.208), occurred on January 21, 709 (Jinglong 2.12.6). For more poems responding to Zhongzong, see *QTS* 53.648 (by Song Zhiwen 宋之問 [656?-712]), *QTS* 61.734 (by Li Jiao 李嶠 [645?-714]), *QTS* 92.1000 (by Li Yi 李乂 [657-716]), *QTS* 103.1089 (by Zhao Yanzhao 趙彥昭 [?-714]), *QTS* 106.1107 (by

From such a short phrase (basically the five-character line "鏡殿寫青春") it is impossible to assess what is being called *jingdian* 鏡殿. We can simply speculate that it was a hall located within Jianfusi that was embellished with mirrors. Fazang's reputation as the abbot of Jianfusi may mean that the hall had something to do with him. However, as will be shown later, Fazang probably never served in that position and stayed there only briefly—apparently for medical reasons just before his death.[50]

2.3. *Impact*

The pedagogical aspect of the mirror-lamp was intriguing to various people, and such a device was installed in certain Buddhist temples, both Huayan and non-Huayan. Liang Shouqian 梁守謙 (774-822), a eunuch who held increasing power under the reigns of Dezong (779-805), Xianzong (r. 805-820), and Muzong (r. 820-824),[51] had a mirror-lamp built north of the Huayan Cloister 華嚴院 at Great Xingtangsi 大興唐寺 sometime around Zhenyuan 13 (February 2, 797-January 21, 798):

> He also had a mirror-lamp device built north of the cloister. With the vermillion blaze emitting its brilliance, red light filled the whole chamber. It frequently produced amazing phantasms, matching the wonders once created by Ding Huan 丁緩.[52] The oil of the lamp which smelled like orchids issued fragrance of its own accord, and was not dependent on tribute sent by "people overseas." It is such a fortune that this lamp breaks the darkness, passing on the light to eternity. 又於堂北，別立鏡燈．朱餤揚輝，紅光滿室．常生縱巧，有符丁緩之奇；蘭膏自芳，不假海人之贈．幸斯破暗，永繼其明.[53]

Moreover, in Dazhong 5.7 (August 1-29, 851) a mirror-lamp was erected at the Sansheng Temple (Sansheng lanruo 三聖蘭若), whose location and history I have been unable to identify. A memorial ac-

Zheng Yin 鄭愔 [?-710]). It seems that Zhongzong frequently visited this monastery—not unnaturally, given that it was built on the foundations of one of his old mansions. *JTS* alone (7.144, 147) records two of such visits, one on May 28, 707 (Shenlong 3.4.23 [*gengyin*]), and the other on February 29, 709 (Jinglong 3.*zheng*.15 [*kuiyou*]).

[50] Chapter 9.3.3.

[51] In spite of importance during his lifetime, Liang Shouqian did not receive a biography in the official histories. It is only thanks to two epigraphic sources that we have a relatively complete picture of this extraordinary personage. See his funeral inscription, "Da Tang gu Kaifu Fenguo gong Lianggong muzhiming," *TMH* 2: 2102-04.

[52] Var. Ding Xuan 丁諼, a talented artisan active under the reign of Emperor Wu of the Han (r. 141-87 BC). Stories about his amazing skills as a technician are reported in several sources; see *Shuofu*, *SKQS* 876: 18A.4a.

[53] "Fenguo gong gongde ming," *QTW* 998.9b.

count was written by Yang Zhiyuan 楊知遠, for which Qu Shimu 屈師穆 executed the calligraphy.[54]

The most fascinating story about Fazang's mirror-lamp concerns a meditation master and his Daoist neighbors on a mountain sacred to both Buddhists and Daoists. During the Guanghua[55] era (898-901) of the Tang, Meditation Master Weijin 惟勁 (fl. 898-907) (a disciple of Xuefeng Yicun 雪峰義存 [822-908]) entered Nanyue 南嶽, where he stayed at the eastern part of Baocizang 報慈藏, also called Sanshengzang 三生藏, a Buddhist temple that was believed to have been originally built by Huisi. In it he saw a mirror-lamp made by Meditation Master Fazang 法藏禪師,[56] which immediately awakened him to the teaching of "layers after layers of Indra's Net in the broad dharmarealm." He sighed in admiration, "The sages of former times had such unimaginable and expedient (*upāya*) wisdom, which could never be matched by people of lesser intelligence!" At that time, a similar device was installed in a Daoist abbey in Nanyue; it had been surreptitiously moved there from a Buddhist temple during the Huichang persecution of Buddhism (845-846). The device inspired many learned people to leave written verses when they visited Nanyue. Weijin emotionally exclaimed,

> When the Lu orange becomes ripe in the summer, do people ever expect that its root was originally in Shendu (Divine metropolis [i.e., Luoyang?][57])? When Confucius listened to the music of Shun in Qi, he appreciated it so much that he forgot the taste of meat.[58] It is a pity that people are not capable of thinking deeply enough to investigate the roots of things. Someone snatched the green carpet of the Wang

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[54] The inscription, bearing the title, "Tang Sansheng lanruo jingdeng ji" 唐三聖蘭若鏡燈記, is not extant. We know of it thanks to a mention in *Baoke congbian*, *SKQS* 682: 3.23b, quoting *Fuzhai beilu* 復齋碑錄.

[55] *SGSZ* gives the era as Qianhua 乾化, a name adopted by the Later Liang (907-923) and lasting from 911 to 915. Weijin's biography in *Jingde chuandeng lu* has the era as Guanghua 光化, indicating Tang emperor Zhaozong's (r. 888-904) reign-period from 898 to 901. Since the episode happened before Weijin caught the attention of the Later Liang ruler during the Kaiping era (907-911), the evidence from *Jingde chuandeng lu* is to be preferred.

[56] *Jingde chuandeng lu* identifies Fazang as Master Xianshou, the third Huayan patriarch.

[57] I am not certain as to whether here the expression *shendu* actually refers to Luoyang, given that the usage of *shendu* for Luoyang only lasted between October 19, 684 (Guangzhai 1.9.6 [*jiayin*]) and March 3, 705 (Shenlong 1.2.4 [*jiayin*]) (*ZZTJ* 203.6421, 208.6583).

[58] This refers to *Lunyu*: "The master heard of the *shao* in Ch'i and for three months did not notice the taste of the meat he ate. He said, 'I never dreamt that the joys of music could reach such heights.'" 子在齊，聞舜韶. 三月不知肉味. 曰, "不圖爲樂之至於斯也" (Yang Bojun [coll. and annot.], *Lunyu yizhu*, 7; Lau [trans.], *The Analects*, 87).

> family as their old property,[59] and adopted the peacocks in Lingnan[60] as their domestic fowls. How would people of later generations know of this if I do not clarify it right now? 盧橘夏熟，寧期植在於神都；舜韶齊聞，不覺頓忘於肉味．嗟其無識，不究本端．盜王氏之青氈以爲舊物，認嶺南之孔雀以作家禽．後世安知，于今區別.[61]

Subsequently, he composed an essay titled "Wuzi song" 五字頌 that consisted of five sections (*zhang* 章).[62] Zanning makes the following comment on the merits of this essay, whose contents he does not deign to tell us:

> Those who read it understood the teachings about the mutual integration of the principle and phenomena and got to know to whom the mirror-lamp belonged—it belonged to [the religion which promotes the teaching that] the "Six Characteristics"[63] penetrate each other, like the intermingling of light and shadow. This also shows that it is about the *Avataṃsaka* nature-sea,[64] in which the principal and the secondary have their lights merged into each other, and that this device and its corresponding functions do not belong to the House of Dao. 覽者知其理事相融，燈有所屬．屬在乎互相涉入，光影含容，顯華嚴性悔，主伴交光，非道家之器用也.[65]

This episode bears several quite unusual implications. First, a device that was closely related with a Huayan master (Fazang) was appreciated by a meditation master (Weijin) who came to be affiliated with a temple that was originally built by a Tiantai master (Huisi). This somehow provided the device with transtraditional overtones. Second, both the physical beauty and the philosophical magnificence it embodied came to be attractive to Daoist priests at Nanyue to the extent that they appropriated a similar device that initially belonged to a Buddhist temple. Finally, it is most ironic that a Buddhist monk fought for Buddhist ownership of a device symbolizing the tenets of the universal interpenetration and interdependence, which automatically renders meaningless any claims for exclusively independent existence of any dharma, let alone one's ownership of any dharma!

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[59] This refers to a story about Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (321-379, or 303-361). One night, thieves entered his house. When they wrapped his precious things and were about to leave, Wang Xizhi called out calmly, "Oh, my dear friends, the green carpet is a piece of old property belonging to this family. Please kindly leave it intact!" See *Jin shu* 80.2104.

[60] This probably refers to Huineng's hometown, which is in present-day Guangxi, a part of Ningnan.

[61] *SGSZ*, *T* 50: 17.818b29-c3.

[62] This treatise was probably *Jingdeng song* 鏡燈頌 that was mentioned in *Chodang chi* 11.306c-307a.

[63] I have emended 互相 to 六相.

[64] Emending 悔 to 海.

[65] *SGSZ*, *T* 50: 17.818b23-c6. Cf. *Jingde chuandeng lu* 19.360b.

The mirror-lamp seems to have been useful for demonstrating the concept of universal interdependence and interpenetration, and was widely cited by Buddhist scholar-monks, both Huayan and non-Huayan. For example, Yanshou's 延壽 (904-975) *Zongjing lu* 宗鏡錄 (Record of the Principles and Mirrors) refers to the device twice, in reference both to Indra's Net and to the lamp's structure.[66] The Song-era monk Yuanwu Keqin 圜悟克勤 (1063-1135) mentioned it in *Biyan lu* 碧巖錄, where he explains its construction and how the light-reflections intermingled. He explicitly attributes this device to Fazang.[67] Eventually, the lamp was mentioned by Neo-Confucian scholars.[68]

3. Concluding remarks

This investigation of the various sources that describe Fazang's *Jin shizi zhang* suggests that the treatise was probably not composed on the basis of a lecture (or a series of lectures) that Fazang delivered to Empress Wu in her palace. We should not exclude the possibility that it was written for her, as stated by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn, although it seems that the treatise was written earlier than other sources would have us believe.

I have also analyzed the device known as a "mirror hall." There were two traditions about this, one secular and the other religious. Mirror halls were known as venues for entertaining (especially sexually) a monarch, and these can be traced back to the Northern Qi boy-emperor Gao Heng, although it seems to have been most emphatically associated with Sui Yangdi. Later sources (Yuan and Ming eras) claim that Empress Wu also had such a hall built for herself and her sexual partners, perhaps stemming from the imaginations of later Confucian-minded historians who harbored strong biases against the empress. What the earlier (and more reliable) historical sources can establish for us does not go beyond the fact that Empress Wu's husband had a mirror hall built for himself in 681. Then, for ideological reasons, the hall was modified to such an extent that its walls were no longer mainly decorated with mirrors, but with both mirrors and pearls in order to avoid reflecting the image of more than one emperor at a time. On the religious side, parallel ideas were elaborated by Daoxuan, although there is no evidence that he ever designed or built such a device. It is very

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66 *Zongjing lu*, *T* 52: 28.575a3-4, 13.484c2-3.

67 *Foguo Yuanwu chanshi biyan lu*, *T* 48: 9.214c4-6.

68 One of Cheng Hao's 程顥 (1032-1085) (or Cheng Yi's 程頤 [1033-1107]) students asked his opinion about it and the doctrines it represented. See *Er Cheng cuiyan*, *SKQS* 698: 1.16b.

likely that Fazang was the first who designed a religious version of the mirror hall for pedagogical purposes. In doing so, he probably blended both the ideas laid out by Daoxuan and the secular ideas and practices concerning the mirror hall.

His mirror hall was a modification of the secular version. In addition to its being miniaturized, it contained a lamp (or torch) and a Buddha-statue that were probably not found in its secular counterpart. However, we should emphasize that there is no evidence that Fazang constructed this device for Empress Wu. It seems that an extraordinary person like Empress Wu and an ingenious edifice like a mirror hall came to be tied together by two groups of people for completely different reasons. While the lay historians of later generations disparaged the empress by assigning to her a piece of architecture so scandalously linked with sexual dissoluteness, their religious counterparts attempted to promote her devotion to Buddhism and her vigorous curiosity in philosophical matters by depicting her as the attendant of a series of lectures delivered by Fazang, who called upon this pedagogical device. The transformation of ideas and practices concerning the mirror hall is fascinating in part because a device originally meant for erotic purposes had its context recast in order to bring out Empress Wu's role in pursuing one of the most elusive doctrines in Buddhism. Empress Wu's having been portrayed in these two ways, both revolving around the same physical device, shows us why the dividing line between hagiography and biography is both tenuous and real at the same time.

The histories of the Golden Lion and mirror hall show the dynamic tension and high degree of interpenetration between the profane and sacred, the mundane and monastic. Such a relationship of simultaneous exclusion and absorption between pairs of opposites is, of course, only a natural expression of a universe which sees no boundary whatsoever, but rather infinite connections between its components.

CHAPTER EIGHT

FAZANG THE TECHNICAL INNOVATOR

The last chapter discussed a mirror-lamp device that Fazang either invented or constructed on the basis of earlier ideas and practices in order to explain the complicated *Avataṃsaka* tenet of universal interconnectedness. We focused mainly on historical contexts and religious implications in order to bring out the scientific value. It is important to note the mastery of several mathematical and physical principles that Fazang exhibited when he designed the heuristic mirror-lamp. As Joseph Needham has pointed out, an inward-facing mirror construct would prove useful to mathematicians in their efforts to describe and list all the possible uniform polyhedral vertices.[1] Fazang's familiarity with principles fundamental to the scientific disciplines now known as mathematics and physics should not come as a surprise, given his probable role in improving and diffusing—if not inventing—the technology of woodblock printing (i.e., xylography).

1. A GREAT SECRET WRAPPED IN A SMALL PACKAGE

Fazang's name became linked to the art of xylography shortly after modern scholarship learned of the archaeological discovery that was discussed in the Preface. We recall that it brought to light what is so far the earliest datable woodblock-printed specimen,[2] which was excavated from the reliquary of the Sŏkkat'ap 釋迦塔 (Śākyamuni Pagoda) at Pulguksa 佛國寺 (The Monastery of Buddha Land) in Kyŏngju 慶州, Korea, a sixth-century temple that was rebuilt in the eighth century. The copy was wrapped in a small package when it was excavated from the second story of the pagoda. It is composed of separate pieces of thick

[1] Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 4, 93.

[2] On this discovery, see Ri Hongsik, "Keishū Bukkokuji shakatō hakken no Muku jōkō dai darani kyō"; Kawase, "Shiragi Bukkokuji Shakatō shutsu no Muku jōkō dai daranikyō ni tsuite"; Twitchett, *Printing and Publishing in Medieval China*, 13-14. It should be noted that before the discovery of this printed specimen scholars had tended to identify two printed pieces discovered in China as belonging to the early Tang or the reign of Empress Wu (690-705); the specimens are discussed in Pan, *Zaoqi yinshuashu*, 30-34. However, they are short and/or damaged, and scholars have reached no consensus as to their dates.

mulberry paper joined together in a continuous scroll about twenty feet long and two and one quarter inches wide. It was mounted on a wooden roller lacquered at each end. The printing was done from a series of twelve woodblocks, each about twenty or twenty-one inches long and two inches wide, with fifty-five to sixty-three vertical lines, each of which contain seven to nine characters (most with eight characters).[3]



Figure 5. *Wugou Jingguang Tuoluoni Jing*

Copy of *Wugou jingguang tuoluoni jing* excavated from Sŏk-kat'ap, at Pulguksa in Kyŏngju, Korea, in 1966. After Ch'ŏn, *Han'guk ko insweasesa*, unpag. plate; permission of author.

The text was a *dhāraṇī sūtra* translated by Fazang in 704 in collaboration with a Tokharian Buddhist translator-missionary, whose name is probably Mitrasena or Mitrasanta.[4] Although Pulguksa—and presumably also the Śākyamuni Pagoda—is generally believed to have been completed in 751, in fact its reconstruction was not completed until sometime after 774,[5] thus not as old as the remnants of an immense printing project of a Japanese empress carried out between 764 and 770 (see below). However, various special characters on the *dhāraṇī sūtra* reflect the unusual orthographies adopted under the reign of Empress Wu (690-705). Thus, even though the pagoda was built much

[3] Tsien, *Paper and Printing*, 135.

[4] I believe that this *sūtra* was translated in 704. Pan Jixing attempts to prove that it was translated in 701 in Luoyang. This is not likely given that Mitrasena did not arrive in China until 702. It is also clear that the text was translated in Chang'an, rather than in Luoyang. See Chapter 9.2.2.

[5] This is the year of Kim Taesŏng's 金大城 death; he was a Silla prime minister who vowed to renovate Pulguksa in memory of his parents. See Welch, *Fa-tsang, Pure Light and Printing*, 27-28.

later, the copy of the *sūtra* was actually printed no later than 705.[6] The text includes four of the eighteen special characters—*zheng* 証 ("proof"), *chu* 初 ("beginning"), *shou* 授 ("confer"), and *di* 地 ("earth"). Either the *dhāraṇī sūtra* was printed shortly after it was translated in 704 in China, or sometime between 704 (the earliest time possible for the arrival of the *sūtra* in Korea) and 774 in Korea, where the Great Zhou special characters could have been still in use after the termination of the Zhou in 705. Below, I demonstrate that the *sūtra* was printed in China, thus we can say that it was done so in 704, or early 705 (before March 3, 705, when the abolishment of Zhou was announced).

The following record in an epitaph that was excavated from a pagoda in another monastery closely related to Pulguksa lends further support to the early date of the printing found at Pulguksa:

> On the thirtieth day of the fifth month of Shenlong 2 (of a *jingwu* [i.e., *bingwu*][7] year) (July 14, 706), four grains of *śarīra*, a six-inch-tall solid gold Amitābha, and a scroll of *Wugou jingguang da tuoluoni jing* are being placed in the second story of the stone pagoda [on the orders of] the currently-ruling monarch (i.e., King Sŏngdŏk 聖德, r. 702-737). 神龍二年景午五月三十日,今主大王佛舍利四、全金彌陀佛像六寸一軀、無垢淨光大陀羅尼一卷, 安置石塔第二層.[8]

This epitaph was found twenty-four years before the Pulguksa discovery underneath a reliquary that contained the items (except for the *dhāraṇī sūtra*) noted in the inscription. More intriguingly, the pagoda was located within Hwangboksa 皇福寺, also a Kyŏngju-area temple and the place where Ŭisang was ordained. Ŭisang was not only a senior fellow-disciple of Fazang, but also the teacher of Sinrim 神琳, who was invited by Kim Taesŏng to be the head of[9] Pulguksa and therefore must have been the person in charge of interring the printed copy of the *dhāraṇī sūtra*.[10]

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[6] From Zaichu 1.8 (September 8-October 7, 690) to March 3, 705 (Shenlong 1.2.4), Empress Wu successively decreed a total of eighteen characters—the so-called *Zetian zaozi* 則天造字 ("characters created by Zetian") or *Wu Zhou xinzi* 武周新字 ("new forms of characters under the Wu Zhou Dynasty"). Although it seems that some, if not all, of these characters might have been used during the later part of Zhongzong's reign (707-710), their use was mostly forbidden during the restored Tang dynasty (705-907). See Shi, "Cong yuancang Tapian tantao Wu Zetian zaozi"; Pan, *Zaoqi yinshuashu*, 208-10.

[7] *Bingwu* is here expressed as *jingwu*, since *bing* was tabooed during the Tang; See Chen Yuan, *Shihui juli*, 147.

[8] Umehara, "Kankoku Keishū Kōfokuji-tō hakken no shari yōki," 37. My translation of this passage is adapted on the basis of that made by Welch, *Fa-tsang, Pure Light and Printing*, 67.

[9] The original has 住, which could mean "residing in" or to be the abbot of (住持) a temple. Given Sinrim's prestige, I assume that he was invited to preside over the newly built temple.

[10] *Samguk yusa, T* 49: 5.1018a23-25.



Figure 6. Sŏkkat'ap
Sŏkkat'ap at Pulguksa, in Kyŏngju, S. Korea; illustration courtesy of Timothy M. Ciccone, editor of www.orientalarchitecture.com.

These connections between Hwangboksa and Pulguksa—(1) Ŭisang and one of his chief disciples, (2) the ceremonial use for the same *dhāraṇī sūtra*, and (3) the same kind of architecture in which they were interred—all point to the possibility that the two copies were both printings. Moreover, all of the treasures recorded in the 706 inscription were retrieved from within the reliquary except for the copy of the *dhāraṇī sūtra.* Given this fact, one might even be tempted to stretch this line of speculation a bit further by surmising that the Hwangboksa copy was removed from its pagoda and re-interred in the Pulguksa pagoda. In other words, we should consider the possibility that the Pulguksa copy that was excavated in 1966 is exactly the copy that was enshrined in the Hwangboksa pagoda in 706.

Be that as it may, the printed *dhāraṇī* text discussed here is significant not only because it is several decades earlier than the Hyakumantō 百萬塔 copies, which for some time were considered the

earliest xylographical specimens, but also because its presence in Korea has urged people to rethink the conventional idea that China is the birthplace of printing technology.

2. The Provenance of the Printed *Dhāraṇī* Text: Korea or China?

The Pulguksa discovery excited Korean scholars, most of whom jumped to the conclusion that it was produced in Korea. The two major arguments concern the medium and the special characters that it employs. Some claim that the *tak* paper could only be secured in Korea at the time. *Tak* is a kind of paper manufactured from the bark of the *chu* 楮 tree (*Broussonetia papyrifera*), an Asian tree of the mulberry family that is widely grown as a shade tree. Their argument is based on the fact that since the Koryŏ period (918-1392), *tak* paper had become rather rare in China because Korea had managed to monopolize production to the extent that it was known among the Chinese as "Gaoli zhi" 高麗紙 ("Koryŏ paper"). This argument is quite flawed. First of all, the Chinese began to manufacture the same mulberry paper as early as the second century. Second, even though after the Koreans monopolized *tak* paper manufacturing, there were still means (e.g., through importation) to obtain this kind of paper in China. Finally, the monopolization of production did not occur until at least two to three centuries after the beginning of the eighth century, when the Pulguksa copy was printed. As a matter of fact, the special method that the Koreans first used to produce the *tak* paper was introduced from China, where it was still used at least in Fazang's day.[11]

The special characters used in this copy can be divided into two groups. One includes the characters adopted by Empress Wu, and the other includes unofficial calligraphic variations that writers came to use during the period of the Northern and Southern dynasties (420-589). Some Korean scholars have noted that the Empress Wu characters also appear in funeral steles erected at the very beginning of the eighth century for Korean persons, and thus the printed copy of *Wugou jingguang da tuoluoni jing* must have been produced in Korea. However, they neglect the fact that all of their examples were actually erected in the Tang capital for several Korean men serving under the Tang as court officials or generals.[12] Further, one cannot claim Korean origins for any particular Korean example of Chinese calligraphic variations.

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[11] See below, Chapter 8.6.

[12] Pan, *Zaoqi yinshuashu*, 220-25.

Logically, any such item bearing those characters could originate in either country.

Thus, Korean claims for Korean provenance of the Pulguksa copy are weak. But what about Chinese provenance? It is useful to consider the practice of interring a *sūtra*, in this case a piece of *dhāraṇī* text, in a pagoda. This is an example of the worship of dharma-relics that originated in India before appearing in China. A precedent is provided by Xuanzang, who in his renowned travelogue describes how the Indian layman Jayasena (Ch. Shengjun 勝軍) spent three decades constructing seven *koṭi*s (= 70,000,000) of dharma-*śarīra* pagodas—miniature pagodas (six to seven inches high) of scented clay that contained *sūtra* extracts.[13] Xuanzang was not only the one who introduced this practice to his colleagues, he was probably also its first practitioner in China (and indeed the whole of East Asia), manufacturing as he did numerous "Buddha-images," which were very likely copies of Buddha-images made from a wax mould. Some of these he may have turned into "dharma-relics" by having them interred within pagodas. If we are not yet completely certain as to whether Xuanzang had already been engaged in the veneration of dharma-relics, such a practice had certainly become popular in China by the 680s following the translation of the esoteric text *Buddhoṣṇīṣ vijaya dhāraṇī sūtra,* which became popular after promotion by Empress Wu. It implicitly equates a stone-pillar inscribed with or containing the *Buddhoṣṇīṣ vijaya dhāraṇī* with a "pagoda of the relic of the Buddha's whole body" (*Rulai quanshen sheli sudubota* 如來全身舍利窣堵波塔), an equation that medieval Chinese people took quite literally.[14]

Considering that this cult of dharma-relics had been practiced in China for at least several decades before a similar example was known in Korea (the Hwangboksa copy), I believe that Peter Kornicki is right in suggesting that the Koreans here were probably carrying out an established Chinese practice that flourished in Korea likely due to the prestige of Empress Wu.[15] A similar idea is argued by Antonino Forte, who, understanding Korean and Japanese Buddhism in the eighth century as "purely and simply an emanation of Chinese Buddhism," considers it unthinkable that any Buddhist practice existing in Korea or Japan in that period was not also to be found earlier in China.[16] The likelihood of this hypothesis seems rather high given that some time between 764 and 770, around six decades after Empress Wu's death, the Japanese female ruler Empress Shōtoku 稱德 (a.k.a. Kōken 孝謙,

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[13] *Da Tang xiyu ji, T* 51: 9.920a21-29; Beal, *Si-yu ki* 2: 146-47.
[14] Chen Jinhua, "*Śarīra* and Scepter," 103-4.
[15] Kornicki, *Book in Japan*, 114-17.
[16] Forte's comment is quoted in Chen Jinhua, "*Śarīra* and Scepter," 115.

718-770; r. 749-58, 764-770), whose reign bears parallels to that of Wu, sponsored one million miniature pagodas containing printed copies of the same *dhāraṇī* text, a campaign that has come to be known as "Hyakumantō."

Thus, we seem to be dealing with the Korean and Japanese veneration of dharma-relics that were enactments of an older Chinese practice, and the technology for manufacturing the centerpiece of the practice—the printed copy of the *dhāraṇī sūtra*—was also Chinese. The credibility of this assumption is enhanced by the fact that while the earliest record of xylographic technology dates from three centuries later, traces of this technology existed in China far earlier.[17] The strongest evidence for Chinese provenance comes from the religious, social and political backgrounds against which the *dhāraṇī sūtra* was produced, both in manuscript and in printed forms. To explore these areas will bring us back to Empress Wu and Fazang, who, as Buddhist leader, was working closely with her.

3. THE PROMISE OF HEALTH AND LONG LIFE IN THE *DHĀRAṆĪ* TEXT

It is important to note that the same *dhāraṇī sūtra* had been translated a few years prior by Śikṣānanda in a text that unfortunately has not survived.[18] Some special, urgent needs must have catalyzed the production of a new translation. These were embedded in particular political and religious factors.

Wugou Jinguang da tuoluoni jing begins with a panicked *brahmin* who learns from a prognosticator that he will die in seven days and is to be reborn in the hell that is meant for continuous suffering. Upon learning this, the *brahmin*, despite the fact that he never has been a Buddhist believer, runs to the Buddha Śākyamuni for help. The Buddha suggests that he repair a collapsing pagoda that contains relics of a Tathāgata. The Buddha assures the *brahmin* that if he puts a wooden tablet inscribed with a *dhāraṇī* inside the pagoda and worships it with various offerings, his life will be significantly lengthened and after his death he will be reborn in Tuṣita heaven. The Buddha further assures all the attendants of the assembly (and therefore all of the readers of the *sūtra*) that anyone who is destined to be short-lived and/or suffers from disease can have his or her lifespan lengthened, illnesses cured, and will

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[17] Pan, *Zaoqi yinshuashu*, 135.

[18] This old version, entitled "Ligou jingguang tuoluoni jing" 離垢淨光陀羅尼經, had already been out of circulation in 730 when Zhisheng compiled his catalogue. See *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.566a9.

be freed from falling into hell if he or she repairs dilapidated pagodas, constructs small clay pagodas, and copies specific *dhāraṇī*s. Asked the details of this *dhāraṇī* procedure, the Buddha starts to lecture on three *dhāraṇī*s and the corresponding methods for honoring them.

The first is the so-called "root-*dhāraṇī*" (*genben tuoluoni* 根本陀羅尼), for the worship of which the Buddha prescribes the following procedure. On the eighth, thirteenth, fourteenth or fifteenth day of the month, one should circumambulate a pagoda clockwise seventy-seven times and recite this *dhāraṇī* the same number of times. Then, one should purify oneself and make seventy-seven copies of this *dhāraṇī* on a *maṇḍala* which should be well protected and ornamented. The seventy-seven *dhāraṇī*-texts are finally placed inside the pagoda. One can also make seventy-seven miniature clay pagodas, into each of which is inserted one of the seventy-seven *dhāraṇī* scripts.

Regarding the second *dhāraṇī*, which is for the "central pillar" at the top of the pagoda (*xiangluntang zhong tuoluoni* 相輪樘中陀羅尼),[19] ninety-nine copies of this *dhāraṇī* must be reproduced and used to surround the *xiangluntang* 相輪樘. A copy of the *dhāraṇī* will also be inserted into the core of the central pillar of the pagoda. One can also make a miniature clay pagoda and have a copy of this *dhāraṇī* inserted therein.

The third *dhāraṇī*, which is for the center of the "rings around the top pillars" of a pagoda (*xianglun tuoluoni* 相輪陀羅尼), should be recited 1,008 times before the construction of a pagoda. The reciting of this *dhāraṇī* will produce unusual fragrances from the pagoda. Of this *dhāraṇī*, an unspecified number of copies will also be made properly, and will be enshrined in central pillar of the pagodas.

After the Buddha introduces to his audience these three *dhāraṇī*s and their corresponding procedures, Bodhisattva Sarva-nivaraṇa-viṣkambhin (Ch. Chugaizhang 除蓋障) recites a *dhāraṇī*, called "the *dhāraṇī* for the seal of self-mind" (*zixinyin tuoluoni* 自心印陀羅尼). This *dhāraṇī*, preached by ninety-nine *koṭi*s of Buddhas, will also be reproduced ninety-nine times and the ninety-nine *dhāraṇī*-scripts will also be put inside, or spread around, a pagoda.

After approving the *dhāraṇī* and its procedure as recited and formulated by Sarva-nivaraṇa-viṣkambhin, the Buddha lays out an overall procedure for observing the four *dhāraṇī*s in connection with the pagoda cult. The practitioner should properly reproduce ninety-nine copies of these four *dhāraṇī*s, then construct in front of a Buddha-pagoda a square *maṇḍala*, on which specific rituals are to be performed. These rituals will be followed by the enshrinement of the *dhāraṇī*-copies

[19] Close to the top of a pagoda are rings (i.e., *xianglun* 相輪), which are surrounded by a central pillar (i.e., *xiangluntang* 相輪樘).

around the pagoda or inside the central pillar at the top of the pagoda. After that, one starts to visualize the Buddhas in the ten directions, simultaneously reciting a fifth *dhāraṇī* twenty-eight times, which will succeed in evoking the appearance of various deities who will empower the pagoda and turn it into a great *maṇi* pearl.

Throughout the whole *sūtra*, the author strenuously emphasizes the numerous mysterious merits to be gained from a pagoda sanctified with the four *dhāraṇī*s. These include longevity, rebirth in Tuṣita heaven, or extirpation of bad karma on the part of the practitioner. However, the erection (or ornamentation) of such *dhāraṇī*-pagodas will benefit not only the one who builds or decorates it, but also those sentient beings who, no matter whether consciously or adventitiously, come into contact with the *dhāraṇī*-pagodas. All sentient beings, including human beings and all kinds of animals, who are under the shadow of such a pagoda or hear the sound of the bells at its top, will attain liberation. The place where such a pagoda is erected will be free from all human and natural disasters. All this strongly reminds us of the extraordinary powers that the *Buddhoṣṇīṣ vijaya dhāraṇī sūtra* attributes to a *Buddhoṣṇīṣ dhāraṇī*-pillar.[20]

4. EMPRESS WU AND DAOIST IMMORTALITY

In order to context further the printing of *Wugou Jinguang da tuoluoni jing*, we must take up Empress Wu's rapidly deteriorating health, due both to her age (she was then reaching eighty, an extremely ripe age for that time) and her continuous career frustrations. On March 10, 699, on her way to visit Songshan, Empress Wu passed by Goushi 緱氏, where she paid homage to the shrine of the so-called Immortal-Prince (Shengxian Taizi 升仙太子), dedicated to the memory of Prince Jin 王子晉 (var. Qiao 喬), the son (or perhaps heir-apparent) of King Ling of Zhou 周靈王 (571BC-545BC).[21] On March 13, 699, Empress Wu fell ill. Although somehow managing to escape from the grip of Yama, she

[20] *Wugou jingguang da tuoluoni jing, T* 19: 717c8-721b11.

[21] In some modern works, this person's name is romanized as Wang Zijin or Wang Ziqiao (see, for examples, Guisso, *Wu Tse-t'ien*, 142, 147; Spring, "Celebrated Crane," 11), giving one the impression that he was surnamed Wang 王, with a personal name Zijin/Ziqiao 子晉/子喬. This understanding is probably based on *JTS* 78.2706, in which he is mentioned as Zijin. However, as a Zhou prince his family name was Ji 姬, and thus *wangzi* 王子 should be understood as one word (meaning "prince"). The correct reading of 王子晉 must be *wangzi* Jin ("Prince Jin"), rather than Wang Zijin. It is quite interesting to note that Xuanzang was also a native of Goushi; see *Da Tang gu sanzang Xuanzang fashi xingzhuang, T* 50: 214a5-7; *Da Tang Da Ciensi sanzang fashi zhuan, T* 50: 1.221b21-24.

was no longer the energetic woman she had been.[22] The decision to visit the shrine had not been a whimsical one. It turned out to be a key component of a program that she and her advisers were planning in order to restore her health and political clout. As planned, later that year, in the sixth month (July 3-31, 699), after having renovated and enlarged Prince Jin's shrine, Empress Wu penned an epitaph, which is still extant.[23]

Then, in the beginning of the fifth month of Shengli 3 (May 23-26, 700), Empress Wu ingested an elixir made by the Daoist priest Hu Huichao 胡惠超 (var. Hu Chao 胡超, ?-703) and requiring three years to concoct. The elixir provided some energy, which so pleased her that she ordered the adoption of a new reign name—Jiushi 久視, obviously from a line ("lives to see many days") in *Daode jing*.[24] On the same day that she gave her reign such a Daoist-flavored title, she rid herself of all the *cakravartin* titles and other honorific titles.[25]

Obviously encouraged by Empress Wu's surging enthusiasm for Daoism and in particular for the cult of Prince Jin, Empress Wu's nephew Wu Sansi 武三思 (?-707) extolled Zhang Changzong (who with Zhang Yizhi was one of the empress's private medical councilors)[26] as being the reincarnation of Prince Jin. It seems that the empress took this claim seriously. In the sixth month of Jiushi 1 (June 21-July 20, 700), she ordered the renaming of the office of Groom (*konghe jian* 控鶴監), which was established in Shengli 1 (December 20, 697-December 7, 698),[27] as Office of the Palace Corral (*fengchen fu* 奉宸府) and Zhang Yizhi was appointed its director (*fengchen ling* 奉宸令). On the occasions when she enjoyed banquets with her favorites at the Palace Corral, the empress ordered Zhang Changzong to play the role

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[22] *ZZTJ* 206.6539. Empress Wu seems to have attributed her recovery partly to Yan Chaoyin's intensely loyal proposal to sacrifice himself to the Songshan deity in exchange for her recovery; see *JTS* 190B.5026, *XTS* 202.5751-5752. Her "discovery" of Prince Jin's tomb is described in Chen Ziang 陳子昂 (659?-700), "Yaoming jun gufen ji ming xu." It is noteworthy that this composition was written on behalf of a so-called Zhang Changning 張昌寧, which was obviously an error for Zhang Changzong 張昌宗 given the similarity in form between 寧 and 宗 and the fact that no person called Zhang Changning is known to be active in the period.

[23] "Shengxian taizi bei bing xu," *QTW* 98.1b-6b.

[24] *Chaoye qianzai* 5.116; cf. *ZZTJ* 206.6546. For the provenance of the expression *jiushi*, see *Laozi*: "This is called the way of deep roots and firm stems by which one lives to see many days." 是謂深根固蒂, 長生久視之道 (Zhu Qianzhi [coll. and annot.], *Laozi jiaoshi*, 242; Lau [trans.], *Lao-tsu*, 66).

[25] *ZZTJ* 206.6546, where Sima Guang wrongly identifies Hu Chao as a Buddhist monk (*seng* 僧), which misled Guisso (*Wu Tse-t'ien*, 147). For Empress Wu's assumption and abolishment of the *cakravartin* titles, see Chapter 10.1.2.

[26] Guo Shaoling, "Zhang Yizhi."

[27] This date is provided in *ZZTJ* 206.6526.

of Prince Jin by wearing a feather-robe (*yuyi* 羽衣), playing the *sheng* 笙 flute, and riding a wooden crane (*muhe* 木鶴) at court.[28]

Empress Wu's increased passion for longevity and immortality probably occurred in response to two psychological burdens—apprehension of her imminent death and her fear of postmortem indictment and punishment. They came about by her deteriorating health and her sense of guilt, the latter generated by memories of the multiple murders and other heinous crimes that she committed in the long course of seizing and solidifying supreme power. What might have moved her towards panic was a perception that her health would be affected as long as the guilt remained, setting up a paranoia about divine punishment. The extent to which a type of panic tormented her is best seen through an inscription on a gold strip that was included as a part of a Daoist ceremony known as *toulong* 投龍 ("dragon-hurling"); it was undertaken on her behalf in 700 under the direction of Hu Huichao, the provider of concoctions:

> With respect, Wu Zhao, ruler of the great Zhou, delights in the True Way, and the long-lived holy immortals. She has respectfully sent [her envoy] to the Central Peak, to the gate of lofty Mount Song, and cast a metal tablet, begging the Three Officers and Nine Departments of the world of the dead to remove the criminal name of Wu Zhao from their records. On the seventh day (*jiayin*) of the seventh month (*jiashen*) of the *gengzi* year (July 27, 700), she respectfully reports through the minor envoy Hu Chao, who repeatedly pays his homage by prostrating himself on the ground. 上言: 大周國主武曌, 好樂真道, 長生神仙. 謹詣中岳, 嵩高山門, 投金簡一通. 乞三官九府, 除武曌罪名. 太歲庚子七月甲申朔七日甲寅, 小使臣胡超, 稽首再拜謹奏.[29]

We see that the prayer was first inscribed on the gold slip (probably in the capital) before it was brought to Mount Song, where Hu Huichao threw it into a valley to effect rapid transmission of the imperial wishes to the Daoist deities. It is noteworthy that this ceremony took place on the seventh day of the seventh month, which in some Daoist traditions was taken as the annual occasion on which immortals gathered together (it was, in particular, the day on which the Prince-Immortal Jin made an appointment with his admirers in Goushi).[30] The apparent motive of the inscription and ceremony was to exonerate Empress Wu from severe post-mortem punishments, but longevity or even immortality was on the agenda too.

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[28] *ZZTJ* 206.6546.

[29] For the inscription, see Chen Yuan (comp.), *Daojiao jinshi lüe*, 93; and anon., "Henan dixia wenwu xin faxian," 11. Translation modified from Barrett, "Stūpa, *Sūtra* and *Śarīra*," 48, where he also brilliantly discusses the implication of this case of "Hurling the Dragon Strip."

[30] Spring, "The Celebrated Cranes of Po Chü-i," 11-12n27.

It is now possible to see that Empress Wu had a new translation of *Wugou jingguang da tuoluoni jing* made in order to participate in its promises of extended lifespan and exoneration of sins. Empress Wu's promotion of the cult of Prince Jin, the establishment of the Palace Corral, which probably functioned partly as a Daoist palace chapel and partly as an imperial medical center, and the Daoist-based exoneration, or, exorcistic, rituals should be viewed as main components of a well-orchestrated Daoist program made to fit Empress Wu's specific need for relief. The retranslation of the *dhāraṇī sūtra* and its being committed to a printed form, and eventually the diffusion of the printed copies, are to be seen as the Buddhist supplement to the Daoist program. As we shall see later, this Buddhist aspect culminated in the relic veneration that peaked in intensity at the turn of 705, when the empress's life and political career were drawing to an end.[31] The veneration would be personally directed by Fazang.

5. Fazang's role in printing and spreading *Wugou jingguang da tuoluoni jing*

If the *sūtra* was translated in 704, then when was it printed? Pan Jixing suggests that it was printed shortly after it was translated. However, T. H. Barrett, partly based on Kornicki's study, has recently associated this *dhāraṇī* text, or the *dhāraṇī*(s) contained therein, with the funeral rites of the empress. He suggests that the 706 text in Korea might be traced back to the effort on the part of Zhongzong to honor (or pacify) the empress's spirit by spreading printed copies of the funerary *dhāraṇī* text to the whole kingdom and several neighboring states including Korea.[32] Concerning this issue, I think we need to consider the following two factors. First, a copy of the printed text had already found its way to Korea by the middle of August 706 (if we can accept that the copy interred in the pagoda at the order of King Sŏngdŏk was printed). Second, during the Tang period, Empress Wu's special characters were not used except during her reign, and were formally abolished on March 3, 705, when Zhongzong resumed the throne (they were used probably also for a couple of years between 707 and 710). In view of these two facts, I find it difficult to believe that the *dhāraṇī* text, which contains four special Zhou-dynasty characters, was printed as part of the empress's funeral ceremonies, which occurred in the weeks following her death on December 16, 705. Thus, I believe that the text must

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[31] Chapter 6.1.2, Chapter 10.3.
[32] Barrett, "Stūpa, *Sūtra* and *Śarīra*," 51-58.

have been printed between 704, when the text was translated, and March 3, 705. It seems likely as well that these printed copies of the *sūtra* were used for funeral purposes, as Barrett has described and as corroborated by the Korean discoveries.

I have been aiming at Fazang's role in the grand religious program of which *Wugou jingguang da tuoluoni jing* was an important element. We are led to the question of whether Fazang was involved in the printing and diffusion of the text and if so, how. There is no direct evidence, but the following facts make a strong circumstantial case. First and foremost is, of course, Fazang's position as the co-translator of the *dhāraṇī* text. As a matter of fact, in view of Mitrasena's lack of proficiency in Chinese and Fazang's fluency in both Chinese and Sanskrit, I suspect that he was its chief translator.

Second, Fazang was an expert in Esoteric Buddhism and was known to have used it in a variety of circumstances. There were his shamanic powers that helped beat the Khitans in 697 and his bringing of snow in 712;[33] and third, Fazang was very close to the empress, particularly during this volatile period.[34]

Fourth, three important Buddhist monks in Nara during the reign of Empress Shōtoku and particularly in the Hyakumantō project maintained strong ties with Fazang, due no doubt to his translating-printing leadership under Empress Wu. The three were Jianzhen/Ganjin, who probably informally studied with Fazang,[35] Ryōben, Fazang's "dharma-grandson" in Japan, and the extraordinary monk Dōkyō 道鏡 (?-772), who followed Ryōben as an acolyte. Dōkyō's role is particularly noteworthy. Shōtoku is well known for her deep reliance, both political and emotional, on Dōkyō, who was probably her secret lover and who almost succeeded in becoming emperor in his own right.[36] It seems that the Hyakumantō project was the brainchild of Dōkyō, although Japanese scholars are generally of the opinion that the technology employed was provided by Chinese craftsmen.[37]

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[33] See, respectively, Chapter 5.3.2 and Chapter 6.3.1.

[34] See Chapter 6.1. Note, in particular, the following two facts. Sometime between November 5, 699 and November 17, 703, Fazang, after many years of affiliation with Western Chongfusi, which was one of Empress Wu's family temples, eventually became its head. Toward the end of 704, the empress entrusted him the task of directing a series of ceremonies devoted to the Famensi relic, which bore crucial importance for her both personally and politically.

[35] Chapter 6.2.3.

[36] See Yokota, *Dōkyō*; Bender, "Dōkyō Incident"; Groner, *Saichō*, 10-11. For the million pagodas project of Empress Shōtoku, see Nakane, *Hyakumantō darani no kenkyū*; Nakata, "Hōryūji Hyakumantō darani no insatsu"; Hickman, "A Note on the Hyakumantō *Dhāraṇī*"; Yiengpruksawan, "One Million of a Buddha."

[37] Pan, *Zaoqi yinshua shu*, 145.

Last but definitely not least is Fazang's knowledge of some basic principles of xylography, as is so well attested to in several of his works. This qualifies him as a key player in the printing project:

> Hence when we go by this proclaimed doctrine, all the doctrines of the Buddha were preached together on the fourteenth day (sc., after the experience of enlightenment) at once from beginning to end, from beginning to end at once. This is just as in this world, with the method of printing, we read the text as having a sentence meaning from beginning to end (i.e., we construe it sequentially). But when the text is printed, then it appears all at the same time, yet this does not go against the principle of it having at the same time a beginning and an end (i.e., a sequential structure). 是故依此普聞, 一切佛法並於第二七日, 一時前後說. 前後一時說, 如世間印法. 讀文則句義前後, 印之則同時顯現. 同時前後, 理不相違. 當知此中道理亦爾, 準以思之.[38]

Fazang also uses the metaphor of sequential structure versus wholeness in depicting the dialectic tension between structuredness and wholeness, sequence and instant. For example, in two of his major works he repeats the statement, "Just as with a piece of printed text [or a text produced from a wax mould], there is a sequential order when it is read, while simultaneously its different parts are produced" (讀時前後, 印紙同時).[39] It is also interesting to note that Chengguan, who, as we saw at the beginning of the last chapter wrote about mirror-lamps, elaborates this metaphor in terms of *ti* 體 (body or substance) and *yong* 用 (function), a logical pairing that received wide use in Buddhism and Neo-Confucianism. In answering the question of how some things can be predicated as both sequential (*qianhou* 前後) and simultaneous (*tongshi* 同時), Chengguan replies,

> The substance and various functions that it embodies penetrate everywhere instantaneously, whereas different functions embodied in the substance do not impede the sequential order between them. This is like the printing of a text. 即用之體, 同時頓遍; 即體之用, 不壞前後. 猶如印文.[40]

It is not at all clear that Fazang's and Chengguan's notions refer to full-fledged xylographic technology, but it is beyond doubt that they were rather familiar with some basic characteristics (and advantages) of such a technology. Thus, the following remarks seem appropriate regarding Fazang's role in a project so instrumental to the diffusion of xylographic technology in East Asia.

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[38] *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang, T* 45: 1.482b-c; translations by Barrett, "Images of Printing," 92.

[39] *Huayan jing wenyi gangmu*, *T* 35: 1. 495c5-6; *Tanxuan ji*, *T* 35: 2.127c15.

[40] *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing shu*, *T* 35: 17.627b7-9.

Given his influence on Empress Wu, Fazang was probably the instigator of the whole project, from the idea of retranslating the *sūtra*, printing the retranslation, and diffusing it not only within China but also to the Chinese satellite states in Central Asia and East Asia (particularly Silla). The transmission of the printed copies to the Korean Peninsula was facilitated not only through the control that the Great Zhou government was then able to exercise on Silla, but also assisted by the communication network that Fazang was able to establish through his admirers in Korea, mainly but not exclusively those monks belonging to the *Avataṃsaka* tradition.[41] Although the two printed copies of the *dhāraṇī sūtra* that were enshrined in the pagodas in the two Korean temples were probably sent there officially, it is at least possible that Fazang sent them through private channels. This becomes more likely by the fact that the two Korean temples were closely related to Fazang's fellow-disciple Ŭisang: one (with the copy interred in 706) was the temple at which Ŭisang was ordained, and the other (the copy interred in 751 or later) was headed by one of his important disciples.

6. Fazang's knowledge of mulberry paper

We noted, above, that it was not possible to conclude Korean provenance of the Pulguksa copy merely by assuming that this mulberry paper was only available in Korea. As a matter of fact, its manufacture was rather common in Fazang's time. Fazang himself has told us about two avid manufacturers of mulberry paper, both Buddhist monks. Deyuan 德圓, whose clan (*shizu* 氏族) is not known, was a native of Tianshui 天水. Abandoning secular life at an early age, he took up *Avataṃsaka* teachings. Chanting and meditation constituted two parts of his practice, but also he attended numerous lecture centers, and it said that he covered all the principles of Buddhism. In admiration of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, he wished to demonstrate his enthusiasm:

> For this purpose, he built a garden of purification,[42] where he planted all kinds of *guchu* trees (i.e., mulberry trees),[43] vanilla, and wild

[41] Chapter 5.2.3.

[42] In Chinese Buddhist literature, *jingyuan* 浄園, like *qingjingyuan* 清浄園, as a translation of the Sanskrit *vihara*, could also refer to a Buddhist monastery.

[43] The *gu*, *chugu*, indicated the same kind of tree (mulberry), as is confirmed by Lu Ji 陸璣 (fl. 210-279): "Gu—natives of Youzhou called it *gusang* or *chusang*. It is called *gu* in the areas of Jingzhou, Yangzhou, Jiaozhou and Guangzhou, while natives of Zhongzhou call it *chu*. … People in the Jiangnan areas nowadays manufacture its bark into cloth and paper, which, called *gubi* paper, could be as long as several *zhang*, with a clean, bright and shining surface and very fine texture." 穀, 幽州人謂之穀桑, 或曰楮桑. 荆揚交廣謂之穀, 中州人謂之楮. … 今江南人績其皮以爲布, 又以爲紙.

> flowers. Only after bathing himself did he enter the garden to irrigate the trees and plants with perfumed water. After three years of growth, the mulberry trees started to issue a strong fragrance. He then built a "mansion of purification," the wall and ground of which were smeared with scented clay. He cleansed the mattress and utensils, bathing tools and refreshed his robes. The craftsmen [who were hired to build the mansion] underwent regular fasting, and changed their clothing upon entering and leaving the mansion. They bathed themselves, rinsed their mouths and had themselves perfumed. Peeling the barks from the mulberry trees, he had them soaked with the water of agalloch eaglewood (*chenshui[xiang]* 沈水[香]). He carefully protected their bark from being polluted and spent a whole year in making paper. 遂修一淨園, 樹諸穀楮, 并種香草雜華. 洗濯入園, 溉灌香水. 楮生三載, 馥氣氛氳. 別造淨屋, 香泥壁地. 潔檀淨器, 浴具新衣. 匠人齊戒, 易服入出, 必盥漱熏香. 剝楮取皮, 浸以沈水. 護淨造紙, 畢歲方成.[44]

Then, a new foundation, cleansed and purified, was laid down for another mansion. Roofs, tiles and other construction materials were washed with perfumed decoction (*xiangtang* 香湯) before they were properly decorated and purified. In the hall was installed a seat made of the *wenbo* 文柏 cypress and decorated with elephant tusk. Fragrant flowers were widely spread on the seat. Above the seat was hung a "treasure-canopy tied with silk" (*zengbaogai* 繒寶蓋), from where were hung bells and jades that were mixed with tassels of flags (*liusu* 流蘇). Both the table and brushes for copying the *sūtra* were made of white sandalwood (*baitan* 白檀) and purple agalloch (*zichen* 紫沈). The scribe fasted and received precepts on a daily basis, taking baths three times a day with perfumes. Wearing a flowery hat and purified robe, he looked like a celestial being. In entering the room for copying the *sūtra*, he was always preceded by Buddhist hymns (*fanbei* 梵唄), with incense burning on both sides of the road.

Deyuan had his own body and robes cleaned and purified. Holding an incense-burner in hand, he led the scribe with reverence. It was only after making offerings to the Buddha by scattering flowers in the *sūtra*-copying room that the copying daily commenced. Kneeling on the ground and practicing meditation, Deyuan concentrated himself by focusing his eyes on one spot. No sooner did he finish copying several lines of the *sūtra* than each character started to radiate, lightening up the whole courtyard. This was witnessed by all the onlookers, none of whom failed to be touched with admiration. There was a deity who, stimulated by Deyuan's piety, appeared, protecting him and the scribe

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謂之穀皮紙, 長數丈, 潔白光輝, 其裏甚好 (*Maoshi caomu niaoshou chongyu shushi*, *SKQS* 70: 1.13b; my translation). Since Lu Ji was active in the earlier part of the third century, this remark shows that in the third century at the latest the Chinese had already mastered the technology of making mulberry paper of very high quality.

[44] *HJZ*, *T* 51: 5.170c27-171a3.

with a spear in his hands. Deyuan and the scribe saw this deity, while others did not. There was also a Brahmanic boy (*fan tongzi* 梵童子) in green who arrived in a way incomprehensible to the ordinary people. Holding heavenly flowers in his hands, the boy suddenly made offerings to Deyuan and the scribe. With all these miraculous propitious signs coming in a continuous stream, the copying was completed in two years. Contained within a perfumed case, the copy of the *sūtra* was then enshrined in a treasure canopy, which was installed in the "hall of purity," where it was often venerated. Later, when people turned and chanted the *sūtra*, the *sūtra*-case emanated extraordinary rays of light.

A similar story, with a curtailed description of the paper-making process, can be found in the same fascicle of Fazang's *Huayan jing zhuanji*, although this time the status of the hero is given to another *Avataṃsaka*-minded meditation master called Xiude 修德, who resided at Zhongshan 中山, in Dingzhou 定州:

> Therefore he grew *chu* trees for three years in a separate "cloister of purity." He grew flowers and medical herbs with these trees, all of which he irrigated with perfumed water. He maintained [physical] cleanness and [spiritual] purity in the course of making paper. 故別於淨院, 植楮樹凡歷三年. 兼之華藥, 灌以香水. 潔淨造紙.[45]

This is relatively brief, but we do learn from the author, Fazang, that Xiude's effort to make mulberry paper for copying the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* started in Yonghui 4 (February 3, 653-January 23, 654) and that the scribe Xiude used for copying the *sūtra* was named Wang Gong 王恭 of Guizhou 嬀州 (present-day Zhuolu 涿鹿, Hebei). The latter refused to take Xiude's promised payment (ten bolts of silk per *juan*) and was so devoted that he died right after finishing the copying. The *sūtra* copying is said to have also produced a series of miracles.[46]

These examples show us ritualized, and therefore special, cases of paper manufacturing. However, that does not nullify the technical elements of manufacture. We see that Deyuan, Xiude and their colleagues observed the procedures for making paper. The details given by Fazang reveal his knowledge of basic techniques. One can even imagine that he was once engaged in making this kind of paper. It is worth reiterating that Fazang's paper is the same material—mulberry pulp—that was used in the Pulguksa copy. In addition to undermining the credibility of a major argument for the Korean provenance of the Pulguksa copy, we have circumstantial evidence for Fazang's role in both

[45] *HJZ*, *T* 51: 5.171b.
[46] *HJZ*, *T* 51: 5.171b; cf. *Fahua zhuanji*, *T* 51: 8.87a26-b16; *GYZ*, *T* 51: 177c6-13.

printing and diffusing *Wugou Jinguang da tuoluoni jing* for the benefit of Empress Wu.

7. Concluding remarks

Fazang's philosophical world brought us to scientific and technological matters. Fazang blended together creativeness, philosophical insight, and religious devotion. This chapter has focused on the contributions that Fazang made to the improvement and diffusion of technical innovations that had far-reaching effects on East Asian civilization. His enthusiasm and initiative in the area of technologies fitted his philosophical and religious perspectives.

Fazang's role in woodblock printing reveals further subtleties of his mind. The working principles of printing parallel some of the most popular metaphysical insights that were conveyed through the metaphor of Indra's Net and the mirror-lamp, cum mirror hall. The invention of woodblock printing presupposes a full understanding of the dialectical relationship between singularity and multiplicity, particularity and generality, temporal sequence and moment, spatial structure and wholeness, all of which are so well exemplified in the images reflected in Indra's Net and the mirror hall. Michael Welch seems right in his highlighting of these metaphysical and physical compatibilities, as embodied in the *Avataṃsaka* worldview:

> If I might be allowed a little license, the statue of the Buddha in the demonstration is the woodblock, light is the ink, and the mirrors are the paper. The image is duplicated again and again (though always upon the same ten surfaces). The mirrors, of course, seems more dynamic than passive pieces of paper, but if we remember that each print can serve as the basis for manuscript copies or can itself be used in the engraving of a new block from which more prints can be made, then even this flaw in the analogy is largely overcome.[47]

Fazang, being a believer in *Avataṃsaka*, developed mirror-halls and printing programs as a way to glorify *Avataṃsaka*'s universal net. His lamp and his mulberry paper were reflective jewels to be placed in the net, so that his contemporaries were more easily brought into the *Avataṃsaka* path.

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[47] Welch, *Fa-tsang, Pure Light and Printing*, 135-36.

CHAPTER NINE

FAZANG THE TRANSLATOR

The last chapter showed how a *dhāraṇī* text that Fazang translated in 704 allowed him to bring together philosophical mastery with a high interest in technical innovation. This chapter delves further, taking up Fazang's contributions as a Buddhist translator. Although he was a third-generation Sogdian immigrant who was born, raised, and educated in the Tang capital Chang'an, Fazang did not lose his fluency in Sanskrit nor in several Central Asian languages. This talent came into play when he worked with an Indian Buddhist doctor Divākara to check several versions of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* written not just in Sanskrit but those from Kunlun 崑崙 and Khotan.[1] Having grown up in a Chinese cultural environment, he was fluent in Chinese. His linguistic talents, in combination with his knowledge of Buddhist doctrines and practices, made him an ideal translator, and he was sought after for a series of translation projects. Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn stated:

> As a descendant of the [peoples of the] western [regions] (i.e., Central Asia), [Fa]zang was good at Indic languages. Born and living in "Eastern Florescence" (i.e., China)[2] he was also versed in the Han graphs. Therefore, when first he served Rizhao, he achieved a reputation as eminent as a lofty mountain. When subsequently he followed Xixue, he was able to accumulate merit as deep as an ocean. Thus, it happened that he was widely consulted by masters coming from the West, and he increased and spread the brilliance of the East. Standing out from the ranks of the ten *bhadanta*-monks [working with the Buddhist Trepiṭaka masters superintending the translation projects], he gathered the flowers of the "Nine Assemblies."[3] 藏本資西胤, 雅善梵言; 生寓東華, 精詳漢字. 故初承日照, 則高山擅價; 後從喜學, 則至海騰功. 得以備詢西宗, 增衍東美. 拔乎十德之萃, 擷其九會之芳.[4]

Rizhao 日照 ("Illumination of the Sun") and Xixue 喜學 ("Pleasure in Learning"), who were better known in China by their Sanskrit names Di-

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[1] *Tanxuan ji*, *T* 35: 20.484cff, translated and discussed in Chapter 5.2.2. Kunlun is a general reference to the southern part of the Indian Peninsula and the islands in the Indian Sea.

[2] For *donghua* 東華 as reference to China, in contrast with *xixia* 西夏 (indicating India and Central Asia), see discussion in Chen Jinhua, "Dharmakṣema," 238-40.

[3] The eighty *juan* of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* were believed to have been preached by the Buddha at "Nine Assemblies" (*jiuhui* 九會) in "Seven Places" (*qichu* 七處).

[4] *PHC* 282b8-11.

poheluo 地婆訶羅 (Divākara, 613-688) and Shicha'nantuo 實叉難陀 (Śikṣānanda?, 652-710), were Central Indian and Khotanese erudite Buddhist monks, respectively, with whom Fazang worked. The former was invited to China in 678 and the latter in 695 in order to direct Buddhist translation centers that were established especially for them in Chang'an and Luoyang. In addition to Divākara and Śikṣānanda, Fazang also collaborated with four other Trepiṭaka-translators—the Khotanese Devendraprajña,[5] the Tokharian Mitrasena, the Chinese Yijing, and the South Indian Bodhiruci.

Here we will take up Fazang's collaboration efforts. The chapter focuses on three pairs of Fazang's collaborators, either because a pair arrived in China at about the same time (Divākara and Devendraprajña, and Śikṣānanda and Mitrasena) or because their directorship of a translation center overlapped in time (Yijing and Bodhiruci).

1. Collaboration with Divākara and Devendraprajña

These were the first two; they possessed quite different backgrounds and left different degrees of impact in China. In cooperating with these famous foreign monks, Fazang quickly entered the limelight of contemporary Buddhism, and more importantly he started to project his influence from the Chang'an area to Luoyang, which was then the political and religious center of East Asia.

1.1. *Fazang and Divākara*

Fazang began to work with Divākara no later than May 3, 680, according to one of his commentaries on *Huayan jing*.[6] Divākara, who probably arrived in China sometime toward the end of Yifeng 2 (January 27, 678), spent a couple of years in Luoyang before going to Chang'an in the spring of 680.[7] He was to stay in Chang'an for the following five to six years, until sometime between August 6, 685 and January 19, 687, when he returned to Luoyang, where he died on February 4, 688.[8] During his stay in Chang'an, Divākara was mainly affiliated with Western Taiyuansi, where he finished at least seven translations, although he occasionally stayed at another major monastery in Chang'an—Hongfusi 弘

[5] On the basis of its Chinese counterpart Tianhui 天慧 or Tianzhi 天智, scholars have generally reconstructed the Sanskrit name of this Khotanese monk as Devaprajña. Antonino Forte has argued that the correct form should be Devendraprajña; see Forte, "Devendraprajña," 289-90; idem, "Tiyunbore," 233-34.

[6] Chapter 5.2.2.

[7] Appendix J.

[8] Ibid.

福寺, in order to direct three others.[9] In addition to Fazang's testimony just noted, we have four more mentions of face-to-face meetings with Divākara. Fazang twice mentions communications between Divākara and himself in Wenming 1 (March 8-October 18, 684), both at Western Taiyuansi: once he consulted about the classification of Buddhist teachings in India;[10] and on another occasion Divākara told him an Indian legend about the merits of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*.[11] Fazang also tells us that Divākara described to him a monastery in South India which was named after a goose.[12] Finally, Huiying records that sometime in Chuigong 1 (February 9, 685-January 29, 686), Divākara told Fazang a story of *Avataṃsaka*-related miracles in India.[13] In view of the frequency of interaction during this period, it is easy to assume that Fazang served as his assistant (or "secretary" as Stanley Weinstein puts it[14]) while the latter stayed at Western Taiyuansi. Fazang likely participated in all the seven translations made at Western Taiyuansi. We do not know, however, if he was involved in the three translations directed by Divākara at Hongfusi.

Although there is no doubt as to the closeness of their working relationship, Fazang (in his thirties at the time) was still not prestigious enough to be recognized as one of Divākara's ten chief assistants, who were then known as "ten *bhadanta*-monks" (*shidade* 十大德). In the preface he wrote in 682 for a Chinese version of the *Uṣṇīṣavijayādhāraṇī*, Yancong 彥悰 (?-688+) mentions that ten people including Daocheng—but not Yancong himself who was also not prestigious enough—assisted Divākara as chief collaborators in translating this esoteric text.[15] In her 685 preface to Divākara's translations, Empress Wu tells us that ten *bhadanta*-monks in Chang'an assisted Divākara in his translation project at Western Taiyuansi.[16] In his biography of Divākara, Fazang notes that it was at Weiguo xisi (i.e., Western Taiyuansi)

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[9] Ibid.

[10] *Tanxuan ji*, *T* 35: 1.111c09-22. Fazang repeats the same episode in two of his other works, *Dasheng qixin lun yiji* (*T* 44: 1.242b) and *Shiermen lun zongzhi yiji* (*T* 42: 1.213.1ff), in both of which the date is omitted. See also Chengguan, *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao*, *T* 36: 7.52c23ff, which gives the source as *Yifen qi* 義分齊 (i.e., *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 華嚴一乘教義分齊章); this is incorrect because the episode in question is not in this text. Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn also mentions the episode in *PHC* 284c23ff.

[11] *HJZ*, *T* 51: 4.170a.

[12] *HJZ*, *T* 51: 4.166b-c. Unfortunately, Fazang does not tell us the time and location of this conversation.

[13] *GYZ*, *T* 51: 175b-c.

[14] Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, 46.

[15] "Foding zuisheng tuoluoni jing xu," *T* 19: 355b10. A major part of Yancong's preface is translated and discussed in Forte, "Buddhapālita."

[16] "Fangguang da Zhuangyan jing xu," *QTW* 97.5a6-8.

that these ten *bhadanta*-translators, two of whom were Daocheng 道誠 (a variation of Daocheng 道成) and Baochen, joined Divākara's translation office.[17] None of these three sources provides a full list of the ten, but Zhisheng does identify most:

> Śramaṇas Zhantuo 戰陀 (?-699+)[18] and Boretipo 般若提婆 (Prajñādeva?, ?-699+)[19] acted as *yi[yu?]* 譯[語] (translators of Sanskrit words); śramaṇa Huizhi 慧智 (fl. 676-703)[20] verified (*zheng* 證) the Sanskrit terms. The emperor ordered ten monks of "fame and virtue" to assist him (Divākara) in propagating the dharma. Śramaṇas Daocheng, Baochen, Jiashang 嘉尚 (?-680+),[21] Wŏnch'ŭk (Ch. Yuance) 圓測 (613-966), Lingbian 靈辯 (?-676+, otherwise unknown), Mingxun 明恂 (a.k.a. Dasheng Xun 大乘恂, ?-680+),[22] Huaidu 懷度 (?-680+, otherwise unknown) and others acted as "proofers of meanings" (*zhengyi* 證義). Śramaṇas Sixuan 思玄 (?-727+),[23] Fuli 復禮 (?-706?) and others acted as composers (*zhuiwen* 綴文) and scribes (*bishou* 筆受). 沙門戰陀, 般若提婆譯. 沙門慧智證梵語. 敕召名德十人, 助其法化. 沙門道成, 薄塵, 嘉尚, 圓測, 靈辯, 明恂, 懷度等證義. 沙門思玄, 復禮等綴文筆受.[24]

Because Zhantuo, Boretipo, and Huizhi are mentioned before the term *shidade*, I believe they were not among the ten *bhadanta*-monks, who were the nine persons that come afterwards: Daocheng, Baochen, Jiashang, Wŏnch'ŭk, Lingbian, Mingxun, Huaidu, Sixuan, and Fuli. In fact, over a decade later, Zhantuo and Boretipo were still not recognized as such.[25] Then who was the tenth *bhadanta*-monk that Zhisheng

[17] *HJZ*, *T* 51: 1.154c17ff. cf. *Tanxuan ji*, *T* 35: 20.484c9-15 (quoted above), where Fazang also mentions Daocheng and Fuli as two of the ten *bhadanta*-monks.

[18] For this monk, see Appendix G, note 31.

[19] For this monk, see Appendix G, note 32.

[20] See Forte's study of this monk in his "Hui-chih."

[21] Jiashang's *SGSZ* biography is at *T* 50: 4.728b. He was a chief disciple of Xuanzang, acting as a proofer of meanings and composer when Xuanzang translated the voluminous *Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra* at Yuhua 玉華 Palace. His close relationship with Xuanzang is demonstrated by the fact that on his death-bed Xuanzang entrusted him to compile a bibliography of all the Buddhist translations he had ever made; see *Da Tang gu sanzang Xuanzang fashi xingzhuang*, *T* 50: 219b23ff; *Da Tang Da Ciensi sanzang fashi zhuan*, *T* 50: 10.276c25ff.

[22] For this monk, see Forte, "Hui-chih," 116.

[23] In addition to his role in assisting Divākara, Sixuan was also a member in Bodhiruci's translation office (*Xu Gujin yijing tuji*, *T* 55: 371b15; *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*, *T* 55: 14.873a11). As of October 7, 693, he was affiliated with Foshoujisi; see the colophon in *Foshuo baoyu jing*: *S* 2278 (*DB* 18: 12; Ikeda, *Shikigo,* 240; Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 173 [1st edition]/180 [2nd edition]).

[24] *Xu Gujin yijing tuji*, *T* 55: 368c15-18. The same passage is found in *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.564a; *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*, *T* 55: 12.864b1-3; and Divākara's *SGSZ* biography at *T* 50: 2.719a26-29.

[25] See Appendix G, where I discuss a colophon of September 29, 699, by the translators engaged in Śikṣānanda's *Avataṃsaka* translation project, in which Boretipo and Zhantuo are designated as a "Śramaṇa with temporary residence at Great Ciensi"

does not mention? Could he have been Fazang? This does not seem possible, considering that both Fazang's disciple Huiyuan and his later follower Chengguan give Kuiji 窺基 (632-682), not Fazang, as cotranslator with Divākara.[26] Another disciple of Fazang, Huiying, mentions the following monks as Divākara's collaborators: Daocheng, Baochen, Wŏnch'ŭk, Yiying 意應 (Xuanying 玄應 as is given by another edition of *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying zhuan*), who acted as *zhengyi*; Fuli, Sixuan and others, who acted as *zhibi* 執筆, which probably refers to *bishou* 筆受; and Huizhi and others, who acted as *yiyu*. Like Huiyuan, Huiying does not consider Fazang to have been Divākara's chief collaborator.[27] Thus, it seems that the tenth was Kuiji, and not Fazang. Kuiji died in 682, and Divākara's activities in Chang'an lasted at least until 685, thus Kuiji did not participate from beginning to end. We do not know if another *bhadanta*-monk filled the position left by Kuiji.

1.2. *Fazang and Devendraprajña*

Although Fazang worked closely with Divākara in Chang'an, he did not follow Divākara to Luoyang in 685 or 686. It was probably one year later (i.e., Chuigong 4 [February 7, 688-January 26, 689]), sometime after Devendraprajña arrived in Luoyang and took up residence at Eastern Taiyuansi (known as Weiguo dongsi 魏國東寺 at the time), that Fazang was summoned there to participate in Devendraprajña's new translation bureau. This is stated directly in one of Fazang's commentaries to a Devendraprajña translation:

> There was a Khotanese Trepiṭaka [master], Dharma Master Tiyunbore (Skt. Devendraprajña), called Tianhui 天慧 (Heavenly Wisdom) here (i.e., in Tang China), whose wisdom and understanding excelled those of ordinary people and who was thoroughly versed in the Threefold Canon. He was without match (lit. "walking alone") in his own country. Later, in order to observe the [religious] conversion of the Supreme Capital [of the Tang], he arrived in the Divine Metropolis (i.e., Luoyang) during the Chuigong era (February 9, 685-January 26, 688), carrying with him over one hundred Sanskrit texts. An imperial edict was issued to comfort him, summoning him into the inner palaces for offerings and support. He was then lodged at Weiguo dongsi and was ordered to translate *sūtra*s and *śāstra*s with ten *bhadanta*-monks. The government then asked him to translate the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* first. Although being dull in understanding, I had the fortune of being

(大慈恩寺寄住沙門) and an "Uḍḍyānian Śramaṇa" (烏萇國沙門), while ten monk-translators (including Fazang) are identified as *bhadanta*-translators.

[26] See *Xu Huayan jing lüeshu kanding ji*, *XZJ* 5: 1.24d12-13 (other assistants listed are Daocheng, Baochen); *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing shu*, *T* 35: 3.524a1-9 (other assistants listed include Daocheng, Baochen, and Fuli).

[27] *GYZ*, *T* 51: 175b29-c4. Following this, Huiying refers to Fazang, but as a dialoguer with, and not a collaborator of, Divākara.

> summoned to participate in the translation project, which enabled me to watch the [dharma-]treasure. From his project then derived *Huayan busiyi jingjie fen*, *Huayan xiuci fen*, *Dasheng zhiju tuoluoni jing*, *Zhufo jihui tuoluoni jing* (all of the above translations are in one *juan*); *Zaoxiang gongde jing* in two *juan*, and *Fajie wu chabie lun* in one *juan*. Śramaṇa Huizhi and others acted as translators of Sanskrit words, śramaṇa Fahua (?-689+) acted as scribe, śramaṇa Fuli acted as composer, śramaṇas Wŏnch'ŭk, Huiduan, Hongjing and others acted as proofers of meanings. 有于闐國三藏法師提雲般若, 此云天慧. 其人慧悟超倫, 備窮三藏. 在於本國, 獨步一人. 後爲觀化上京, 遂齎梵本百有餘部, 於垂拱年內, 屆至神都. 有敕慰喻, 入內供養, 安置魏國東寺. 令共大德十人, 翻譯經論. 仍令先譯華嚴. 余以不敏, 猥蒙徵召. 既預翻譯, 得觀寶聚. 遂翻得華嚴不思議境界分, 華嚴修慈分, 大乘智炬陀羅尼經, 諸佛集會陀羅尼經, 已上各一卷成. 造像功德經二卷, 法界無差別論一卷. 沙門慧智等譯語, 沙門法華筆授, 沙門復禮綴文, 沙門圓測, 慧端, 弘景等證義.[28]

The above touches on three important issues: the date of Devendraprajña's arrival in China, the translations that he supervised, and his collaborators.

Unlike Fazang, who dates the arrival to sometime during the Chuigong era, later sources, including Zhisheng and Zanning, give it as Yongchang 1 (February 25-December 12, 689). As Antonino Forte correctly points out, the latter must indicate the completion date of the earliest translation by Devendraprajña, rather than his arrival, which naturally would have been earlier. Forte also suggests that Devendraprajña arrived after Divākara's departure became imminent due to his petition for leave. In other words, he must have arrived either after or shortly before Divākara died on February 4, 688. Further according to Forte, Empress Wu's government brought the Khotanese Trepiṭaka master to China to direct the new translation center at Weiguo dongsi, which was originally prepared for Divākara, but now had to be superintended by a new Buddhist authority as Divākara insisted on returning to India.[29]

Fazang also attests that Devendraprajña was lodged at Weiguo dongsi by Chuigong 4 (February 7, 687-January 26, 688) at the latest. He reports that at that monastery on February 28, 689 he heard Devendraprajña's story about the Khotanese śrāmaṇera Prajñamegha.[30] That proves that Devendraprajña could not have arrived in Luoyang later

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[28] *Dasheng fajie wu chabie lun shu*, *T* 44: 63c25ff. Some parts of this passage and the passage in *HJZ* are discussed in Forte, "Devendraprajña," 290-91; idem, "Tiyunbore," 234-35.

[29] Forte, "Devendraprajña"; idem, "Tiyunbore."

[30] Yongchang 1.2.4. *HJZ*, *T* 51: 4.167a14-17, in which Fazang refers to Devendraprajña as the Khotanese Trepiṭaka master, Dharma-master Yintuoluoborere 因陀羅波若若 (passage translated and discussed in Chapter 1, note 14).

than 687 (or early 688). Around one month before hearing that story—that is, on the night of February 2, 689—Empress Wu ordered Fazang and others to convene a large *Avataṃsaka*-assembly at the Northern Gate of Xuanwu.[31] Assuming that an imperial summon brought Fazang to Luoyang (as assistant to Devendraprajña), then Fazang's presence in Luoyang at the beginning of 689 implies that Devendraprajña must have been there by the end of 688.

With assistance from the Tang government, Devendraprajña acquired the assistance of ten *bhadanta*-monks. In the passage above, Fazang mentions seven project staff—Huizhi, Fahua, Fuli, Wŏnch'ŭk, Huiduan, Hongjing, and Fazang himself—some of whom were among Divākara's ten. We know that Huizhi was probably still not a *bhadanta*-monk. How about Fazang? We already concluded that Fazang was not recognized as such a *bhadanta*-monk within Divākara's translation bureau, but judging by the way he refers to his role (余以不敏, 猥蒙徵召), Fazang seems to have reached that status by this time. Thus, Fazang here actually tells us six of the ten *bhadanta*-monks. For the rest of the ten *bhadanta*-monks, we need to look at other sources, especially *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*, which identifies the following monks as among Devendraprajña's assistants:

I) *yiyu* 譯語 (translators of Sanskrit words): Zhantuo and Huizhi;
II) *bishou* 筆受 (scribes): Chuyi 處一 (?-693+)[32] and others;
III) *zhuiwen* 綴文 (composers): Fuli and others;
IV) *zhengyi* 證義 (proofers of meanings): Degan 德感, Huiyan 慧儼, Faming 法明, Hongjing and others.[33]

For the same reason given above,[34] Zhantuo and Huizhi must be excluded from the list of the ten *bhadanta*-monks. We are thus left with six *bhadanta*-monks: 1. Chuyi, 2. Fuli, 3. Degan, 4. Huiyan, 5. Faming and 6. Hongjing. As Forte points out, all six (except for Fuli and Hongjing) were among another group of ten *bhadanta*-monks who were palace chaplains, with key roles in championing the ideology for Empress Wu's unprecedented female rule.[35]

Since of these six monks listed by Zhisheng, two (Fuli and Hongjing) have already appeared in Fazang's, a combination of these two lists will yield a third one of ten members:

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[31] See Chapter 5.2.3.
[32] Chuyi was an old friend of Yijing and a chief ideologue of Empress Wu's female rule. For this monk, see Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 94-95 (1st edition)/119-22 (2nd edition); idem, "Five Kings of India," 278-79.
[33] *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.565b.
[34] See note 25.
[35] Forte, "Devendraprajña," 293-94; idem, "Tiyunbore," 238.

1. Chuyi 2. Fuli 3. Degan 4. Huiyan 5. Faming
6. Hongjing 7. Fahua 8. Wŏnch'ŭk 9. Huiduan 10. Fazang.[36]

Let us now turn to the translations Devendraprajña accomplished with the assistance of these ten *bhadanta*-monks who included Fazang. In the passage, above, Fazang attributed the following six translations to Devendraprajña:

1. *Huayan busiyi jingjie fen* 華嚴不思議境界分 (1 *juan*),
2. *Huayan xiuci fen* 華嚴修慈分 (1 *juan*),
3. *Dasheng zhiju tuoluoni jing* 大乘智炬陀羅尼經 (1 *juan*),
4. *Zhufo jihui tuoluoni jing* 諸佛集會陀羅尼經 (1 *juan*),
5. *Zaoxiang gongde jing* 造像功德經 (2 *juan*),
6. *Fajie wu chabie lun* 法界無差別論 (1 *juan*).

This is verified by Mingquan and Zhisheng, who, writing in 695 and 730, respectively, list these titles (with some slight variances) as translations of Devendraprajña, and nearly all completed at Da Zhou dongsi in the year Tianshou 2 (December 6, 690-November 25, 691), except for *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing busiyifo jingjie fen* 大方廣佛華嚴經不思議佛境界分 (1 or 2 *juan*, 12 sheets) (i.e., *Huayan busiyi jingjie fen* mentioned by Fazang), which was translated in Yongchang 1 (September 21, 680-January 24, 680) at Weiguo dongsi. One of them—*Dasheng fajie wu chabie lun*, which Fazang mentions as *Fajie wu chabie lun*—was even provided a specific date for its completion—Tianshou 2.10.14 (November 9, 691). This date probably marked the date on which the completion of all of these six translations was officially declared.[37] The way Mingquan and Zhisheng identify the monastery as Weiguo dongsi and Da Zhou dongsi in Yongchang 1 (January 27-December 17, 689) and Tianshou 2.10.14 (November 9, 691) accurately reflects the fact that Eastern Taiyuansi was renamed Weiguo dongsi in 687 first, and then Da Zhou dongsi in 690, following the foundation of the Great Zhou Dynasty on October 16. Finally, according to Fazang, Devendraprajña attempted to translate *Jin'gangman fen* 金剛鬘分 in ten *juan*, but did not finish.[38]

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[36] It strikes me as rather odd that Fazang, who was then writing shortly after Empress Wu's dynasty was established, mentioned two otherwise unknown monks—Fahua 法華 and Huiduan 慧端—as the chief collaborators of Devendraprajña, while omitting the other two monks, who were far more important—Faming 法明 and Huiyan 慧儼. Here we should consider the possibility that in the current edition of *Dasheng fajie wu chabie lun shu*, Faming and Huiyan are miswritten as Fahua and Huiduan. If so, there would be only eight of the ten *bhadanta*-monks known to us. The following fact, however, undermines the credibility of this assumption. Fazang and Zhisheng identify Fahua and Faming as a scribe and proofer of meanings respectively, which suggests that they were two different persons.

[37] *Da Zhou kanding zhongjing mulu*, *T* 55: 6.408b5-7; *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.565b.

[38] Chapter 5.2.3.

2. COLLABORATION WITH ŚIKṢĀNANDA AND MITRASENA

Śikṣānanda and Mitrasena came from Central Asian states not far from each other, but their experiences in China differed. While Śikṣānanda spent long periods in China and eventually died there, Mitrasena was there only briefly and returned home. Mitrasena, however, gained a reputation far beyond China and outside the religious sphere as well. Fazang's close collaboration with these Central Asian monks gained him greater influence both in his own time and over generations.

2.1. *Fazang and Śikṣānanda*

In 693, about two or three years after Devendraprajña's death, a Buddhist doctor named Bodhiruci arrived in China from South India. This was also two years before the arrival of Śikṣānanda, who was Khotanese like Devendraprajña. Thus we should discuss Fazang's collaboration with Bodhiruci before turning to his collaboration with Śikṣānanda. Priority is still given to Śikṣānanda in view of the fact that Śikṣānanda's activities as a Buddhist translator—from 695 to 702—lasted far shorter than Bodhiruci's (693-713).

Zhisheng attributes to Śikṣānanda nineteen translations (totaling 102 *juan*), five of which were already out of circulation in Zhisheng's day. The earliest and most important was a new Chinese version of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* in eighty *juan*, which was started on May 2, 695. Early Buddhist histories and modern scholars have indicated that Fazang participated in this project from beginning to end. The Korean *Avataṃsaka* scholar-monk Kyunyŏ, however, wrote that due to conflicts with a major monk, Fazang was exiled to the south sometime before Śikṣānanda arrived and that he was not called back until sometime after Śikṣānanda and Fuli encountered in translation difficulties that required help. Be that as it may, Fazang probably did not take part in the first phase of Śikṣānanda's *Avataṃsaka* translation.[39]

Śikṣānanda's new version, though finished on September 29, 699, was not officially declared complete until November 5, 699.[40] On the same day, Fazang and other Buddhist monks started a new Chinese

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[39] Chapter 5.3.1.

[40] Shengli 2.10.8 (*yichou*). This date is provided by both Empress Wu and Zhisheng; see "Da Zhou xinyi Da Fangguangfo huayan jing xu," *T* 10: 1b6-7 (*QTW* 97.7a3-4); *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.565c15-16. It should be noted, however, that the translation had actually been completed slightly over one month earlier. A list of the members in Śikṣānanda's *Avataṃsaka* translation office included in a stone edition of *Huayan jing* starts with the statement that the new *Avataṃsaka* translation was completed on September 29, 699 (Shengli 2.9.1). See Appendix G.

version of *Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論.[41] This team, including Śikṣānanda and Fuli, was invited by Empress Wu to spend the summer of 700 at her auxiliary palace in the Songshan area—Sanyang Palace, where the empress requested a new version of the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra*.[42] Sometime before August 20, 700, they were back in Luoyang, but fourteen months later (November 7, 701) they were with the empress on her twenty-day journey to Chang'an.[43] In Chang'an, Fazang continued to assist Śikṣānanda in the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra* at Qingchansi. Evidence also shows that around November 26, 701, and before Śikṣānanda left Chang'an for Khotan in 702, Fazang assisted him in translating one *parṣad* of the *Mañjuśrībuddhakṣetraguṇavyūha*.[44]

2.2. *Fazang and Mitrasena*

Śikṣānanda left some work unfinished in Chang'an, including the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra*, for which he only finished a draft. Fortunately for Empress Wu and Śikṣānanda's colleagues, just as Śikṣānanda departed the Tokharian monk Mitrasena arrived. According to Fazang, whose commentary on the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra* contains the earliest known report of Mitrasena, Mitrasena had stayed in India for twenty-five years and mastered the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra*. In Chang'an 2 (February 2, 702-January 21, 703) Empress Wu ordered him to edit the draft of the *Laṅkāvatāra* translation left by Śikṣānanda.[45] There is no mention of any earlier activity in China on his part. The editing was completed on February

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[41] Chapter 5.3.3.

[42] Sources vary concerning the date the translation began and Fazang's role. Empress Wu notes briefly that the project was started at the Sanyang Palace in the sixth month of Jiushi 1 (June 21-July 20, 700) by Śikṣānanda and his colleagues (of whom she only mentions Fuli), and officially completed on February 24, 704 (Chang'an 4.*zheng*.15). See "Xinyi Dasheng ru Lengqie jing xu," *T* 16: 587a-b (*QTW* 97.9b-10b). Empress Wu provides the timeframe by the expression *linzhong jilü* 林鐘紀律 (for *linzhong* 林鐘 as a fixed expression for the lunar sixth month in literary Chinese, see *Han shu* 21A.958-959). However, it should be noted that according to Zhisheng, the translation was formally commenced at the Sanyang Palace on June 11, 700 (Jiushi 1.5.5). See *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.565c24-25. Fazang provides more details, although he omits the fact that the project was started in the Sanyang Palace. According to him, it was started shortly after the new version of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* was completed (that is, on November 5, 699). Neither Empress Wu nor Fazang tells us if Fazang participated in the initial stage of the project in the Sanyang Palace. It is Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's opinion that Fazang translated the seven-*juan Dasheng ru Lengqie jing* during the Jiushi era (May 27, 700-February 14, 701) (*PHC* 282b1-2), which means that Fazang had already been involved in the project at least when it was conducted in Luoyang if not since its earliest stage, which was conducted in the Sanyang Palace.

[43] See below (3.1).

[44] Both Yan Chaoyin and Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn erred on the date and location of this project; see Appendix F.

[45] *Ru Lengqie xin xuanyi*, *T* 39: 430b20-24.

24, 704, as declared by Empress Wu, who not only praised the translators but also composed a preface to honor the translation.[46] Fazang was among Mitrasena's assistants.

It was probably shortly after polishing this draft of Śikṣānanda's *Laṅkāvatāra* translation that Mitrasena, again assisted by Fazang, started a translation of the *dhāraṇī* text *Raśmivimalaviśuddhaprabhā dhāraṇī*, which had already been translated several years previously by Śikṣānanda. Given its small size, the translation (whose Chinese title was "Wugou jingguang [da] tuoluoni jing" 無垢淨光[大]陀羅尼經) might have been completed the same year (704), early enough for Empress Wu to lavish gifts on Mitrasena and send him away.[47]

No source tells us the physical site where Fazang assisted, but it was probably at Ximingsi, which was a translation center headed by Yijing, with whom Fazang also collaborated sometime between 701 and 703. This brings us to Fazang's collaboration with Yijing, the only Chinese-born Buddhist Trepiṭaka master at the time who was entrusted to head several translation centers in cosmopolitan monasteries both in Luoyang and Chang'an.

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[46] Chang'an 4.*zheng*.15. Thus, the translation was completed three and a half years after Śikṣānanda started it and about two years after he left China. A few sentences of the praise edict are extant in Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's biography of Fazang, but the preface is preserved in whole. Passages from the edict are translated in Chapter 6.1.1. For the text of the preface, see "Xinyi Dasheng ru Lengqie jing xu," *QTW* 97.9b-10b.

[47] Zhisheng left two largely identical biographical notes on Mitrasena in his Buddhist catalogues: *Xu Gujin yijing tuji*, *T* 55: 369c23-27 and *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.566b27-c4. In addition to confirming his role in translating the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra*, he also tells us that Mitrasena and Fazang translated *Wugou jingguang tuoluoni jing* in the last year (*monian* 末年) of Empress Wu's reign, which one of Fazang's biographers, Xufa, dated to Shenlong 1 (January 30, 705-January 18 ,706). See *Fajiezong wuzu lüeji*, *XZJ* 134: 548a1-2. This dating seems problematic given what Zhisheng tells us: shortly after completing the translation of the *Raśmivimalaviśuddhaprabhādhāraṇī*, Mitrasena returned to Tokhara with gifts from Empress Wu. Given that Empress Wu abdicated on February 23, 705, this report of Zhisheng suggests that Mitrasena's translation was very likely undertaken in 704 rather than 705. If this is correct, then Mitrasena only stayed in China for about two years (702-704).

In contrast to Zhisheng, Zanning dates the translation of the above *dhāraṇī* to the Tianshou era (October 17, 690-April 21, 692). See *SGSZ* 2.719c5-6. This cannot be true if we accept Zhisheng's opinion that Mitrasena's *Wugou jingguang tuoluoni jing* was a second version after Śikṣānanda's *Ligou jingguang tuoluoni jing* 離垢淨光陀羅尼經, which could not have been made before 695 given that Śikṣānanda arrived in China either in or shortly before that year. See Śikṣānanda's biography at *HJZ*, *T* 51: 1.155a12-15. Zanning's dating is particularly implausible if Mitrasena did not arrive in China until 702 (or shortly before), as is suggested by Fazang.

3. Collaboration with Yijing and Bodhiruci

We now turn to the last pair of Fazang's collaborators. One of them, Yijing, was a native of the country where Fazang grew up (China), while the other (Bodhiruci) was probably closer to him culturally and ethnically. Their collaboration was to have immense impact on Chinese Buddhism, not only because all three were at the most productive stages of their lives, but also, as we will see more clearly in the next chapter, religion and politics were entering a moment of radical change.

3.1. *Fazang and Yijing*

Yijing returned to China from his protracted pilgrimage to India and neighboring areas in 695. Until 699 he was engaged in Śikṣānanda's *Avataṃsaka* translation. It was not until sometime in Jiushi 1 (May 27, 700-February 12, 701) that he started to work as an independent translator, which he continued for thirteen years until his death in 713. These thirteen years happened to be critical ones in Chinese history. The site of central government was changed three times (twice under the reign of Empress Wu and once under that of Zhongzong). Yijing's biographical sources do not explicitly tell us that he followed Empress Wu and Zhongzong to and fro, but it can be deduced from the variety of his locations. Zhisheng provides the following information about Yijing's works:

(1) May 27, 700 (Jiushi 1.5.5): published one text translated at Fuxiansi;
(2) February 5, 701 (Jiushi 1.12.23): published two texts translated at Fuxiansi;
(3) October 28, 701 (Dazu 1.9.23): published seven texts translated at Fuxiansi;
(4) November 17, 703 (Chang'an 3.10.4): published nine texts translated at Ximingsi;
(5) Sometime between January 30, 705-January 18, 706 (Shenlong 1): published four texts; all but one, which was translated at a palace chapel in Luoyang, were translated at Fuxiansi;
(6) Sometime between February 7, 707-October 4, 707 (Shenlong 3): published a text translated at a palace chapel in Chang'an;
(7) Sometime between February 4, 710-July 4, 710 (Jinglong 4): published nineteen texts translated at Jianfusi;
(8) Sometime between January 24, 711-February 11, 712 (Jingyun 2): published twelve texts translated at Jianfusi.[48]

[48] *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.567a-568b; discussed in Chen Jinhua, "Yijing," 18n29.

All these dates refer to when works were made public (that is, distributed), and when Yijing stayed at a temple, not when a work was exactly completed and when Yijing exactly worked on translation at a given temple. From the data, we can establish his changes in locale as follows:

(1) May 27, 700-October 28, 701: in Luoyang (Fuxiansi)
(2) November 17, 703: in Chang'an (Ximingsi)
(3) Sometime between January 30, 705-January 18, 706: in Luoyang (Fuxiansi)
(4) Sometime between February 7, 707-October 4, 707: in Chang-an (a palace chapel)
(5) 710-712: in Chang'an (Jianfusi)

Empress Wu and Zhongzong shifted locales as well:

(1) Empress Wu departed Luoyang on November 7, 701 (Chang'an 1.10.3 [*renyin*]) and arrived in Chang'an twenty days later, on November 26 (Chang'an 1.10.22 [*xinyou*]).[49]
(2) She departed Chang'an on November 21, 703 (Chang'an 3.10.8 [*bingyin*]) and arrived in twenty days later, on December 10 (Chang'an 3.10.27 [*yiyou*]).[50]
(3) Zhongzong left Luoyang on November 18, 706 (Shenlong 2.10.9 [*yimao*]) and arrived in Luoyang twenty days later, on December 7 (Shenlong 2.10.28 [*wuxu*]).[51]

We know that Zhongzong never moved his court back to Luoyang and that Ruizong's court was always in Chang'an. Thus we arrive at the following general account of the locations of the three rulers:

(A) Empress Wu (r. October 16, 690-February 22, 705):
  (A.a) October 16, 690-November 7, 701: Luoyang;
  (A.b) November 26, 701-November 21, 703: Chang'an;
  (A.c) December 10, 703-February 22, 705: Luoyang.
(B) Zhongzong (r. February 23, 705-July 3, 710):
  (B.a) February 23, 705-November 18, 706: Luoyang;
  (B.b) December 7, 706-July 3, 710: Chang'an.
(C) Ruizong (r. July 25, 710-September 7, 712): Chang'an

Comparing this list with Yijing's itinerary between 700 and 713, we get the impression that he accompanied Empress Wu's and Zhongzong's moves between capitals: twice with Empress Wu (701 and 703)

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[49] *JTS* 6.130, *XTS* 4.102, *ZZTJ* 207.6557. Only *ZZTJ* gives the dates of her departure and arrival as well, while *JTS* merely tells us the month of her departure, with *XTS* providing the specific date of her arrival, but not her departure date.

[50] *JTS* 6.131, *XTS* 4.104, *ZZTJ* 207.6567. Both *JTS* and *ZZTJ* give the dates of her departure and arrival as well, while *XTS* merely tells us the date of her departure.

[51] *JTS* 7.142, *XTS* 4.109, *ZZTJ* 208.6606. Both *JTS* and *ZZTJ* give the dates of his departure and arrival as well, while *XTS* merely tells us the date of his arrival.

and once with Zhongzong (706). To establish this is important since we can assume that such an itinerary is also applicable to other palace chaplains active in the same period, including Fazang himself. We can now locate Yijing in this period with more exactitude:

(1) 700-November 7, 701: Fuxiansi (Luoyang);

(2) November 26, 701-November 21, 703: Ximingsi (Chang'an);

(3) December 10, 703-November 18, 706: Fuxiansi (Luoyang)

(4) December 7, 706-January 18, 713: Jianfusi (Chang'an).

In other words, from 700 to 712, Yijing always worked at Fuxiansi when he was in Luoyang, and when he was in Chang'an he was lodged at either Ximingsi by Empress Wu, or at Jianfusi by Zhongzong or Ruizong. In combination with a general survey by Zhisheng, we can correlate Yijing's various translations with the corresponding monasteries that housed and published them. Let us first look at how Zhisheng, going by the imperial reigns under which Yijing lived, blocks out Yijing's career as an independent translator:

First, under Empress Wu, the translation activities extended from Jiushi 1 (May 27, 700-February 12, 701) to Chang'an 3 (January 22, 703-February 9, 704), producing twenty translations (in 115 *juan*).

Second, Zhisheng breaks Yijing's translation activities under Zhongzong into two parts: Shenlong 1 (January 30, 705-January 18, 706), in which four texts in six *juan* were translated; and from Shenlong 2 (January 19, 706-February 6, 707) in the Chang'an Translation Cloister (*fanjingyuan* 翻經院) of Jianfusi to Jinglong 4 (February 4, 710-July 4, 710) he succeeded in translating twenty-two texts in eighty-eight *juan*.

Finally, under Ruizong, the completion of twelve translations in twenty-one *juan* was officially announced in Jingyun 2 (January 24, 711-February 11, 712).

In view of Yijing's itinerary during Zhongzong's reign, as constructed above, the first phase of translation activities can be divided into three parts: (1) Jiushi 1 (May 27, 700-February 12, 701) to November 7, 701, when he stayed at Fuxiansi (finished ten texts); (2) November 26, 701 to November 21, 703, at Ximingsi in Chang'an, where he finished nine texts; and (3) December 10, 703 to January 23, 705, at Fuxiansi, when he, of course, continued to translate but did not publish any text.[52]

Zhisheng connects Fazang to Yijing only in the first period, when Yijing carried out his translation, first at Fuxiansi, then at Ximingsi and finally at Fuxiansi again. In other words, according to Zhisheng, Fa-

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[52] In the biography, Zhisheng notes that Yijing finished twenty translations from Jiushi 1 (May 27, 700-February 12, 701) to Chang'an 3 (January 22, 703-February 9, 704). However, in the translation list, which precedes the translation, Zhisheng says nineteen.

zang only collaborated with Yijing in the three-year period from 700 to 703.[53] In these three years, Yijing published the following nineteen translations:

(A) Jiushi 1 (May 27, 700-February 12, 701) = three texts in twenty-two *juan* (all at Fuxiansi):

(A.1) *Ru ding buding yin jing* 入定不定印經 (1 *juan*),

(A.2) *Changzhao fanzhi qingwen jing* 長爪梵志請問經 (1 *juan*),

(A.3) *Genben Sapoduobu lüshe*[54] 根本薩婆多部律攝 (20 *juan*).[55]

(B) Dazu 1 (February 15, 701-November 26, 701) = seven translations (each in 1 *juan*) (all at Fuxiansi):

(B.1) *Mile xiasheng chengfo jing* 彌勒下生成佛經,

(B.2) *Zhuangyanwang tuoluoni zhoujing* 莊嚴王陀羅尼咒經,

(B.3) *Shanye jing* 善夜經,

(B.4) *Dasheng liuzhuan zhuyou jing* 大乘流轉諸有經,

(B.5) *Miaosewang yinyuan jing* 妙色王因緣經,

(B.6) *Wuchang jing* 無常經,[56]

(B.7) *Ba wuxia youxia jing* 八無暇有暇經.[57]

(C) Chang'an 3 (January 22, 703-February 9, 704) = nine translations in eighty-five (or eighty-three) *juan* (all at Ximingsi)[58]:

(C.1) *Jinguangming zuisheng wang jing* 金光明最勝王經 (10 *juan*),

(C.2) *Manshushili pusa zhouzang zhong yizi zhouwang jing* 曼殊室利菩薩咒藏中一字咒王經 (1 *juan*),

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[53] See *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.568c5, for Fazang's participation in Yijing's translation center at Fuxiansi in Luoyang and Ximingsi in Chang'an. Fazang's role in Yijing's Ximingsi translation bureau is verified by several colophons to translations that Yijing made in this period; e.g., a colophon (Chang'an 3.10.4 [November 17, 703]) to Yijing's translation of *Jinguangming zuisheng wang jing* (made at Ximingsi), in which Fazang is identified as the abbot of Western Monastery of the Great Zhou (i.e., Western Chongfusi); see Ikeda, *Shikigo*, 260-64. See also a colophon (dated to the same day) to *Genben Shuoyiqieyou bu pi'naiye* 根本說一切有部毗奈耶 (in which Fazang is identified by the same position). See Ikeda, *Shikigo*, 264. Regarding Fazang's absence in Yijing's activities in Chang'an (at Jianfusi), see Appendix I.

[54] According to Zhisheng, this text also circulated in fourteen *juan*.

[55] The first two translations are in two *juan*, while the third is in twenty. The first was completed on Jiushi 1.5.5 (May 27, 700) and the latter two on Jiushi 1.12.23 (February 5, 701). All were translated at Fuxiansi, except for *Ru ding buding yin jing*, whose translation location is not specified (but according to Empress Wu's preface, this translation was also made at the same monastery; see "Sanzang shengjiao xu," *QTW* 97.8a8ff).

[56] Zhisheng notes that this text was alternately titled "Sanqi jing" 三啓經.

[57] All of the translations were officially announced as completed on October 28, 701 (Dazu 1.9.23).

[58] The total is ambiguous, since one translation circulated in eight, as well as ten, *juan* (see next note).

(C.3) *Zhangzhong lun* 掌中論 (1 *juan*),
(C.4) *Genben Shuoyiqieyoubu pi'naiye* 根本說一切有部毘奈耶 (50 *juan*),
(C.5) *Genben Shuoyiqieyoubu nituona mudejia* 根本說一切有部尼陀那目得迦 (10 *juan*),[59]
(C.6) *Genben Shuoyiqieyoubu baiyi jiemo* 根本說一切有部百一羯磨 (10 *juan*),
(C.7) *Liumen jiaoshou xiding lun* 六門教授習定論 (1 *juan*),
(C.8) *Quyin jiashe lun* 取因假設論 (1 *juan*),
(C.9) *Nengduan jin'gang bore boluomiduo jing* 能斷金剛般若波羅蜜多經 (1 *juan*).

Fazang participated in some or all of these translations.

3.2. *Fazang and Bodhiruci*

According to Zhisheng, Bodhiruci arrived in Luoyang in Changshou 2 (December 14, 692-December 2, 693), the same year that he prepared a retranslation of the *Ratnamegha sūtra* that bore an interpolation of essential importance for the advancement of Empress Wu's political ambition.[60] He then moved to Fuxiansi, where, in the same year, he finished seven more translations (in eight *juan*). After that, he returned to Foshoujisi, where he finished twelve translations (in one *juan*). Zhisheng does not count Fazang among Bodhiruci's collaborators in these two spurts of translation activity that were both done in Luoyang, in Changshou 2. In 694, Bodhiruci joined Śikṣānanda's *Avataṃsaka* translation project, which was not yet finished, as we have already noted, until 699. In 700, Bodhiruci was involved in the translation of a lesser known scripture, which happened to be an esoteric text.[61] Since 700, he was not known to have engaged in any other translation project, until 706, when, as did the other court chaplains, he followed Zhongzong to Chang'an, where he was lodged at Western Chongfusi. He stayed there probably until 724, when he accompanied Xuanzong to Luoyang, but definitely until May 7, 713, when he concluded his translation career following completion of twenty-six *paritas* of the *Ratnakūṭa sūtra*.[62] Thus Bodhiruci spent about seven and half years translating

[59] Zhisheng records that this translation was also circulated in eight *juan*.

[60] Forte, *Political Propaganda*, Chapter 2.

[61] Forte, "Bodhiruci," 92-94.

[62] The completion date of the whole project is provided by Ruizong's preface to *Da baoji jing*. Four editions (Song, Yuan, Ming and *QTW*) of the preface state Xiantian 2.4.8 (May 7, 713), while the Kunai edition has a date two months later—Xiantian 2.6.8 (July 5, 713). See *T* no. 310, vol. 11, p. 1, editorial note 15; *QTW* 19.20a-21b. Since the eighth day of the fourth month was the Buddha's birthday, it might have been deliberately chosen to conclude the project. In view of this, Xiantian

Buddhist texts at Western Chongfusi.[63] During this time, he finished seven translations, in addition to the twenty-six *Ratnakūṭa parita*s:

(A) October 27, 706 (Shenlong 2.9.15):

(A.1) *Guangda baolouge shanzhu mimi tuoluoni jing* 廣大寶樓閣善住祕密陀羅尼經 (3 *juan*);

(B) Jinglong 3 (Fenruary 15, 709-February 3, 710):

(B.1) *Bukong juansuo shenbian zhenyan jing* 不空罥索神變真言經 (30 *juan*)—started in the summer of Shenlong 3 (May 14-August 9, 707) and completed in the spring of Jinglong 3 (February 15-May 13, 709);

(B.2) *Qianshou qianyan Guanshiyin pusalao tuoluonishen jing* 千手千眼觀世音菩薩姥陀羅尼身經 (1 *juan*), completed in the summer of Jinglong 3;

(B.3) *Ruyilun tuoluoni jing* 如意輪陀羅尼經 (1 *juan*)—(B.2) and (B.3), completed in the summer of Jinglong 3;

(B.4) *Yizi foding lunwang jing* 一字佛頂輪王經 (also called "Wufoding" 五佛頂) (5 or 4 *juan*)––started in the summer of Jinglong 3 (February 15-May 13, 709) and completed in the winter of the same year (November 6, 709-February 3, 710).

(C) Jinglong 4 (February 2-August 18, 710):

(C.1) *Wenshushili baozang tuoluoni jing* 文殊師利寶藏陀羅尼經 (1 *juan*),

(C.2) *Jin'gang guangyan zhi fengyu tuoluoni jing* 金剛光焰止風雨陀羅尼經 (1 *juan*).

All seven of these translations were completed in the last three years of Zhongzong's reigns (708-710). In the next three years (710-713), Bodhiruci must have devoted his time to the *Ratnakūṭa sūtra*, although this was started at the end of 706 or the beginning of 707. Fazang participated in some—if not all—of these eight translations.

We are now ready to summarize what Zhisheng explicitly tells us about Fazang's collaboration with Bodhiruci. He does not say when the collaboration stopped, but given that Bodhiruci's project was not done until six months after Fazang's death, we can assume that Fazang continued work with Bodhiruci until his health stopped him, shortly before his death in late 712. Since we know that Fazang had collaborated with two translators concurrently (e.g., his two-year stay in Chang'an [701-703], when he worked with both Śikṣānanda and Yijing), one cannot

2.4.8 is more likely to be the correct date. This is partly corroborated by Bodhiruci's biography at *SGSZ* (*T* 50: 3.720b17), which states that the translation was completed in the fourth month. Bodhiruci concluded his career as a translator at this point of time probably because as Xuanzong became the new ruler the whole political environment became far less favorable to such expensive projects.

[63] Forte, "Bodhiruci," 100-4.

help but wonder whether Fazang worked with both Bodhiruci at Chongfusi and Yijing at Jianfusi from 706 to 712. Such a possibility, although not corroborated by Zhisheng, must be considered seriously in view of his reputed abbacy at Great Jianfusi, where Yijing worked from 706 to 713. It all depends on affiliation; that is, whether Fazang was affiliated with Western Chongfusi for most of this six-year period and did not reside at Jianfusi until shortly before his death, or whether he balanced his time between the two. In the former case, it is unlikely that he collaborated with Yijing at that time, while in the latter case it is quite likely that he collaborated with Yijing. This leads us to the issue of Fazang's relationship with Yijing in his last six years.

3.3. *Fazang's Relationship with Yijing and Bodhiruci in Terms of His Ties with Chongfusi and Jianfusi*

As already noted, Fazang became the abbot of Western Chongfusi sometime between November 5, 699, and November 17, 703.[64] Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn was correct to say that at the turn of 704 and 705 Fazang acted as the abbot of Chongfusi.[65] However, he was probably incorrect in his characterization of Fazang's relationship with Jianfusi. Both in the title of his funeral epitaph by Yan Chaoyin and that of his biography by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn, Fazang's monastery affiliation is given as Great Jianfusi. While Yan Chaoyin merely identifies him as a *bhadanta*-monk of the monastery, Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn identifies him as its abbot.[66] Such identification has many to assume that in addition to Western Chongfusi, Jianfusi was another monastery at which Fazang had often stayed.[67] Recently, one scholar has claimed that by at least the eve of the 705 coup, Fazang was the abbot of Jianfusi.[68]

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[64] Chapter 6.1.1.

[65] *PHC* 283c28-29.

[66] Fazang's funeral epitaph by Yan Chaoyin, "Kang Zang bei," 280b-c. Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's biography for Fazang carries a title that can be translated as "Biography for Upādhyāya Fazang, the Late Bhadanta-translator and Abbot of Great Jianfusi of the Tang."

[67] See, e.g., Tang, *Sui Tang fojiao shigao*, 167; Fang Litian, *Fazang*, 29.

[68] See Sun Yinggang's otherwise excellent article, "Chang'an yu Jingzhou zhijian," 137-38. Sun does not offer the source for this claim. Given that right before this, he mentions a rain-prayer ritual Fazang supervised in 708, which is quoted from *PHC* (284a29-b5), I assume that he has come to this conclusion on the basis of the same source. However, although in the title of the biography Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn identifies Fazang as the Jianfusi abbot, throughout the biography itself he never makes the same identification, let alone tell us when he started to serve in this position. On the contrary, on the occasion of narrating Fazang's role in the Famensi relic veneration at the turn of 705 (also the eve of the 705 coup mentioned by Sun), Ch'oe refers to Fazang as the abbot of Great Chongfusi: 時藏爲大崇福寺寺主 (*PHC* 283c28-29). Did Sun misread 大崇福寺 here as 大薦福寺?

When would such a transfer to Jianfusi (apparently from Chongfusi) have occurred? In my own investigation, I have found that despite his purported status as Jianfusi's abbot, Fazang's relationship with that monastery is only mentioned twice—his leading a rain-prayer ritual there in midsummer of 708,[69] and his death there on December 16, 712. Furthermore, again as noted above, it is particularly striking that Zhisheng makes no mention whatsoever of his participation in Yijing's translation projects in Chang'an after December 706, which were all carried out at Jianfusi, although Zhisheng confirms Fazang's participation in Yijing's translation projects at Fuxiansi in Luoyang (700-November 7, 701, and December 10, 703-November 18, 706) and at Ximingsi in Chang'an (November 26, 70-November 21, 703). One wonders if Zhisheng forgot to include Fazang as a collaborator with Yijing at Jianfusi. Instead, we learn that Zhisheng was not the only source to exclude Fazang from the collaborators: we have an early colophon for several of Yijing's translations written when they were published.[70] What is more important is that the colophon contains a far more complete list of Yijing's collaborators. A comparison of its list with that provided by Zhisheng reveals that the latter is simply a truncated version of the former.

The colophon list is noteworthy for referring to twenty-three men of letters, almost all of the major scholar-bureaucrats who were then in Chang'an, as the polishers for Yijing's translations, in addition to eight high-ranking court officials (all enfoeffed as Dukes) as the "Supervisors of the translations." This fact, in combination with another—that nineteen of Yijing's translations were published in 710—suggests that this list cannot be taken as merely recording the members involved in the vinaya text alone; but rather that it lists most, if not all, of the chief members participating in Yijing's translation activities since he came to Chang'an at the end of 706 until 710.[71] In view of Fazang's exceptional prestige at the time, we have to conclude from the absence of his name on such an apparently exhaustive list that he had nothing to do with Yijing's translation activities from 706 to 710. In fact, if Fazang had been at Jianfusi during this time, it would have been unimaginable for him not to become involved in Yijing's translation activities. Thus, lack

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[69] *PHC* 284a29-b5; discussed in Chen Jinhua, "More Than a Philosopher," 354; and Chapter 6.2.3.

[70] Appendix I.

[71] The first translation he published during this period was *Yaoshi liuliguang qifo benyuan gongde jing* 藥師琉璃光七佛本願功德經, which was published in 707. The translation was done in Foguang Hall 佛光殿 (that is, Foguangsi 佛光寺, Zhongzong's palace chapel in Chang'an) in the summer (i.e., 4-6th months) of Shenlong 3 (May 6, 707-August 1, 707), with the participation of Zhongzong, who acted (symbolically) as a scribe. See *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.567c28-29.

of any indication that he had a role in Yijing's Jianfusi translation bureau certainly suggests that he was not at the monastery then.

Finally, we must account for the last phase of Yijing's project—from 710, when he published the nineteen translations (see above), to Jingyun 2 (January 24, 711-February 11, 712), when he published twelve more. Did Fazang play any role in this phase of Yijing's career? The answer is also negative on the basis of another testimony provided by Zhisheng and Yuanzhao. According to it, Yijing's collaborators then included (1) Helimodi 曷利末底, (2) Wuditipo 烏帝提婆[72] and others, who acted as *dufanben* 讀梵本 ("enunciators of Sanskrit texts), (3) Xuansan 玄傘, (4) Zhiji 智積 and others, who acted as *bishou* 筆受 (scribes); (5) Huizhao 慧沼 and others, who acted as *zhengyi* 證義 ("proofers of meanings"); and (6) Xue Chongyin 薛崇胤, who acted as *jianhu* 監護 ("superintendent and protector").[73] This is not a complete list, but given Fazang's prestige at the time, his name would not have been omitted if he was on staff.

In contrast, we have evidence provided by Zhisheng which shows, as we saw, that Fazang was a member of the translation team based at Chongfusi headed by Bodhiruci, mainly devoted to the translation of the *Mañjuśrībuddhakṣetraguṇavyūha*.[74]

It must be the case that although from the end of 706 (when the capital was moved to Chang'an) until Fazang's death in 712, there existed two translation centers in Chang'an—Western Chongfusi and Great Jianfusi, under Bodhiruci and Yijing, respectively. Fazang seems to have mainly worked at the Chongfusi center, both as a *bhadanta*-translator and as its host. We are then presented with the puzzling issue, when and how did Fazang come to be connected with Jianfusi, apparently so closely that he was eventually identified as a monk belonging to that monastery?

The case of the Buddhist thaumaturge Sengqie 僧伽 (Saṃgha?, 628-710) comes into play. We know that he was transferred (from the inner palace) to Jianfusi only shortly before his death, at a moment when his health was sliding so rapidly that his imminent passing became clear to the court attendants and to Zhongzong as well.[75] Can the

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[72] For this Gandhāran monk, see Chen Jinhua, "Tang Buddhist Palace Chapels," 123n74.

[73] *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.569a11-18; *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*, *T* 55: 13.17-24.

[74] *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.567c28-29, discussed in Appendix H.

[75] *SGSZ*, *T* 50: 18.822a19-23; cf. Li Yong, "Da Tang Sizhou Linhuai xian Puguangwangsi bei," *QTW* 263.12a1-2. Although clearly telling us that Sengqie died at Jianfusi, Li Yong does not say that he was transferred there from the palace right before his death. See also *Shenseng zhuan*, *T* 50: 7.992b-c, according to which he was transferred to Jianfusi after briefly staying in the palace chapel in Jinglong 2 (January 28, 708-February 14, 709).

same be said of Fazang's relationship with Jianfusi? This appears likely, since Fazang is known to have been connected with that monastery only on two occasions.

If it is true that Fazang was sent to the monastery in order to spend the last moments of his life, then how can we explain the fact that Yan Chaoyin's epitaph identifies Fazang as a *bhadanta*-monk of Jianfusi, not Chongfusi—with which he had been affiliated for most of his career? I think it was not only because Jianfusi was the place of Fazang's death, but also because it happened to be a "dynastic monastery" (therefore one of the most prestigious monasteries) of the Great Tang, and originally named Great Xianfusi, which was converted from an old mansion of Zhongzong for the posthumous benefit of his father Gaozong.[76] At any rate, we should assume that even though Fazang was eventually affiliated with the imperial Jianfusi, the affiliation did not last long. Further, given that Yan Chaoyin identifies Fazang as the Jianfusi abbot neither in the epitaph title nor in the epitaph per se, I am inclined to believe that Fazang was probably never Jianfusi's abbot: one assumes that on an official occasion like that of writing the funeral epitaph for Fazang, Yan Chaoyin would not have merely identified him as a *bhadanta*-monk of Jianfusi had he been its abbot.

How to explain, then, that in four of Fazang's extant works, at least according to several of their editions, Fazang is identified as a monk of Jianfusi?[77] More often than not, this kind of identification was added by

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[76] Chapter 6.3.3.

[77] These four works are (1) *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 華嚴一乘教義分齊章 (better known as "Huayan Wujiao zhang" 華嚴五教章), (2) *Huayan jing yihai baimen* 華嚴經義海百門 (better known as "Yihai baimen" 義海百門), (3) *Xiu Huayan aozhi wangjin huanyuan guan* 修華嚴奧旨妄盡還源觀 (better known as "Wangjin huanyuan guan" 妄盡還源觀) and (4) *Jin shizi zhang*. The *Taishō* edition of *Huayan wujiao zhang* is based on the edition of the Hōonin Canon 報恩藏 (of Zōjōji 增上寺, printed in Kangxi 2 [1663]), in collation with three more editions, the Shūkyō 宗教 University edition (printed in Hōei 寶永 3 [1706]), the Ōtani University edition printed in Keichō 慶長 17 (1612), and the Ōtani University edition of Shōō 正應 3 (1290). Of these four editions, only the 1290 and 1663 editions contain the affiliation of Fazang with Jianfusi; see *T* no. 1866, vol. 45, editorial notes 1, 3 in p. 477. As for *Yihai baimen*, the *Taishō* edition is based on the Ōtani University edition printed during the Tokugawa period, collated with the *Zoku zōkyō* edition. Both editions contain an identification of Fazang with his Jianfusi affiliation–"Jing Da Jianfusi Fanjing shamen Fazang" 京大薦福寺翻經沙門法藏 (a Translator-śramaṇa of Great Jianfusi in the Capital). See *T* no. 1878, vol. 45, editorial notes 1 in p. 627. The *Taishō* edition of *Wangjin huanyuan guan* is based on the Hōonin edition (printed in Kangxi 3 [1664]), collated with a Heian period manuscript (in the possession of Ono Genmyō 小野玄妙), and the Ōtani University edition dating from the Tokugawa period. The Hōonin edition has the identification as "Tang Da Jianfusi Fanjing shamen Fazang" 唐大薦福寺翻經沙門法藏, while the other two have *jing* 京 instead of Tang 唐. See *T* no. 1880, vol. 45, editorial notes 1, 3 in p. 637.

later editors and may not necessarily have derived from Fazang himself, as pointed out by the learned scholar-monk Sōshun, who claimed that all Song dynasty editions of Fazang's *Wujiao zhang* got his affiliation right; and that whenever an edition says "Jianfusi," it was a later alteration or addition:

> Further, all the Song dynasty editions contain "Jing Da Chongfusi shamen Fazang shu" ("narrated by śramaṇa Fazang of Great Chongfusi in the capital [Chang'an]"). [The identification of Fazang by] Great Jianfusi [as seen] in *[Huayan yishengjiao fenqi zhang] Yiyuan [shu]* [華嚴一乘教分齊章]義苑[疏] [by Daoting 道亭, dates unknown] and *[Huayan yishengjiao fenqi zhang] Fugu [ji]* [華嚴一乘教分齊章]復古[記] [by Shihui 師會, ?-1165+], and other [editions], all resulted from the alterations and additions made by people of later generations. 又宋本俱云: 京大崇福寺沙門法藏述. 義苑, 復古等作大薦福寺者, 皆後人之改添耳.[78]

To sum up: either Fazang was not transferred to Jianfusi until he was on his deathbed, or he was affiliated with the monastery for a very short period of time, during which he was probably only a *bhadanta*-monk rather than abbot. It seems more likely that Fazang had served as the abbot of another monastery, Great Chongfusi (i.e., the former Western Taiyuansi), until sometime shortly before his death on December 16, 712, when he was transferred to Great Jianfusi, apparently in the hope that he could receive better medical care.[79]

4. Concluding remarks

This chapter demonstrates the depth to which Fazang became involved in contemporary Buddhist translation projects headed by six Buddhist doctors, both Chinese and non-Chinese. It seems that he did not have the time and energy to participate in every part of these projects. Since they were all sponsored by the Tang or Zhou governments and constituted an

As for *Jin shizi zhang* included in *Jin shizi zhang Yunjian leijie* 金師子章雲間類解 by the Song dynasty *Avataṃsaka* master Jingyuan 淨源 (1011-1088), the *Taishō* editor relied on the Hōonin edition printed in Wanli 20 (1592). However, given that Jingyuan comments on the expression "Tang Da Jianfusi shamen Fazang" 唐大薦福寺沙門法藏, we know that at least by his time some editions of *Jin shizi zhang* had already contained such an identification. See *Jin shizi zhang Yunjian leijie*, *T* 45: 663a29-b7.

[78] This passage is from Sōshun's *Kegon ichijō kyō bunki fushū kyōshinshō*, *T* 73: 1.304a15-17; briefly discussed in Yoshizu, *Kegon ichijō shisō no kenkyū*, 148n27.

[79] There are other possibilities to be considered. Perhaps there was a special place (hospice?) for dying monks at Jianfusi. Possibly it was inauspicious for monks to die at Chongfusi for some reason. Perhaps it was a mark of posthumous honor to be associated with Jianfusi. It is always possible that Fazang was transferred before his death for such reasons, and it all requires further research.

essential part of court Buddhism, Fazang's role in these projects contributed to the strengthening of his position as a palace chaplain.

Looking into the origins of the six Trepiṭaka masters with whom Fazang collaborated, one is immediately struck by the fact that two were from Khotan (Devendraprajña and Śikṣānanda)—a place that was instrumental for the development (or maybe also formation) of *Avataṃsaka*-related teachings[80]—and one from a neighboring area (i.e., Mitrasena, from Tokhara). This fact is compatible with the enthusiasm that Empress Wu showed towards the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* on the one hand and with Fazang's own intellectual background and theoretical orientation on the other. In the conclusion of this book we will discuss the profound ideological, political, and diplomatic considerations that might have contributed to Empress Wu's interest in *Avataṃsaka* teachings.

It is clear that Fazang's position as a major Buddhist translator did not come about spontaneously and without effort. But rather, in the first third of his three-decade career as a translator (680-712) he was not regarded as a *bhadanta*-translator, as shown by his relationship with Divākara. It was not until the end of the 680s, when Devendraprajña started to direct the Buddhist translation center in Luoyang and when Empress Wu was steadily ascending in power, that Fazang worked in the capacity of a *bhadanta*-translator, and in particular as one of the ten major assistants of Devendraprajña. We noted that Fazang's position in the Buddhist translation enterprise seems to have kept pace with the influence that he commanded within the contemporary religious and political worlds. This shows the necessity of assessing his political ties, which, as we shall see in the next chapter, extended widely and deeply.

[80] Skjærvø, "Khotan."

CHAPTER TEN

FAZANG THE COURT POLITICIAN

As a court priest for over three decades (ca. 680-712), Fazang was actively involved in politics during a crucial period in history. This chapter has two purposes. On the one hand, through various facts about Fazang I throw some light on significant historical events and illustrate how these were shaped in part by Fazang's political shrewdness and religious vision. On the other, I will explore the intellectual and historical contexts for Fazang's importance as a court chaplain. These touch on specific events on the eve of Empress Wu's epochal dynasty-founding of 690 and those concerning the political transitions around 705 and 710.

Understanding Fazang's political role requires a view of approximately fifty years of Empress Wu's own political life. Although Fazang lived under six sovereigns of the Great Tang and Zhou,[1] it is helpful to consider that Empress Wu began to manipulate imperial power long before she became the supreme ruler both in fact and in name, and that in a sense she was a focus of Fazang's life and career. Given the extraordinary influence that she had over Fazang's monastic and political life, I will devote three of the four sections of this chapter to Fazang's relationship with Empress Wu, leaving his political role under the reigns of Empress Wu's two successors (Zhongzong and Ruizong) to the last section.

1. FAZANG AND EMPRESS WU: 670-690

This section will treat two developments: the circumstances under which Fazang came into Empress Wu's power circle, and a major politico-religious event on the eve of Empress Wu's Zhou dynasty.

1.1. *The Beginning of the Relationship*

The earliest association between Fazang and Empress Wu is from Xianheng 1 (March 27, 670-February 14, 671), when the empress assigned

[1] Taizong (r. 626-649), Gaozong (r. 649-683), Zhongzong (r. 684, r. 705-710), Ruizong (r. 684-690, 710-712), Empress Wu (r. 690-705), and Xuanzong (r. 712-756), whose accession on September 8, 712, was about three months before Fazang died.

the twenty-seven year old novice Fazang to one of her clan temples—Taiyuansi. Shortly afterwards, Empress Wu ordered him to preach the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* there. Furthermore, it seems that beginning at an early point in time, Fazang had captured her attention, and, as we have mentioned previously, received a special gift on the occasion of the annual *duanwu* festival—a set of five monastic robes accompanied by a warm message.[2]

It is noteworthy that the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* was the main medium through which Empress Wu and Fazang cemented and periodically reaffirmed their relationship. From Fazang's side this is no surprise to us, given the importance of the *sūtra* for his Buddhist career. Empress Wu's interest in the *sūtra* was also not just perfunctory. We can trace the interest to the late 650s, when Sun Simiao 孫思邈 (581-682),[3] a Daoist physician whose expertise on the *Avataṃsaka* teaching was widely admired, introduced the *sūtra* to her husband Gaozong and probably herself as well.[4] One can also clearly see a fondness for the *sūtra* in her generous donation in Xianheng 3 (February 5, 672-January 23, 673): she gave 20,000 strings of cash from her own pocket to defray the cost of carving a statue of the Buddha Vairocana (or Rocana), the chief Buddha of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, in front of Great Fengxiansi 大奉先寺 in Longmen.[5]

Empress Wu's profound interest in the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* is seen in the preface she wrote for a new translation of 699:

> *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing* is the esoteric treasure of all the Buddhas' and Tathāgatas' "Sea of Human Nature." Those who look at it are unable to recognize its import and those who draw (water) from it (i.e., the "Sea of Nature") rarely plumb its depths. Both trainees and non-trainees[6] try in vain to gain a glimpse [of its essence]; but who among the practitioners of the "Two Vehicles" (i.e., Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna) and "Three Vehicles" (i.e., *srāvaka*, *pratyeka-buddha* and bodhisattva) does not aspire to listen and attend to its teachings? It

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[2] Chapter 5.1.3.

[3] Ren Yucai 任育才 suggests that Sun Simiao's dates were actually 541-682. See Ren, "Sun Simiao."

[4] See Fazang's biography of Sun Simiao in *HJZ*, *T* 51: 5.171c11-16. See also *GYZ* (*T* 51: 178a18ff), which attributes this story to Sun Simiao and Taizong. Fazang does not date the episode. As Sun Simiao was probably summoned into the court in 656, when Gaozong's health grew bad, it may have been around that time.

[5] Scholars generally believe that Great Fengxiansi was devoted to the posthumous benefit of Empress Wu's own parent(s). Forte ("Fengxian") has recently raised the possibility that the monastery might have been dedicated to Empress Wu's parents-in-law, Taizong and his empress Zhangsun 長孫 (Wende 文德) (601-636).

[6] Of practitioners in the stages of training as *arhat*, those in the fourth and last stage were called *aśaikṣa* (*wuxue* 無學) (beyond the need of further teaching or study), while those in the preceding three stages were in need of study, hence *śaikṣa* (*youxue* 有學).

represents the most wondrous seed of wisdom, elevating the glorious traces [of the Buddha's teachings]. [Through this *sūtra*], Samantabhadra and Mañjuśrī succeeded in fulfilling the causes of their vows and practices. Within one sentence is encircled the boundless dharma realm, while a tip of a hair will not appear too narrow when the whole universe (*kṣetra*) is placed upon it. It was from the kingdom of Maghada that arose the causes for the wondrous assembly and it was in the dharma-hall of Samantaprabhasā (Puguang 普光 [i.e., Puguangming 普光明]) that the principle of tranquility and extinction was propounded. 大方廣佛華嚴經者, 斯乃諸佛之密藏, 如來之性海. 視之者莫識其指歸, 挹之者罕測其涯際. 有學無學, 志絕窺覦; 二乘三乘, 寧希聽受? 最勝種智, 莊嚴之跡既隆; 普賢文殊, 願行之因斯滿. 一句之內, 包法界之無邊; 一毫之中, 置剎土而非隘. 摩竭陀國, 肇興妙會之緣; 普光法堂, 爰敷寂滅之理.[7]

Empress Wu also claims that the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*

has stirred the waves of the "Sea of Nature" and broadened the border of the dharma-realm. The Mahāyāna teachings of suddenness thereby universally cover infinite [regions]; the "square and broad" truth embraces the sentient beings from afar. Isn't it the case that in the "last five hundred years,"[8] We suddenly receive the words of the "Golden Mouth" (of the Buddha), and the mystery of the pearl-box is suddenly revealed in the realm of the myriad existences? This is what We hope for: that the teaching will be expounded and glorified in the realms [as numerous as] grains of sand [in the Ganges], and will circulate without any impediment within the "lands of dust" (i.e., those places marked by the dust of defilement). It will eternally hang in the sky along with the two luminaries (i.e., sun and moon), and will always be widely spread everywhere, pervading all the ten directions. As soon as We take a glance at the precious *gāthā*s, the sense of felicity fills Our heart and soul. Repeatedly reviewing the abstruse principles [of the *sūtra*], the joy permeates Our body and mind. Although without utterance and demonstration, the principle [of the *sūtra*] accords with the gate of non-duality. However, the meanings of the words become explicated by virtue of words: only in this way will the significance of the great chiliocosm (universe) be expounded. 添性海之波瀾, 廓法界之疆域. 大乘頓教, 普被於無窮; 方廣真筌, 遐該於有識. 豈謂: 後五百歲, 忽奉金口之言; 娑婆境中, 俄啓珠函之祕? 所冀: 闡揚沙界, 宣暢塵區. 並兩曜而長懸, 彌十方而永布. 一窺寶偈, 慶溢心靈; 三復幽宗, 喜盈身意. 雖則無說無示, 理符不二之門; 然因言顯言, 方闡大千之義.[9]

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[7] "Da Zhou xinyi Da Fangguangfo Huayan jing xu," *T* 10: 1a24-b2 (*QTW* 97.6b3-8).

[8] This probably refers to the last of the five "five hundred years" after the *parinivāṇa*, which according to some Buddhist traditions represents the period of debates.

[9] "Da Zhou xinyi Da Fangguangfo Huayan jing xu," *T* 10: 1b11-18 (*QTW* 97.7a7-b3).

The empress obviously was a firm believer generally in the power of this *sūtra*, and she eventually would bring it to the fore on the eve of her "usurpation" in 690.

1.2. *The 689 Avataṃsaka Dharma-Assembly*

On February 2, 689, at the orders of Empress Wu, Fazang and his colleagues set up a large-scale dharma-assembly at the Northern Gate of Xuanwu. On the following day, several thousand monks and nuns congregated for a vegetarian feast. At the time the court official in charge of storing ice (*cangbing* 藏冰) found a piece of "auspicious ice" (*ruibing* 瑞冰), inside which appeared a pair of twinned pagodas.[10] Fazang described it:

> Over one *chi* (30 or 36 cm)[11] in height, [the images] had naturally formed stories. The color of white silver, they were complete in form and appearance [as pagodas], each shining more brilliantly in the other's company. 高一尺餘, 層級自成. 如白銀色, 形相具足, 映徹分明.[12]

Empress Wu ordered the ice shown to the monks and nuns, who were in awe at it. Filled with sadness and happiness, they paid homage to the "pagoda-ice" by touching it to the crowns of their heads.[13] The opinion of the crowd was that it was a rare sign of auspiciousness, in fact a response to the stimuli issued by the empress's "saintly virtue" (*shengde* 聖德).[14]

Empress Wu herself honored the *Avataṃsaka* assembly with a poem, which, referred to as "Ting Huayan shi bingxu" 聽華嚴詩并序 (Poem on attending the *Avataṃsaka* [lectures], with a preface), is quoted in full in Fazang's *Huayan jing zhuanji*. In the poem's short preface, Empress Wu tells us that in the intervals between conducting national affairs she attended *Avataṃsaka* lectures, which provided her an opportunity to "watch the depth and breadth of the wisdom and eloquence, and to observe the performance of the 'dragons and ele-

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[10] The use of ice is attested in Tang sources; see Schafer, *Golden Peaches*, 120. According to one account, a thousand blocks of ice, 3 x 1.5 feet square and one-half deep, were stored in the imperial icehouse, having been sent by magistrates from cold regions.

[11] There existed a dual *chi*-standard under the Tang, namely a "large" *chi* of about 36 cm and a "small" one of about 30. It is not clear as to which standard Fazang was using here.

[12] *HJZ*, *T* 51: 3.164a26-28; summarized in *PHC* 284c10.

[13] This is a common way of showing devotion to sacred objects in Buddhism. In the ordination ceremony the robes are touched to the crown of the head—the highest point of the body. Relics in particular are often handled in this manner.

[14] This is only briefly mentioned in *PHC* 284c10. Xufa seems to date it to the end of Chang'an 4 (February 10, 704-January 29, 705) (*Fajiezong wuzu lüeji*, *XZJ* 134: 274b8-10).

phants' (that is, 'eminent monks')."[15] She also congratulates herself that by virtue of her previous cultivation she was able to understand deep-rooted areas of doubt instantly.[16] The suggestion is that interest in the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* was not extemporaneous, but enduring (having possibly begun in an earlier life). In fact, Empress Wu was more than an attendant at the assembly: Fazang clearly notes that she preached there as well.[17] Her notions about the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* do not seem perfunctory, given her familiarity with Buddhism and the *sūtra* in particular. This comes out in the text of the poem:

法席開方廣	The dharma-assembly explicated the "square and broad" teaching;
緇徒滿勝筵	The followers in black (i.e., Buddhist monks) filled the excellent banquet.
聖眾隨雲集	The saintly congregation followed and gathered like clouds,
天華照日鮮	Heavenly flowers shone with the radiance of the sun.
座分千葉華	[Dharma-]seats were laid out like a flower with a thousand petals;
香引六銖煙	The incense emitted smoke [as light as] six *zhu*.[18]
鐘聲聞有頂	The sound of bells was heard at the summit [of existence],
梵響韻無邊	The melody of the Buddhist hymns spread to the boundless.
一音宣妙義	A Single Voice expounding the wondrous meanings,
七處重弘宣	The [*Avataṃsaka*] teachings repeatedly glorified in the "Seven Locations."
唯心明八會	Mind alone can understand the "Eight Assemblies,"
滌慮體三禪	With the consciousness purified to embody the "Three Dhyānas."
既悟無生滅	After being enlightened to the truth of no birth and death,
常欣佛現前	We are constantly happy that the Buddha appears in front of Us.[19]

Though ostensibly religious, the assembly and its attendant miracle turn out to have had political dimensions involving the years 689 and 690, a crucial time for Empress Wu's ambitions. Her supporters were keenly prompting her to make a formal usurpation. The histories record a series of important measures that Empress Wu and her ideologues adopted to

[15] *HJZ*, T51: 3.164b1-2: 觀辨智之縱廣, 睹龍象之蹴踏.
[16] *HJZ*, T51: 3.164b2: 既資熏習, 頓解深疑.
[17] *HJZ*, *T* 51: 3.164a-b.
[18] Some Buddhist texts mention a kind of heavenly dress "as light as six *zhu*" (one *zhu* being one twenty-fourth of *liang* 兩); see, for example, *Chang ahan jing*, *T* 1: 20.133a14, 133a17. Here combined with *yan* 煙, *liuzhu* 六銖 might have also been used to convey the idea that the smoke was very light and airy.
[19] *HJZ*, *T* 51: 3.164b3-7.

justify this. The following examples are but the skeletal outline of this elaborately planned process of legitimation:

On December 28, 688, Empress Wu paid homage to the River Luo to receive the Chart of Luo (*baotu* 寶圖), which was actually manufactured by her nephew Wu Chengsi 武承嗣 (?-698) and which bore an inscription justifying her imminent "usurpation."[20] She was attended by her son the emperor Ruizong and his heir-apparent, all the court officials, and the ambassadors from "barbarian" countries.

On January 23, 689, the Heavenly Hall (*tiantang* 天堂) was completed—a five-story building that housed a huge dry-lacquer statue of the Buddha. Evidence suggests that this was a Buddhist palace chapel *par excellence*—an example of awe-inspiring architecture that marked the final completion of a huge complex generally known as *mingtang* 明堂 ("Luminous Hall"). Named "Wanxiang shengong" 萬象神宮 ("Shrine of Myriad Images"), the complex probably included the Luminous Hall in the traditional sense (called *chaotang* 朝堂) and the sacrificial sites called *tiantang* and *biyong* 辟雍 (circular moat).[21] In order to celebrate the new buildings and their ideological import, Empress Wu sponsored a feast for her court officials, proclaimed a national amnesty, and temporarily opened the Luminous Hall to the public. She also ordered that the subprefecture Henan 河南 be renamed Hegong 合宮, which was an alternate name of the Luminous Hall.

On January 27, 689, the empress held a great ceremony at the Shrine of Myriad Images. Wearing an emperor's robe and cap, and holding a great scepter and a "pacification jade" (*zhengui* 鎮圭), she acted as the first host of the offering (*chuxian* 初獻). The emperor (Ruizong) acted as the second host (*yaxian* 亞獻) and his heir-apparent the last (*zhongxian* 終獻). She first visited the shrine for the Supreme God of the Heavens, then successively those for the spirit of Gaozu (r. 618-626), Taizong, Gaozong, and that for the Former Prince Weiguo 魏國 (her father Wu Shihuo 武士彠, 577-635), and finally the shrine for the Gods in the Five Directions. She ascended the Gate of Zetian 則天, announced a grand amnesty and changed the title of the era.[22]

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[20] The stone bore eight characters, *Shengmu linren yongchang diye* 聖母臨人永昌帝業 ("A Sagely Mother shall come to rule mankind and eternally prosperous shall be her imperium"); *ZZTJ* 204.6448, 6454; Guisso, *Wu Tse-t'ien*, 65. According to Zhang Zhuo 張鷟 (660-733) (*Chaoye qianzai* 3.72), the stone was fabricated by a man called Tang Tongtai 唐同泰. The Luo River Chart was a sacred diagram that had long been understood as a symbol of imperial legitimation in China. It was also associated with the *mingtang* 明堂 (Luminous Hall). See Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China* (200-201) and the scholarship cited there.

[21] *ZZTJ* 204.6454-55; Forte, *Mingtang*, passim.

[22] *ZZTJ* 204.6456.

Two days later, on January 29, 689, Empress Wu ascended the Luminous Hall, accepting congratulations from the court officials. One day later, she conducted national affairs in the Luminous Hall, pronouncing the Nine Articles to instruct court officials. One more day later, she ascended the Luminous Hall once again, this time hosting a banquet to treat her officials.[23]

It was only a couple of days after this series of events related with the Luminous Hall that Empress Wu ordered Fazang and other monks to convene the *Avataṃsaka* Dharma-assembly and the subsequent vegetarian feast. Not only did the empress attend the assembly, but she honored it with some preaching there, as mentioned, and an elegantly composed poem, apparently written when she was fully preoccupied with her installation as the first female emperor. It is important to point out that the assembly was held in the vicinity of the north gate of Xuanwu, close to the Luminous Hall complex, which had been completed only ten days earlier. Given the proximity between the Luminous Hall and staging of the *Avataṃsaka* Dharma-assembly, I suspect that the two series of events were effected for similar purposes, mainly the politico-religious propaganda leading to the empress's new dynasty, the Great Zhou, established formally on October 16, 690.

Fazang's handling of certain religious events at this time must be seen in the above context. The efforts that Fazang made to legitimate Empress Wu's unprecedented actions as female monarch, and the enthusiasm with which he embraced her ample patronage, are best expressed in the following passage that he wrote for the *Avataṃsaka* dharma-assembly:

> The August Emperor of Divine Spirit of the Great Zhou, having planted the seeds of the Way in previous *kalpa*s, has been widely supported by myriads of people.[24] As prophesized by the Buddha in *Dayun jing*, Her Majesty has been able to turn and manipulate the Golden Wheel. In accordance with the predictions in the Chart from the River Luo, Her Majesty has come to rule the country by beating the jade-drum. Being divine and marvelous, Her Majesty possesses the "Six Kinds of Supernatural Powers,"[25] which know no limit. Being of supreme

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[23] Ibid.

[24] This refers to these lines in *Daode jing*: "Therefore the sage takes his place over the people yet is no burden; take his place ahead of the people yet causes no obstruction. That is why the empire supports him joyfully and never tires of doing so." 是以聖人處上而人不重，處前而人不害，是以天下樂推而不厭 (Zhu Qianzhi [coll. and annot.], *Laozi jiaoshi*, 268; Lau, *Tao-te-ching*, 73).

[25] The *liu shentong* 六神通 (Skt. *ṣaḍ abhijñāḥ*) refer to the six kinds of supernatural power attributed to the Buddha: (1) of "transcending spatial limitations" (*shenjing tong* 神境通); (2) "divine vision" (*tianyan tong* 天眼通); (3) "divine hearing" (*tianer tong* 天耳通); (4) "awareness of the minds of others" (*taxin tong* 他

goodness and perfect beauty, Her Majesty has expanded to the boundless spheres the transformation in terms of "Ten Good Acts."[26] Her Majesty exceeded the rulers of the Xia and Yin (i.e., Shang) in [her compassion to animals by] "opening up the nets"[27] and [showing sympathy to the people by] "wailing over the criminals."[28] Thus, a jade-citadel is surrounded by River Fen 汾水, the sun of wisdom equally spread its light into every tiny being. Therefore, "wearing herself out from head to foot,"[29] Her Majesty has exerted her energy in helping people with her "ten powers."[30] Stopping with only a mouthful in the middle of eating and binding up her hair in the midst of a bath [in order to grant audience to those useful to the state] just like Duke Zhou 周公, Her Majesty has kept having "Four Necessities"[31] delivered [to the saṃgha]. With the finest metal cast and the sandalwood carved for statues, the roseate clouds are mirrored as deeply as one thousand gates [of the monasteries]. [Sailing through the oceans by] floating on wooden cups and [climbing mountains by] shaking their staffs, [eminent monks] have been coming to gather within the nine-layered walls

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心通); (5) "knowledge of previous lifetimes" (*suming tong* 宿命通); and (6) "extinction of contamination" (*loujin tong* 漏盡通).

[26] The "Ten Good Acts" (*shishan* 十善) are to avoid: (1) "killing" (*shasheng* 殺生); (2) "stealing" (*toudao* 偷盜); (3) "adultery" (*xieyin* 邪淫); (4) "lying" (*wangyu* 妄語); (5) "speaking harshly" (*ekou* 惡口); (6) "speaking divisively" (*liangshe* 兩舌); (7) "speaking idly" (*qiyu* 綺語); (8) "greed" (*tanyu* 貪欲); (9) "anger" (*chenhui* 瞋恚); and (10) "wrong views" (*xiejian* 邪見).

[27] The *jiewang* 解網 refers to the story in which the Shang 商 King Tang 湯, while hunting, ordered that three sides of a four-sided net be left open so that only the animals who did not want to live would get caught. This enhanced the feudal princes' respect for Tang, whose compassion they believed extended across all species. See *Shiji* 3.95.

[28] According to Liu Xiang 劉向 (77BC-6BC), when seeing indicted criminals on the road, Yu 禹, the King of the Xia, became so overwhelmed by his sympathy that he could not help but wail over their misfortune and his own dereliction of duty, which had caused their criminality; see *Shuoyuan* 1.4b.

[29] See *Mencius*: "Mo Tzu advocates love without discrimination. If by shaving his head and showing his heels he could benefit the Empire, he would do it." 墨子兼愛, 摩頂放踵, 利天下爲之 (Yang Bojun [annot. and trans.], *Menzi yizhu*, 43; Lau, *Mencius*, 187-88).

[30] The *shili* 十力 (*daśabalāni*) indicates ten powers possessed by the Buddha: (1) "distinguishing right and wrong" (*chu feichu zhili* 處非處智力); (2) "knowing one's own karma" (*ziye zhili* 自業智力) or "knowing karmic maturation" (*ye yishu zhili* 業異熟智力); (3) "knowledge of all forms of meditation" (*jinglü jietuo dengchi dengzhi zhili* 靜慮解脫等持等至智力); (4) "knowledge of the relative capacities of sentient beings" (*gen shenglie zhili* 根勝劣智力, or *gen shangxia zhili* 根上下智力); (5) "knowledge of what sentient beings have devoted interest in" (*zhongzhong shengjie zhili* 種種勝解智力); (6) "knowledge of the varieties of causal factors" (*zhongzhong jie zhili* 種種界智力); (7) "knowledge of the gamut of courses and paths pursued by sentient beings" (*bian quxing zhili* 遍趣行智力); (8) "knowledge of remembrance of past lives of" (*suzhu suinian zhili* 宿住隨念智力); (9) "knowledge of where people will die and be reborn" (*sisheng zhili* 死生智力); (10) "knowledge of the methods of destroying all evil passions" (*loujin zhili* 漏盡智力).

[31] *Siyi* 四依 indicate the four necessities of the monastic life: food, clothing, shelter and medicine.

> of the imperial palaces. Compared to these, how could the extraordinary propitious signs that happened during the Han and Wei dynasties and the profound faith in Buddhism displayed in the Liang and Qi dynasties be worth mention? The [government] efforts to open up the treasure-stores within the dragon palace and greet the magnificence and beauty of the jade-gates [of new monasteries] have kept going on just as the sun and moon move [across the sky], without stopping even for a moment. Panegyrics have eulogized the virtue of the Buddha and songs intoned the instructions of the Dharma, so that the [tones of the] strings and flutes flow copiously and the brush and ink [writings] stack up in piles. 大周聖神皇帝, 植道種於塵劫, 當樂推於億兆. 大雲授記, 轉金輪而御之; 河圖應錄, 桴玉鼓而臨之. 乃聖乃神, 運六神通而不極; 盡善盡美, 暢十善化於無邊. 解網泣辜, 超夏轢殷. 於是環[塊]襄城[32]於汾水, 方智日於鎦銖. 是以摩頂至踵, 馳精十力; 捉髮吐哺, 委質四依. 鑄銑彫檀, 霞鏡千門之裏; 乘杯振錫, 霧集九重之內. 雖漢魏殊感, 梁齊深信, 亦何足以言乎? 爾其闢龍宮之寶藏, 迓象扉之雄俊, 則日月相繼, 歲時不絕; 贊頌佛德, 歌詠法言, 則絃管流溢, 翰墨繁積矣.[33]

In the above, the opening phrase giving the empress's title provides a clue as to when this account, and probably also the main body of *Huayan jing zhuanji*, was composed. We note that *Shengshen huangdi* 聖神皇帝 was a title the empress adopted on October 19, 690 (only three days after she was enthroned) at the recommendation of her court officials.[34] Beginning on October 13, 693, it was officially replaced by the

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[32] Since this is a pair of parallel sentences, one character must be redundant in the sentence 環塊襄城於汾水 (paralleled by 方智日於鎦銖). Given that 環, 城, 於, 汾水 can find their parallels in 方智日於鎦銖 (方, 日, 於, 鎦銖 respectively), either 塊 or 襄 is redundant. 襄塊 should probably be emended to 瑰, and the whole sentence thus reconstructed as 環瑰城於汾水.

[33] *HJZ*, *T* 51: 3.164a12-22. The first part of this passage (up to 暢十善化於無邊) is translated in Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 144, 148 (1st edition)/212, 217 (2nd edition).

[34] Zaichu 1.9.12 (*yiyou*); see *JTS* 6.121, *XTS* 4.90, *ZZTJ* 204.6467. Liu Yi 劉屹 suggests that *Shengshen huangdi* should be read as *Sheng Shen-huangdi*; see Liu, "Wu Zetian." It is important to note, however, that only several weeks after Empress Wu adopted the title "Shengshen huangdi," sometime between December 6, 690 and January 4, 691 (Tianshou 2.*zheng*), several hundred people led by a local official called Yao Zhenliang 姚貞亮 (the district defender of Subprefecture Raoyang 饒陽), presented an even grander title, *shangsheng dashen huangdi* 上聖大神皇帝 (Ultimate Saintly and Greatest Divine August Emperor), but was rejected; see *ZZTJ* 204.6471.The new title was obviously a more glorified version. On the other hand, it is intriguing to elaborate on the relationship between this honorific title and a name that two of Empress Wu's clan temples Weiguosi 魏國寺 (i.e., originally Taiyuansi) came to assume at the recommendation of Faming 法明 and other monks, namely, Dashen Chongfusi 大神崇福寺, which was later simplified as Da Chongfusi 大崇福寺; see *Sŏk hwaŏm kyopun ki wŏnt'ong ch'o*, *HPC* 4: 1.243a9-12. Since our source here does not tell us when Faming made this proposal, either the *shangsheng dashen huangdi* was partly inspired by the *dashen* in the name "Dashen Chongfusi," or the reverse: the new temple name was in response to the empress's title containing the component *dashen*. In the former case, the renaming of the two temples must have

cakravartin title *Jinlun shengshen huangdi* 金輪聖神皇帝 (Saintly and Divine August Emperor of the Gold Wheel),[35] this being merely one of four such titles substituted up until October of 695.[36] Empress Wu renounced all of these four *cakravartin* titles, along with other honorific titles (*zunhao* 尊號), which presumably include *shengshen huangdi*, on May 26, 700.[37] In theory, the *cakravartin* titles were strictly observed during specific periods. In other words, officially and despite certain explainable exceptions,[38] the empress was called *Shengshen*

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happened prior to the presentation of the honorific title (i.e., before January 4, 691), while it is the opposite (i.e., the temple-renaming happened after December 6, 690) in the latter case.

[35] Changshou 2.9.9 (*yiwei*); see *JTS* 6.123, *XTS* 4.93, *ZZTJ* 205.6492.

[36] *Yuegu jinlun shengshen huangdi* 越古金輪聖神皇帝 (Saintly and Divine August Emperor of Gold Wheel Who Surpasses the Ancient) (June 9, 694 ~ Yanzai 1.5.11[*jiawu*]) (see *JTS* 6.123, *XTS* 4.94, *ZZTJ* 205.6494), *Cishi yuegu jinlun shengshen huangdi* 慈氏越古金輪聖神皇帝 (Saintly and Divine August Emperor of the Gold Wheel, the Maitreya, Who Surpasses the Ancient) (November 23, 694 ~Tiancewansui 1.1.1 [*xinsi*]; see *JTS* 6.124, *XTS* 4.95, *ZZTJ* 205.6497), and *Tiance jinlun shengshen huangdi* 天冊金輪聖神皇帝 (or *Tiance jinlun dasheng huangdi* 天冊金輪大聖皇帝) (Heaven-appointed Saintly [or Great] and Divine August Emperor of the Gold Wheel) (October 22, 695 ~ Tiancewansui 1.9.9 [*jiayin*]); see *JTS* 6.124, *XTS* 4.95, *ZZTJ* 205.6503). Both *XTS* and *ZZTJ* (see also *ZZTJ* 205.6546) have a part of the title as *dasheng* 大聖, in contrast to *shengshen* as appears in *JTS*. The *shengshen* seems to be the right one given that it is the term included in the other four honorific titles. This is also verified by an inscription of 755, which presents the title as *Tiance wansui jinlun shengshen huangdi* 天冊萬歲金輪聖神皇帝 (see below, note 38).

[37] Jiushi 1.5.5 (*guichou*); see *JTS* 6.129, *XTS* 4.101, *ZZTJ* 205.6546.

[38] I have detected four epigraphic sources showing the application of the title *Shengshen huangdi* after October 13, 693, or even May 26, 700. The first inscription, dated 702, was inscribed on a *sūtra*-pillar erected at Benyuansi 本願寺 in Huolu 獲鹿 (in present-day Huolu, Hebei), while the second, which looks more interesting in that it is from the Daoist side, is for a copper bell cast at the Qinglin Abbey 慶林觀 on November 3, 704 (Chang'an 4.10.2) (*Baqiongshi jinshi buzheng*, *Shike shiliao xinbian* I, 7: 49.15b; *Tang wen shiyi* 18.2b). The third inscription celebrates the completion of a statue on December 8, 702 (Chang'an 2.11.15) (*QTW* 989.12a). The fourth is dedicated to a Buddhist temple, Longkan daochang 龍龕道場 (i.e., Longkansi 龍龕寺); see "Longkan daochang ming," *QTW* 203.4a4-5. A rubbing is made available on line thanks to the good office of the database of epigraphic sources provided by the Institute for Research in Humanities of Kyoto University. The inscription is dated March 29, 699 (Shengli 2.2.23). All four inscriptions refer to Empress Wu as *shengshen huangdi*. In addition, it should be noted that an inscription written on September 25, 755 (Tianbao 14.8.15), fifty years after Empress Wu abolished her honorific titles and half a century after she died, refers to her as *tiance wansui jinlun shengshen huangdi* 天冊萬歲金輪聖神皇帝, which was obviously an error for *tiance jinlun shengshen huangdi* 天冊金輪聖神皇帝. See "Chihuan Shaolinsi shenwang shizi ji" 敕還少林寺神王師子記, *QTW* 987.8a10a; or Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsu shi chōso hen*, 438-39 (the title is mentioned at the very beginning of the record).

Antonino Forte, who notes two of these examples, has understood them as "erratic or popular usages [that] cannot be confounded with the official usage" (Forte, private communication, February 23, 2006); Forte (*Political Propaganda* [2nd edi-

huangdi only between October 19, 690, and October 13, 693, when the new *cakravartin* title came into effect. Moreover, it seems that none of these titles was officially used after May 27, 700, when she renounced them all. We can deduce, then, that Fazang must have written the above sometime between October 19, 690, and October 13, 693, when the use of *Jinlun shengshen huangdi* was legally decreed.

To narrow things down a bit more, we note that in his effort to legitimate Empress Wu's rule, Fazang has referred to *Dayun jing* 大雲經 (Skt. *Mahāmegha sūtra;* Great Cloud Scripture) (actually a commentary on the *sūtra* composed by a ten-member committee), but not *Baoyu jing* 寶雨經 (Skt. *Ratnamegha sūtra*; Precious Rain Scripture),[39] which was retranslated in 693 in order to include a passage justifying Empress Wu's status as a female ruler. Since it had become almost customary that these two texts would be cited side by side for the same legitimating purpose,[40] Fazang's failure to do so here strongly suggests that the second text had not yet been created. In other words, Fazang's writing about the *Avataṃsaka* dharma-assembly, above, was written between October 16, 690, and October 7, 693 (the latter being the completion date of *Baoyu jing*).[41]

Fazang's text on the assembly has woven Chinese traditional ideas and Buddhist ideologies into a coherent discourse with impressive skill. Of particular interest are two parallel sentences: the first speaks of "finest metal cast and the sandalwood carved for statues." These two expressions refer to the astronomic device called *dayi* 大儀 ("Great Regulator") and the immense lacquer statue of the Buddha that were installed in the *lingtai* 靈臺 (lit. "Numinous Terrace") observatory and the Heavenly Hall—two essential parts of the *mingtang* complex.[42] The following sentence, on the other hand (with such phrase as "floating on wooden cups and [climbing mountains by] shaking their staffs, [emi-

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tion], 211-12n92) notes the first two of the five examples discussed in the preceding note. The credibility of Forte's explanation, I believe, depends on whether or not *HJZ*, where this title is found, was more "official" than those five sources with the "erratic" usage.

[39] *Dayun jing*, 6 *juan*, translated by Dharmakṣema (385-433) sometime between 424 and 430 (for this new dating, see Chen Jinhua, "Dharmakṣema"), *T* no. 387, vol. 12; *Baoyu jing*, or *Foshuo baoyu jing*, 10 *juan*, translated by Bodhiruci in 693, *T* no. 660, vol. 16. For these two texts' ideological importance for Empress Wu, see Forte, *Political Propaganda*, Chapters 1, 3. Forte (*Political Propaganda*, 126n4 [1st edition]/190 [2nd edition]) also mentions several examples of listing the two *sūtra*s side by side.

[40] See, for example, a passage in Empress Wu's preface to the new version of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, translated below (see Chapter 10.2.1).

[41] The completion date is provided in a colophon to *Baoyu jing*. See *S* 2278 (*DB* 18: 12; Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 171 [1st edition]/248 [2nd edition]).

[42] See Forte, *Mingtang* (passim), for *dayi* and *tiantang*.

nent monks] have been coming to gather within the nine-layered walls of the imperial palaces") features the regular congregations of Buddhist monks within Empress Wu's palace chapels, which were characteristic of the monastic institution under her rule.

It seems that as the empress was about to assume supreme power her reliance on Fazang increased. A couple of years before the *Avataṃsaka* assembly she asked for Fazang's help in abating the damage caused by a severe drought. We are told that Fazang did a great service to the state by constructing a platform at Ximingsi to pray for rain. That monastery had been built by Empress Wu and her husband in 658 to celebrate the successful recovery from illness of the heir apparent, the four-year-old Li Hong 李弘 (652-675).

2. Fazang and Empress Wu: 690-705

Unlike the relationship in the period surveyed above, which was almost completely informed by the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, Fazang's relationship with the empress became diversified during the latter period, although it seems that the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* still played a leading role in their relationship.

2.1. *The New Translation of the Avataṃsaka Sūtra*

Fazang's career suffered a severe setback in 694 or early 695, sometime before the arrival of Śikṣānanda in China. He was exiled to southern China, whence he was not called back to the capital until he was needed by Śikṣānanda and Fuli because of difficulties translating the new version of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* that Śikṣānanda brought to China.[43] The decision to make such a retranslation should be read as an indication of the empress's continuous and reinforced enthusiasm for the *Avataṃsaka* teachings.

Under the supervision of Śikṣānanda and joined by over twenty first-rate Chinese and non-Chinese Buddhist scholars, the project was started on May 2, 695. The empress attended the initiating ceremony, which was held in one of her palace chapels, Biankongsi, and personally acted out the symbolical role of scribe, as described by Fazang.[44]

After the ceremony, which probably lasted for a day, the translation team moved to the capital monastery Foshoujisi, a monastery that had

[43] Chapter 5.3.1.
[44] *HJZ*, *T* 51: 1.155a14-19; translated in Appendix C.

the closest relationship with Empress Wu and her rule.[45] The completion of the huge translation totaling eighty *juan* (thirty-eight chapters [*parivarta*s]) was officially announced on November 5, 699.[46] Empress Wu honored this new translation with a preface. When Fazang's series of lectures culminated in a miraculous quake of earth, the empress further blessed the translation with one more enthusiastic edict, in which she ordered the official historiographers to have the miraculous sign recorded in the official history.[47]

Empress Wu's enthusiasm for the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* caused a "boom" in *Avataṃsaka* worship everywhere. Fazang's *Huayan jing zhuanji* records two *Avataṃsaka*-related miracle stories that show the popularity of the *sūtra* among lay and religious communities, and the empress's efforts as well. In Ruyi 1 (April 22-October 22, 692), a nun in Jiangzhou 絳州[48] (in present-day Xinjiang 新絳, Shanxi), who had spent her career reciting the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, died leaving behind two young female disciples. The grief-stricken girls proceeded to visit and wail at the nun's tomb every morning. They persisted in this for three years, until one day five lotus flowers sprouted from the tomb. These signs curiously enough saddened the girls even more, and an Indian monk of impressive appearance and manner immediately emerged out of nowhere, asking why they were crying. After being told why, the monk consoled them by guaranteeing that their wish to become nuns would be fulfilled. He also gave them a Buddha image, asking them to pay homage to it at home every day. Accepting the gift with thanks, they watched in wonder as the Indian monk suddenly disappeared. Worshipping the image at home as instructed, the two girls found that its circumference grew by one *cun* 寸 every day for ten days. Eventually (after one hundred days), it became one *zhang* 丈 in circumference. After hearing of this, the governor and magistrate of the prefecture and subprefecture in which the two girls lived had the image and the flowers verified and reported them to the throne. Empress Wu ordered the girls and the flowers brought to court. But when opening the tomb in order to get the flowers, local officials found that they grew out of the coffin. When they broke open the coffin they found that the flowers were rooted in the tongue of the nun! The brilliance, freshness and beauty of the flowers (and the tongue) were all witnessed by local people. When the two girls arrived at court, the empress cut off their

[45] For this monastery and its connections with Empress Wu, see Appendix C, note 14.
[46] Chapter 9, note 40.
[47] See Chapter 5.3.3.
[48] The original writes 絳 as 將.

hair herself, assigning to each of them three sets of robes, a vase, a begging bowl and other monastic necessities.

Quite obviously, Empress Wu here played the role of preceptor, thus acting as an ordained monk or nun. Both of the nuns became affiliated with Tiannüsi 天女寺.[49] The empress also ordered that each monastery in the country be allowed to ordain two men and two women as monks and nuns.[50]

The legend situates the actions in the time-frame of 695, when the Great Zhou government was busy with the immense project of a new Chinese translation of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*. The other miracle story is placed in the same historical frame, although this time the subject of the story is a layman.

During the Zhengsheng era (November 23, 694-October 21, 695), a native of Huayin 花陰 (a mistake for Huayin 華陰 [present-day Huayin, Shaanxi]) Deng Yuanying 鄧元英 (originally named Yuanshuang 元爽) had a relative who returned to life after being dead for seven days. He claimed that in the netherworld he learned that the controllers of fates had issued an edict that specified the death of Deng's father. He thus urged Deng to "cultivate merit" (*xiu gongde* 修功德) immediately in order to avert this imminent disaster and he further specified that the best merit would result from copying *Huayan jing*. Helped by a Meditation Master Fu 伏 and his colleagues from a monastery in the neighborhood, Deng Yuanying succeeded in producing a copy of the *sūtra* within ten days. After sponsoring a vegetarian feast and a series of rituals, his father's unhappy fate was averted. On December 26, 695,[51] beautiful flowers suddenly sprouted from the withered trees planted beside the tomb of Deng's mother. On hearing of all these marvels, Empress Wu ordered that a Gate of Filial Piety be set up to praise Deng's acts and the power of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*.[52]

It is also against the background of *Avataṃsaka* devotion that we ought to reconsider the three critical episodes in Fazang's life that have been analyzed previously, namely the Ordination Episode of around

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[49] Located at the Jiaoye Ward 教業坊 of Luoyang; originally called Jingfusi 景福寺, which was built in Zhenguan 9 (January 24, 635-February 11, 636). During the Chuigong era (February 9, 685-January 26, 689), the Jingfusi nuns were transferred to an old mansion belonging to Princess Qianjin 千金 (?-690+) and the emptied nunnery was subsequently renamed Tiannüsi. For a detailed explanation of the history of this nunnery and its connection with Empress Wu, see Forte, *Political Propaganda* (2nd edition), 50-51n168.

[50] *GYZ*, *T* 51: 177a-b. Cf. *Fozu tongji*, *T* 49: 40.369c.

[51] The original has "shiyi yue zhong" 十一月中 (the middle of the eleventh month [of the year]). Given that the era Zhengsheng was changed to Tiancewansui on October 22, 695 (Zhengsheng 1.9.9), this must have referred to December 26, 695 (Tiancewansui 1.*zheng*.15).

[52] *GYZ*, *T* 51: 177a.

696, when a miracle about Fazang's *Avataṃsaka* lecture allegedly inspired Empress Wu to confer on him full ordination; the Golden-lion Lecture of about 701 to February 1, 702, when Fazang explained to Empress Wu the *Avataṃsaka* teaching on interpenetration of all dharmas; and the Mirror-hall device for teaching interconnectedness.[53] As noted earlier, whereas the Full Ordination episode probably has no historical veracity, the latter two distort some aspects of the historical truth. Thus, although we cannot accept all the stories uncritically, it is still reasonable to assume that Empress Wu's esteem for Fazang generally derived from her respect for his mastery of the *Avataṃsaka*. Stanley Weinstein has also pointed out that the interconnectedness and multiplicity of worlds in Huayan teachings may have suggested to her an analogue of the imperial state.[54] Weinstein's understanding is borne out as well by the preface already examined, above, which correlates the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* with two other Buddhist texts that were part of her ideological program—*Dayun jing* and *Baoyu jing*:

> Planting the causes [for goodness] in the previous *kalpa*s, We had the honor of receiving the Buddha's prophesies. With the edict announced by the Gold Immortal, [the meaning of] a *gāthā* of *Dayun jing* has been first made manifest. With the jade doors demonstrating the auspicious signs, the text of *Baoyu jing* arrived successively. 朕曩劫植因, 叨承佛記. 金仙[55]降旨, 大雲之偈先彰; 玉扆披祥, 寶雨之文後及.[56]

2.2. *Fazang and Empress Wu: Non-Avataṃsaka Elements*

Fazang served the empress and her government not merely through his advanced philosophical and philological skills, but also by his capacity as a performer of esoteric rituals aimed at material benefits like rain or the quelling of enemy warriors. For example, local officials around the Chang'an area who suffered from drought repeatedly engaged Fazang for his supernatural powers, and such officials on certain occasions included a first-cousin-first-removed of Empress Wu and a paternal uncle of Zhang Yizhi and Zhang Changzong, then in their adolescence but who were later to become two favorites of the empress.[57] It is inter-

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[53] For the Ordination Episode, see Chapter 4.2; the stories of Golden-lion Lecture and the Mirror-hall Device are discussed in Chapter 7.1 and 7.2, respectively.

[54] Weinstein, "Imperial Patronage," 302.

[55] Other editions give *jinxian* 金仙 as *jinshan* 金山 ("Golden Mountain"). Forte has adopted the latter, which he interpreted as "the Buddha's body"; see Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 126 (1st edition)/190 (2nd edition).

[56] "Da Zhou xinyi Da Fangguangfo huayan jing xu," *T* 10: 1a17-18 (*QTW* 97. 6a8-9). For Forte's translation, see Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 126 (1st edition)/ 190 (2nd edition).

[57] This relative of Empress Wu was Wu Youyi, while the uncle of the two Zhang brothers was called Zhang Luke. For the details of these two events, see Chapter

esting to note that Fazang's relationship with the Zhang family had started so early.

We should recall, too, the earlier discussion of Fazang's ability to perform magic, specifically his role in a critical military battle, when the Khitan were eventually defeated.[58] This must have earned even further respect from Empress Wu, although we have no more documentation of their relationship in the succeeding several years except for the following event. In the summer of 700, Fazang might have been among those major monks including Sikṣānada and Fuli who were in the empress's company in one of her summer palaces, preparing for a new translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra*.[59] The empress was then starting to show increasing interest in Chan Buddhism, which at least partly accounted for her determination to sponsor a new translation of the *sūtra*, which was recognized as the theoretic basis of that tradition. In spite of his commitment to the *Avataṃsaka*, Fazang decided to cooperate with the empress in fostering this other type of Buddhism. His efforts are shown in the commentary that he wrote on the new *Laṅkāvatāra* translation, which was completed in 702 or 703.[60]

Furthermore, it is important to note that sometime between November 5, 699, and November 16, 703, Fazang was appointed as the abbot of Chongfusi in Chang'an (also called "Da Zhou xisi" at the time), the former Western Taiyuansi. This was one of Empress Wu's clan monasteries before her enthronement and dynastic monasteries thereafter, with which Fazang had been affiliated for such a long time.[61]

3. Fazang's role in the transition of power: 700-705

At the dawn of the eighth century, Fazang and his patroness Empress Wu both entered new chapters of their lives. For the empress, it was to be her last. In 700, when Fazang was fifty-eight, he found himself increasingly hailed as a prestigious Buddhist leader. In the same year, Empress Wu turned seventy-eight years old, an advanced age by the standard of the day. Counting from 655, when she became empress to

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5.3.1 and 5.2.3. Fazang collaborated with Wu Youyi on at least two more occasions. One, in the 696-697 suppression of the Khitan and the other, in the course of the important relic veneration at the cross of 705. See Chapters 5.3.2 and 6.1.2, respectively.

[58] Chapter 5.3.2.

[59] Chapter 6.1.1.

[60] Ishii, "Sokuten Bukō Daijō nyū Ryōga kyō jo to Hōzō Nyū Ryōga shin gengi"; idem, "Zetian Wuhou Dasheng ru Lengqie jing xu yu Fazang Ru Lengqie xin xuanyi."

[61] For this important appointment, see Chapter 6.1.1.

Gaozong, she had by this time ruled China for almost half a century, actually on the throne for the last decade. Up to this point, supreme power seems to have remained firmly in her hands. However, now her power was beginning to erode. Starting from 700, court officials loyal to the Li royal house took advantage of her age and poor health and conspired to re-enthrone one of the deposed Tang emperors. As an indicator of the delicate political situation at the time, in mid-703 officials led by the outspoken Wei Yuanzhong 魏元忠 (640?-710?) made severe criticisms against the empress's two favorites just mentioned, above, Zhang Yizhi and Zhang Changzong.[62] It was only with her forceful intervention that the Zhangs' enemies were defeated. Although faced with a severe crisis, the empress struggled on. She moved rapidly, and in late 703 she left Chang'an for her chief power base, the eastern capital Luoyang, where she started to contemplate and enforce measures aimed at regaining control of the situation.[63]

On April 12, 704, Empress Wu adopted Li Jiao's 李嶠 (644-713) and Tang Xiujing's 唐休璟 (627-712) proposal to commission some court officials to serve concurrently as prefects in local areas. As a result, Wei Sili 韋嗣立 (660-719), Yang Zaisi 楊再思 (?-710), and others (totally twenty high-ranking court officials) were made prefects of prefectures. Although nominally enforced in order to correct long-standing preferences for court positions over local ones, this new policy was probably also aimed at gaining the government larger and more direct control of local affairs.

Sometime between May 9, 704, and June 6, 704, Empress Wu ordered to commence the building of a huge statue at the Baisima Slope 白司馬阪 close to Luoyang. Although the project was put under the supervision of the empress's first-cousin-first-removed Wu Youning 武攸寧 (?-704+), contemporary evidence shows that the two Zhang brothers were actually the mastermind behind the project. The preparatory work had already been started almost four years earlier, either on August 2, or September 1, 700, when she launched a nation-wide campaign called "one-cash-per-monastic per day" (i.e., every monk and nun in the nation donating one cash every day for funding statue construction). The statue was envisioned as the replica and replacement of one constructed from 691 to December, 694, for the rebuilt "Heavenly Hall" within the imperial palaces, but which was aborted due to a disastrous fire. I have argued elsewhere that this Heavenly Hall project had marked a revival of Empress Wu's enthusiasm for Maitreya Buddhism, which earlier had been fundamental in the ideological programs that led

[62] *ZZTJ* 207.6563-67 for this episode.

[63] The following account of Empress Wu's battles with the Tang royalists is primarily based on *ZZTJ* 207.6569-82.

to, and strengthened, her rule but was abandoned due to political and ideological embarrassments caused by the Maitreya monk Huaiyi. Although the Baisima Slope statue project was terminated on February 20, 705, as the court coup broke out and killed the two Zhang brothers, it had resulted in an uncompleted statue which, after some modifications, was moved to a renovated monastery in Luoyang, Shengshansi, where it was enshrined in an immense pagoda.[64]

On August 16, 704, three relatives of the two Zhang brothers, Zhang Tongxiu 張同休 (?-705), Zhang Changqi 張昌期 (?-705), and Zhang Changyi 張昌儀 (?-705) were accused of bribery. This accusation implicated the two Zhang brothers. On the following day, Empress Wu had to decree their investigation. Though found guilty, they were exempted when Zhang Changzong convinced her of his merits in maintaining her health through the elixir he concocted for her. As a result, they remained unpunished, although two of the accused, Zhang Tongxiu and Zhang Changyi, were exiled.

This case, though unsuccessful in the eyes of anti-empress conspirators, encouraged more attacks on the two Zhang brothers. Shortly afterwards, Wei Anshi 韋安石 (?-714), the Head of the Chancellery, impeached Zhang Yizhi so vehemently that Empress Wu had to subject Zhang to another investigation, this time by a committee led by Wei and the above-mentioned Tang Xiujing. The investigation was interrupted due to an unexpected turn of events, the details of which were not specified in our sources, but which were, apparently, at least partly related to the empress. On September 4, 704, Wei Anshi was appointed sub-prefect of Yangzhou 揚州, and six days later, Tang Xiujing was made commander-in-chief of Youzhou 幽州 and Yingzhou 營州. Before his departure, he warned the heir-apparent Li Xian of the danger caused by the two Zhang brothers.

Meanwhile, the empress sent away another arch-enemy of the Zhang brothers—Yao Chong 姚崇 (650-721). Yao's biography suggests that it was through the machination of the brothers that Empress Wu decided to drive him away. However, in bidding farewell to Yao Chong, the empress made a mistake which was to prove fatal to her and her favorites: she followed Yao's advice by appointing Zhang Jianzhi 張柬之 (625-706), then close to eighty years old, as a new prime minister.

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64 Empress Wu's Baisima project, and a few more projects before and after it, constitute the subject of my forthcoming article ("Behind the Affair"), in which I attempt to clarify various confusions on these closely related but distinctly different projects, and reveal their religious symbolism, political, ideological and economic functions.

By the twelfth month (December 31, 704-January 29, 705), the empress's health started to deteriorate drastically. Since she was moved to the Hall of Longevity, she had stopped seeing her prime ministers for months, having only the two Zhang brothers to wait by her bedside. After she slightly recuperated, Cui Xuanwei proposed that the responsibilities of taking care of the empress be shifted to the heir-apparent, rather than be in the hands of people outside the royal family. Although expressing appreciation for Cui, the empress refused to adopt the proposal. Sensing mounting threats as the empress's health worsened, the two Zhang brothers started to collude with their followers, preparing for the imminent conflicts. More and more people informed the court against the two Zhang brothers. She seems not to have responded to them, until a special case emerged.

On January 19, 705, Yang Yuansi 楊元嗣 (?-705+), a native of Xuzhou 許州, charged Zhang Changzong of conspiring with a fortune-teller, Li Hongtai 李弘泰 (?-705+), for a rebellion. Li was accused of assuring Zhang Changzong that he possessed the facial features of an emperor and proposing that a Buddhist temple be built in Dingzhou 定州 (in present-day Anxi 安喜, Hebei), the two Zhang brothers' native place, in order to win the hearts of the people.[65] The accusation was so specific and severe that the empress felt it difficult to remain aloof. She ordered an investigation to be led by Wei Chengqing 韋承慶 (640-706), Cui Shenqing 崔神慶 (635?-705?), and Song Jing 宋璟 (663-737). While Wei and Cui, obviously instigated by the empress, tried to absolve Zhang Changzong, Song Jing strongly insisted on prosecuting him. Although Empress Wu turned a deaf ear to Song Jing's appeal for quite a while, Song was so persistent that she attempted to assign him to a series of missions in local areas, all of which he squarely declined on the grounds that he could not quit his present duty.

Song Jing was joined by other court officials, including Li Yong 李邕 (678-747), Huang Yanfan 桓彥範 (653-706) and Cui Xuanwei, in protesting the empress's favoritism toward the two Zhang brothers. This left her no choice but to surrender Zhang Changzong to the *fasi* 法司, the Ministry of Justice (*xingbu* 刑部),[66] which sentenced him to

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[65] Other sources do indicate that Zhang Yizhi (not Zhang Changzong) made the effort to transfer ten *bhadanta*-monks in the capital to a temple he built with his private funds (*sizhi si* 私置寺) in Dingzhou. These monks, who loathed to be relocated, appealed to Yao Chong, who stopped the plan. See *JTS* 96.3022. Yao's biography does not tell us whether or not this temple-building program was a part of the two Zhang brothers' political ambition.

[66] In principle, *fasi* could refer to any, or all, of the Three Judicial Offices—the Ministry of Justice (*xingbu* 刑部), Censorate (*yushi tai* 御史臺) and Court of the Judicial Review (*dali s*i 大理司). Judging by the fact that Zhang Changzong was

death. With this victory, Song Jing urged to jail Zhang Changzong, whom the empress tried to protect to no avail. Zhang Changzong was brought to the Censorate. However, before legal actions were taken against him, Empress Wu granted him an amnesty, to the immense fury of Song Jing. This series of measures against the two Zhangs clearly shows the intensity of the conflicts between the two political camps—the two Zhang brothers on one side and the pro-Tang royalists on the other. Empress Wu's backing of the Zhangs was not completely (or even primarily) out of a personal reliance on them, as the traditional historiographers hint; but rather, it must be read as a token of her effort simply to regain and enhance her control of the current political situation.

It was in this delicate political environment that Empress Wu launched a major politico-religious campaign that she entrusted to Fazang. It turned out to be a watershed in both their lives. At the start of 705, the empress, helped by Fazang, had the Famensi relic brought to her palace in Luoyang. The empress seems to have been seeking a miraculous regenerating power to improve her health.[67] However, in view of the political situation at the time, one might assume that Empress Wu also sponsored this relic veneration with an eye to rallying her declining political support.

Contrary to what she might have expected, the grand religious ceremony did not help her fortunes. One week later, on February 20, 705,[68] with Zhongzong's support Zhang Jianzhi, Cui Xuanwei and other court officials launched a *coup d'état* ostensibly targeted at the two Zhangs, who were killed that day, but actually directed at the empress. On February 21, Zhongzong proclaimed that he was "overseeing the state" (*jianguo* 監國), and on the same day Empress Wu, after "handing over" the throne to Zhongzong, was transferred to Shangyang Palace 上陽宮. She died there less than ten months later on December 16, 705.[69] Zhongzong was formally re-enthroned on February 23, 705 and the Great Tang was restored on March 3, 705. What must have most disheartened the empress on her deathbed was probably not the non-

later transferred to the Censorate for further investigation, I assume that *fasi* here probably only refers to the Ministry of Justice.

[67] The Famensi relic was also consulted for its putative therapeutic power, not unlike forty-five years earlier when Wu and her husband had turned to the same "sacred bone" for his personal welfare. For a survey of this series of relic veneration operations, see Chen Jinhua, "*Śarīra* and Scepter," 37-48.

[68] Shenlong 1.1.22 (*guimao*). *XTS* 4.105, *ZZTJ* 207.6578-6581. *JTS* (6.132) records the day as *guihai* 癸亥 of the first month, which was obviously a mistake for *guimao* 癸卯, given that there was no *guihai* day in this month.

[69] *JTS* 6.132. According to *XTS* (7.105) and *ZZTJ* (207. 6581), however, Empress Wu's move to the Shangyang Palace was on February 24, 705 (Shonglong1.1.26 [*dingwei*]).

responsiveness of the "divine relics" as much as the fact that the two leaders of the relic-fetching team, Cui Xuanwei and Fazang, were a chief plotter and accomplice, respectively, in this *coup d'état*.

4. Fazang under the Reigns of Zhongzong (705-710) and Ruizong (710-712)

We now turn to Fazang's relationship with two more monarchs closely related to him, Zhongzong and Ruizong, whose reigns covered the last seven years of his life. While for Fazang the events in this period perhaps seem to have been less large and demanding, compared to those during Empress Wu's reign, they reveal an increasing impact on his contemporaries.

4.1. *Fazang and Zhongzong*

Several months after his re-enthronement on February 23, 705, Zhongzong ordered Fazang to be rewarded with a fifth-ranked title for his role in the court coup. Fazang staunchly declined this grant, but he was eventually included—obviously against his will—in a group of Buddhist monks and Daoist priests receiving honorific titles by an imperial decree of April 9, 706. Fazang and the government reached a compromise by having his reward transferred to his brother.[70]

The high esteem that Zhongzong held for Fazang is also to be seen in the four verses that Zhongzong dedicated to Fazang's portrait. The circumstances under which Zhongzong composed them and the implications they contained should be understood in connection with Zhongzong's policies on the politico-religious institution called "neidaochang" 內道場 (Inner Palace Chapels). I have recently examined this important Buddhist development inside the Tang palaces. Some time between December 7, 706, and March 23, 709, Zhongzong summoned to the Linguang palace chapel approximately twenty Buddhist monks.[71] Some of them were asked to perform Buddhist rituals for the welfare of the state, and ten served on a committee known as *shidade* 十大德 (Ten Buddhist monks of "Great Virtue"), which was in charge of national monastic affairs. A parting banquet was held on March 23, 709, yet several monks remained at the chapel. One year later, in Jinglong 4 (February 4-July 4, 710), Zhongzong invited Bodhiruci and his colleagues for a vegetarian banquet at Linguang Palace, where the emperor observed the monks discussing Buddhist teachings. He then ordered the

[70] Chapter 6.2.1.
[71] Chen Jinhua, "Tang Buddhist Palace Chapels," 124-28.

painter Zhang Xun 張訓 (otherwise unknown) to draw on the wall of the palace the portraits of all the *bhadanta*-translators and the academicians who participated in the translation. On these portraits, Zhongzong himself wrote eulogies in verse.[72] This specific round of banqueting and portraits seems likely to have been the context in which Zhongzong wrote the verses for Fazang. In other words, Fazang may have been among the twenty or so monks who were invited to reside at the chapel and that like Siheng 思恆 (653-726), who was his acquaintance if not friend,[73] Fazang might have been a member of the *shidade* committee.

The crucial role that Fazang played in a series of events that centered on the veneration of the Famensi relic also reveals Zhongzong's extraordinary trust of and reliance on Fazang. In the spring of 708, Zhongzong entrusted Fazang and other monks with the task of escorting the Famensi relic, which was brought to the imperial palace at the end of 704 at Empress Wu's request, back to its home temple.[74]

Fazang's reputation as a great Buddhist expounder and translator, and especially his important role in the 705 court coup, were certainly chief factors contributing to his renown. However, as with his earlier relationship with Empress Wu, Fazang continued to capitalize on the service that he rendered to the Tang rulers through mastery of esoteric arts. He became a key resource whenever the capital area was threatened by natural calamities such as drought, as in the summers of 708 and 709.[75] Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's biography of Fazang says, on this topic, that from then on, Zhongzong and Ruizhong relied on Fazang as their bodhisattva-preceptor, referring possibly to Fazang's invitation to the Linguang Palace Chapel during the Shenlong or Jinglong era, as just argued.

4.2. *Fazang and Ruizong*

The succeeding emperor, Ruizong, figured prominently in Fazang's life. Not only did he pay great respect to Fazang upon the latter's death, as we see below, but he also brought Fazang into association with several of his family members, links that affected Fazang's career considerably.

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[72] *Fozu tongji*, *T* 49: 38.372c21ff. Zhipan dates this event to Shenlong 4, which was apparently an error for Jinglong 4 (February 4-July 4, 710) given that the Shenlong era only lasted from January 30, 705 (Shenlong 1.1.1 [*renwu*]) to October 4, 707 (Shenlong 3.9.4 [*yihai*]).

[73] Chapter 3.4.1.

[74] See Chapter 6.2.2 for this role of Fazang.

[75] Chapter 6.2.3.

Ruizong issued an appreciative edict after Fazang's esoteric ritual that brought snow at a temple on Mount Zhongnan.[76] Yet the relationship with the emperor went deeper than official pronouncements: on the great monk's sixty-ninth birthday, Ruizong sent him a set of monastic robes and "noodles of longevity," along with a congratulatory letter.[77] The letter expressed respect for and fondness of Fazang. Far more than a perfunctory greeting from a secular monarch toward a prestigious religious leader, the letter conveys a sense of genuine friendship that usually occurred between two close friends.[78]

According to Dōchū, Ruizong followed Fazang's advice in abdicating the throne to Xuanzong.[79] As earlier, at the turn of 705, this was also a volatile moment in the dynasty. Li Longji 李隆基 (685-762), Ruizong's son and the future Xuanzong, and Ruizong's younger sister Princess Taiping formed a close alliance in toppling Empress Wei and her group, who were accused of poisoning Zhongzong. However, after removing the Empress Wei and reinstalling Ruizong, the alliance ran into problems. Because of his crucial role in this coup, Longji was appointed as Ruizong's heir-apparent in spite of the fact that he was merely his third son. Even though for a while Princess Taiping had not taken Longji seriously because of his youth, she quickly grew alarmed by his strong qualities and intelligence. In order to gain more power for herself, she conspired to replace Longji with a weaker candidate, and so spread rumors against him. She coerced and bribed his attendants to act as spies, causing him considerable anxiety.

Taiping did not content herself with behind-the-scenes conspiracies, and reached out to influence Ruizong's prime ministers. The first target was Wei Anshi, who in early 711 was invited to her private residence but who was aware of her plans and rejected the invitation. The princess did not desist. On another occasion, she gathered all the prime ministers, hinting of her plan to depose the current heir-apparent. The prime ministers were startled, and one of them, Song Jing, strongly protested.

Ruizong's lack of resolve perturbed Longji even more. The princess and her assistants did such a good job spreading rumors that they planted seeds of suspicion in Ruizong's heart. On one occasion, the emperor confided in Wei Anshi about his fear that the court took sides generally with the heir-apparent. Wei warned that it was nothing but groundless rumor disseminated by the princess. He reminded the emperor of his son's merits in service of the state and assured him of his

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[76] Chapter 6.3.1.
[77] *PHC* 284c2-7.
[78] Chapter 6.3.2.
[79] Ibid.

discretion and filial love. This left Ruizong half believing and half doubting. Taiping managed to hear this conversation, and subsequently accusations against Wei Anshi flew through the court, and Wei barely survived politically.

Longji's supporters felt prodded to act. At the time, several imperial kinsmen posed a threat to Xuanzong: two princes (Ruizong's eldest son and Gaozong's eldest grandson) were close to Taiping, and two other princes controlled the palace guards. Song Jing and Yao Chong secretly memorialized Ruizong on the necessity of sending all of them away to other duties, and also proposed that Taiping and her husband be relocated to the eastern capital (Luoyang). Ruizong felt no difficulty with the plans about the four princes, but was reluctant to be apart from the princess, who, he emphasized, was his only living sibling.

This plan must have immensely disturbed Taiping. A fortune-teller was urged to warn Ruizong of an imminent court coup. When consulted, Zhang Yue and Yao Chong persuaded Ruizong that it was all a rumor which could be easily stopped should the heir-apparent be entrusted with government responsibilities. On February 22, 711, Ruizong decided to send out the princes and transfer Taiping as well. As a result, Taiping was relocated in Puzhou 蒲州, which was close to Luoyang. On the following day, Longji was decreed to "oversee the state."

The news that her relocation was suggested by Yao Chong and Song Jing infuriated the princess, who blamed Longji. Scared, Longji abandoned his confidants, condemning them for "alienating the blood relationship between him and his aunt." As a result, Yao and Song were exiled on March 2.

In the fourth month of the year (April 23-May 21, 711), Ruizong intended to abdicate to Longji. He was stopped in this plan partly due to the persistent declinations from Longji and more importantly, because of the staunch objections from an epigone of the princess. This didn't prevent Ruizong from transferring further powers to his son. On the other hand, Longji was under such heavy pressure that in the fifth month (May 22-June 20, 711) he felt forced to surrender the status of heir-apparent to his eldest brother. Ruizong turned down this idea, but complied when Longji suggested that Taiping be brought back from Puzhou.

In the seventh month of the following year (August 7-September 5, 712), a comet appeared in the western sky. In line with the traditional perception of comets as bad omens about the throne, a fortune-teller, who, according to the standard histories, was instigated by the princess, interpreted it as a sign of Longji's attempted usurpation. Obviously, the reading was intended as a ploy to poison the relationship between father and son. Surprisingly, from the princess's point of view, Ruizong declared

his desire to abdicate in order to avoid any disasters, as indicated by the comet. Although the princess and her followers ferociously remonstrated with Ruizong, his mind was set. He was determined, even in front of tearful declinations by Longji, who, hearing of this, rushed into the palaces and pleaded with his father to reconsider. On September 8, 713,[80] Longji ascended the throne, with Ruizong declared Emperor Emeritus, one who still maintained aspects of supreme power.

This favorable turn of the events did not, however, bring an end to the conflicts between the new emperor and his aunt. Rather, the conflicts turned so intense that on July 29, 713, Longji staged a military strike against Taiping. Taiping was forced to commit suicide and Ruizong relinquished all the supreme power to Longji, who thus took full charge.[81]

From all this, it is easy to sense that Ruizong was a sovereign who was painfully divided about his feelings toward two close family members involved in internecine conflicts—his most talented son, on the one hand, and his sister, on the other. Although it is easy to understand that he decided for his own son, this must have been done not without a lot of trauma. Dōchū points to a significant role that Fazang played in helping Ruizong overcome such psychological difficulties. Barring any direct evidence of such help, we can only assume it, based on the fact of the emperor's fondness for the monk.

The deep personal relationship is reflected through the ties that Fazang maintained with the emperor's son-in-law Zheng Wanjun 鄭萬鈞 (before 672-740+),[82] who in 702 requested that Fazang write a commentary on the *Heart sūtra*.[83] Zheng married Ruizong's fourth daughter Li Hua 李華 (style-name Huawan 華婉, 687-734), the Princess Yongchang 永昌, called Grand Princess (*zhang gongzhu* 長公主) Daiguo 代國 after her half-brother Xuanzong was enthroned.[84] Zheng and the

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[80] It is interesting to note that this happened about four months before Fazang died on December 16, 712.

[81] This survey on the political situation between 710 and 713 is primarily based on *ZZTJ* (209.6639-210.6685), and Ruizong and Xuanzong's two official biographies. See *JTS* 7.155-162, 8.167-171; *XTS* 5.117-120, 121.

[82] We know that Zheng Wanjun lived beyond 740 since he wrote a memorial funeral for his wife, who died in 734 (see note 85). Moreover, since Fazang's preface (written in 702) tells us that Zheng Wanjun's hair turned grey at the time, he must have been over thirty by 702. In other words, he was born before 672, at least fifteen years older than Li Hua. Li Hua was not therefore likely his first wife.

[83] See Chapter 6.1.1.

[84] For Zheng Wanjun's status as a son-in-law of Ruizong, see *XTS* 83.3656. Princess Yongchang's mother, *née* Liu, was a daughter of Liu Yanjing 劉延景 (d. 689), who married another of his daughters to the prominent bureaucrat-scholar Wei Sili 韋嗣立 (660-719) (see Chen Jinhua, *Collusion and Collision*, Chapter 3). Zheng Wanjun wrote the memorial epitaph for his wife sometime after Kaiyuan 28 (Febru-

princess were both devout Buddhists.[85] *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 records an episode, based on the nonextant *Jiwen lu* 紀聞錄, in which two of the princess's sons are described as "celestial beings" (*tianren* 天人), born to the otherwise infertile princess thanks to a Buddhist thaumaturge called Hehe 和和 (dates unknown). The story says that the boys were born in the same year (although not as twins, due to the smallness of the princess's womb!) and were named Qianyao 潛曜 and Huiming 晦明, growing to be handsome and learned men.[86]

Fazang also befriended another daughter of Ruizong, Princess Jinxian 金仙 (689-732), who, along with her blood sister Yuzhen 玉真 (692?-762?),[87] was famous for her devotion to Daoism. The friendship came about via the sort of family connections already mentioned, but also through her Daoist teacher Shi Chongxuan 史崇玄 (?-713)—a friend of Fazang.[88] That Shi was a friend can be deduced from their

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ary 2, 740-January 21, 741). We know this because the epitaph mentions his elder son's marriage with a princess, which happened in that year as is recorded by Dugu Ji (see note 86). The inscription, preserved in *QTW* (279.2b-7a) as "Daiguo zhang gongzhu bei" 代國長公主碑, makes it clear that the princess was married to Zheng at the age of seventeen *sui* (i.e., 703; that is, one year after Fazang wrote this commentary for Zheng).

[85] The above-mentioned inscription reveals Daiguo's deep faith in Buddhism. She learned and practiced Buddhism for over ten years. She regularly took vegetarian meals, constantly engaged in meditation, and avidly chanted a number of Buddhist texts, including the 80-*juan* new translation of *Avataṃsaka sūtra*. She once knelt before the famous Chan master Yifu 義福 (658-736) to receive from him instructions in meditation. She was also conferred the consecration of *dhāraṇī* from Trepiṭaka-master Jin'gang 金剛, who was probably Vajrabodhi (Ch. Jin'gangzhi 金剛智, 671?-741). The Buddhist nuns she closely associated with included Fanhai 梵海 and Cihe 慈和, the latter of whom, also mentoring Baochen's nun-disciple Huiyuan (see her epitaph at *TMH* 2: 1473), predicted Daiguo's rebirth in Tuṣita heaven. In her will Daiguo requested that half of her fiefdom income be donated to Buddhist monasteries.

[86] *Taiping guangji* 97.647-648. The same episode is also found in *SGSZ* (*T* 50: 19.833b-c) and *Shenseng zhuan*, *T* 50: 8.1003b22-c2. Zheng Qianyao, who later married the twelfth daughter of Xuanzong, Princess Linjin 臨晉 (720?-773), in Kaiyuan 28 (February 2, 740-January 21, 741), was famous for his filial piety towards his mother. See the account that Dugu Ji 獨孤及 (725-777) wrote in praise of him, "Zheng Fuma xiaoxing ji" 鄭駙馬孝行記, *Piling ji*, *SKQS* 1127: 17.110 (*Wenyuan yinghua* 830.3b; *Tang wen shiyi* 22.8a-b). See also his biographical note at *XTS* 195.5581.

In his memorial epitaph for his wife, Zheng Wanjun mentions that his older and younger sons, Cong 聰 (who married a princess) and Ming 明, acted as the left and right grand master admonishers (*zanshan daifu* 贊善大夫, members of the right and left secretariats of the heir-apparent). "Daiguo zhang gongzhu bei," *QTW* 2794a2-4. Cong and Ming then must have been Qianyao and Huiming (Cong and Ming being Qianyao and Huiming's style-names respectively).

[87] These dates of Yuzhen are suggested in Ding and Yuan, "Yuzhen gongzhu kaolun," 41-43.

[88] For Shi Chongxuan's status as a teacher of Jinxian and her sister, see *Chaoye qianzai* 5.114. Jinxian and her sister's ordination ceremony was superintended by Shi.

joint efforts in establishing Shengshansi.[89] It is quite unusual that four Daoist priests were involved in such a project. Their function might have been to raise funds, not unlike the role Shi Chongxuan played in the construction of two convents for Jinxian and her sister. No matter what Shi's real role was in the Shengshansi project, his friendship with Fazang seems of little doubt. As I have suggested elsewhere, Princess Jinxian was probably such a close friend of Fazang that she, though already an ordained Daoist priestess at the time, was willing to honor Fazang's fond memory of Yunjusi by requesting in 730 (two years before her death and eighteen years after Fazang's) that her brother, the emperor, send to the temple a copy of the Kaiyuan canon. This must have constituted a precious gift that the marginal local temple would have been unable to secure but for the forceful intervention from a figure with Jinxian's influences.[90]

The crowning moment of the friendship between Ruizong and Fazang came at Fazang's death in late 712.[91] Ruizong issued an edict in praise of Fazang, using highly laudatory and respectful terms. He also decreed Fazang's funeral be conducted with the ceremonies that were used for third-ranked officials. Since Ruizong was then retired as full emperor, such an edict would have been issued by Xuanzong, the current emperor. Ruizong's involvement in Fazang's funeral must therefore have reflected a special arrangement due to Ruizong's personal feelings.

5. Concluding remarks

This survey of Fazang's political life in four sections began with the forging of a relationship with Empress Wu, which was marked by his entry into a monastery opened in 670 on the foundations of a mansion once belonging to the empress's mother. It included the episode of the large *Avataṃsaka* assembly held on the eve of the empress's short, new dynasty in 690.

The second section discussed Fazang's relationship with Empress Wu, from her ascendance until shortly before she was forced off the political stage in early 705. Here, we highlighted events that character-

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This important ceremony is the subject of Charles D. Benn's excellent monograph (*Cavern-mystery Transmission*). Shi was believed to have raised a huge amount of money for building two Daoist convents for her two royal disciples. See *XTS* 83.3656-57.

[89] See Chapter 6.2.1.

[90] Chapter 5.3.2; for a more detailed discussion of this issue, see Chen Jinhua, "A Daoist Princess."

[91] Chapter 6.3.3.

ized the complicated nature of their relationship. These included Fazang's disgrace in 694 or early 695 due to infighting within the monastic world (and probably also between the monastic and political worlds); Fazang's role in the enormous project of re-translating the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* (695-699); Fazang's role in the quelling of the Khitan rebellion between 696 and 697 (discussed in Chapter Five); and finally Fazang's capacity as a miracle worker.

The third section discussed Fazang's role in the 705 court *coup d'état*, which led to Empress Wu's abdication and the restoration of the Tang dynasty. In this critical moment of heated court strife, Fazang chose to cooperate with pro-Tang activists in forcing Empress Wu into retirement. I have highlighted the extraordinary complexity and volatility of the political situation in 705, one that eventually evolved into a revolution not only in the political world, but also in the religious domain.

The last section of this chapter examined Fazang's political situation under the reigns of Empress Wu's sons and successors Zhongzong and Ruizong. Fazang served these two emperors not only in his capacity as a Buddhist philosopher and translator, but also with his charisma as a religious leader and his talents in Esoteric Buddhism and magic. Particular attention is paid to the historical background for Fazang's relationship with the current rulers, especially Ruizong.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

FAZANG'S RELIGIOUS LIFE

Fazang's religious life was complex, containing elements that seem expected of a prestigious and learned scholar-monk, such as translating and preaching the fine points of *sūtra*s, but also those that are less examined by modern historians. This chapter takes up the latter in four categories: esoteric rituals, Daoist practices, relic veneration, and self-immolation. These practices may be considered as two pairs, each composed of two interdependent elements. Esoteric rituals and Daoist practices go hand-in-hand as do relic veneration and self-immolation. Given the complexity of Fazang's Daoist connections and their far-reaching implications, we will devote to it a separate section in this chapter, while devoting another section to his esoteric practices. We shall consider Fazang's practices of relic veneration and self-immolation together in the third section.

1. Esoteric practices

Although history has left few traces of Fazang's involvement in esoteric Buddhist practices, there is evidence enough to make a rough outline. More importantly, we will see that the two occasions on which Fazang was known to have used esoteric techniques were of crucial significance to his career. Also, two esoteric texts that he employed had considerable influence in medieval China.

1.1. *Fazang and the Avalokiteśvara Cult*

The deity called "shiyimian" 十一面 figured heavily in Fazang's shamanistic victory against the Khitans, as described in Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's account of it.[1] *Shiyimian* (Skt. *ekadaśamukha*) means "eleven of the utmost," or "eleven faces." The Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara was sometimes called Daguang puzhao Guanyin 大光普照觀音 (Avalokiteśvara of Great Light and Universal Illumination). One of the most popular esoteric *sūtra*s dedicated to this type of Avalokiteśvara is *Avalokiteśvara ekadaśamukha dhāraṇī*. It appears in four Chinese versions: (1) *Foshuo Shiyimian Guanshiyin shenzhou jing* 佛说十一面觀世音神咒經 (one

[1] Chapter 5.3.2.

juan, *T* no. 1017), translated by Yeshejueduo 耶舍崛多 (*Yaśogupta) of the Northern Zhou dynasty;[2] (2) *Shiyimian Guanshiyin shenzhou jing* 十一面觀世音神咒經 by Adiquduo 阿地瞿多 (Wujigao 無極高, Skt. Atikūṭa, fl. 650s), completed sometime between April 16, 653, and May 6, 654, and included as a part (*juan* 4) of *Tuoluoni ji jing* 陀羅尼集經;[3] (3) *Shiyimian shenzhou xinjing* 十一面神咒心經 by Xuanzang on April 27, 656, only two to three years after the appearance of Atikūṭa's version;[4] and (4) *Shiyimian Guanzizai pusa xin miyan niansong yigui jing* 十一面觀自在菩薩心密言念誦儀軌經 (in three *juan*) by Bukong 不空 (Amoghavajra, 705-774).[5] In principle, Fazang could have used any of the first three versions. However, in all likelihood, he used Xuanzang's (no. 3, above), given the latter's prestige as a great translator and the fact that his version was made so shortly after

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[2] *Lidai sanbao ji* (*T* 49: 11.100c) gives the full title as "Shiyimian Guanshiyin zhoujing bing gongneng" 十一面觀世音咒經并功能. It was translated at Sitianwangsi 四天王寺 in Chang'an, with Xiao Ji 蕭吉 (?-605?), Duke of Chengyang 城陽, as scribe. *Lidai sanbao ji* continues by telling us that Yeshejueduo (or, Chengzang 稱藏) was assisted by his junior fellow-disciple Jñānagupta (Ch. She'najueduo 闍那崛多, 527-604) and that this and two more *sūtra* translations (totaling eight *juan*) were sponsored by Yuwen Hu 宇文護 (?-572); cf. *KSL*, *T* 55: 7.545a.

[3] *KSL* (*T* 55: 8.562c) states that the translation enterprise that resulted in *Tuoluoni ji jing* 陀羅尼集經 (12 *juan*), in which Atikūṭa's version of the *sūtra* is included, was started at Huirisi 慧日寺 on April 16, 653 (Yonghui 4.3.14), and finished on May 6, 654 (Yonghui 5.4.15).

[4] According to Zhisheng (*KSL*, *T* 55: 8.556a), Xuanzang completed the translation on April 27, 656 (Xianqing 1.3.28), at the Cloister of Translation (Fanjingyuan 翻經院) of Ciensi, with Xuanze 玄則 (?-658+) as scribe.

[5] *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (*T* 55: 15.879b, 20.929c) records a three-*juan* text titled "Shiyimian Guanzizai pusa jing" 十一面觀自在菩薩經, which was also alternately known as *Shiyimian Guanzizai pusa xin miyan yigui* 十一面觀自在菩薩心密言儀軌. This must have been the same text now known as *Shiyimian Guanzizai pusa xin miyan niansong yigui jing*. No specific date is given. Cf. *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (*T* 55: 1.772b), where the text is mentioned again with no reference to its alternate title. A text with the same title but in one *juan* was also attributed to Bukong (*Bukong biaozhi ji*, *T* 52: 3.839b). This is either a different text or the *juan* number is wrong.

There exist two Tibetan versions, one translated from Xuanzang's version. See Kiyota, "Jūichimen shinju shinkyō ni tsuite"; Yamada, "Jūichimen Kannon bosatsu no seiritsu." Only one Chinese commentary on this esoteric text survives: *Shiyimian shenzhou xinjing yishu* 十一面神咒心經義疏 by Huizhao 慧沼 (651-714) (*T* no. 1802, vol. 39). A Japanese Buddhist bibliography mentions two more (by Jingmai 靖邁 (?-665+) and Tonryun 遁倫 [var. Toryun 道倫] respectively); see *Toiki dentō mokuroku*, *T* 55: 1141b4-6. Unfortunately, neither is extant. In addition, Xuanying's 玄應 *Yiqie jing yinyi* (40.568b-c) contains brief phonological notes on *Shiyimian Guanshiyin jing* (which might refer to Yaśogupta's or Atikūṭa's version), and Huilin's 慧琳 (737-820) version includes notes on *Shiyimian shenzhou xinjing* (which refers to Xuanzang's version) and *Shiyimian Guanzizai Pusa xin miyu yigui jing* 十一面觀自在菩薩心密語儀軌經 (which refers to Bukong's version).

Atikūṭa's, which suggests that there must have been some urgent political and/or religious reasons for making the new version.

Regarding the image of the Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara, one of these Chinese versions (i.e., *Foshuo Shiyimian Guanshiyin shenzhou jing*, *T* no. 1070, vol. 20) gives us the following description.[6] Its height measures one *chi* and three *cun*, and it has eleven heads. The three front faces are those of bodhisattvas; the three left faces are wrathful faces; the three right faces look like those of bodhisattvas, but with canine-teeth protruding from their mouths; the rear face shows wild laughter; and the face at the top is of the Buddha. All the faces are looking forward, with lights attached to the rear. Further, all the eleven faces have flower-crest headdresses, each containing an image of Amitābha Buddha. The Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara holds a water jar (*kuṇḍikā*) in its left hand, with a lotus flower sprouting out from the mouth of the jar. Stretching out its right hand surrounded perhaps by jade bracelets, it forms the *mudrā* of fearlessness.

This *sūtra* promises that a ritual devoted to the Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara can repel an enemy intending to pillage along one's borders:

> If ferocious enemies from another land intend to invade [your territory], you can place the face(s) of this image of Avalokiteśvara in the direction of the enemies, and meanwhile make offerings [to the image] with a variety of incense and flowers. Take a ball of rouge the size of a bean and, after reciting the *dhāraṇī* one thousand and eight times, smear the rouge on the left face of the Avalokiteśvara-image, which is a face of anger. This will prevent the ferocious enemies from advancing. 若有他方怨賊欲來侵境，以此觀世音像面正向之，種種香華而爲供養．取煙脂大如大豆，誦咒一千八遍．塗像左廂瞋面，令彼怨敵不能前進.[7]

Not only was the Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara celebrated for its military power, but it was also believed to be efficacious in dispelling natural disasters like epidemics, as is shown by a story recorded in a Chinese collection of Buddhist miracles. Eight hundred years after the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*, as the story has it, an epidemic struck the state

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[6] See also Yü, *Kuan-yin*, esp. 54-56.

[7] *Shiyimian Guanshiyin shenzhou jing*, *T* 20: 151b25-28. Compared with the Yaśogupta version, the Xuanzang version has a briefer discussion of the Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara:

> Furthermore, if some ferocious thieves from another place intend to invade [your] territory, you can fetch a ball of rouge and recite this *dhāraṇī*. You should keep reciting it one hundred and eight times while decorating this image. You should turn the left face of the Avalokiteśvara-image, which is a face of anger, straight towards the direction [of the enemies], so as to prevent the army of ferocious thieves from advancing. 復次，若他方怨賊欲來侵境，應取燕脂一顆，誦此咒．咒之一百八遍，莊點此像．左邊瞋面，正向彼方．令怨賊軍不得前進．(*Shiyimian shenzhou xinjing*, *T* 20: 154b15-17).

of Qiaosaluo 憍薩羅 (Kośala), taking half the population. The epidemic after three years showed no sign of abating. The king and his court officials decided to entreat the help of merciful deities. The king dreamt of an image of a "sacred being" (a bodhisattva). Eleven faced, the bodhisattva had a gold-yellow body which glowed brilliantly. Stretching out his hands to rub the crown of the king's head, the bodhisattva said, "I shall protect your kingdom with my eleven faces." Upon awakening, the king had an image of the Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara cast in one day. At once, the kingdom was rid of the epidemic, which did not return for one hundred years.[8]

1.2. *Fazang and the Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī*

Fazang's Esoteric Buddhist techniques are well demonstrated in a ritual that he performed in the winter of 711 beside a pond at Mount Zhongnan; it was a prayer whose purpose was to bring moisture in the form of snow.[9] When we examine the event we find Fazang's implicit connections with both Esoteric Buddhism and Daoism.

The esoteric text that Fazang purposefully brought to Ruizong's attention was *Suiqiu zede Dazizai tuoluoni shenzhou [jing]* 隨求則得大自在陀羅尼神咒經 (better known as "Foshuo Suiqiu jide Dazizai tuoluoni shenzhou jing" 佛說隨求即得大自在陀羅尼神咒經 [Skt. *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī*, Sūtra Preached by the Buddha on the *Dhāraṇī-riddhimantra* of Great Self-existence to Obtain One's Wishes]). It had been translated by Baosiwei 寶思惟 (Manicintana?, ?-721) in 693 at Tiangongsi 天宮寺 in Luoyang.[10] Interestingly, the earliest extant copy from the first half of the eighth century may also be one of the earliest specimens of woodblock printing. This print was brought to light in 1974 in Xi'an,[11] but the text also survives in manuscript form from Dunhuang.[12] It contains an extensive *dhāraṇī* and is partly identical with *Pubian guangming [yanman] qingjing chisheng ruyi baoyin xin Wunengsheng da mingwang da suiqiu tuoluoni jing* 普遍光明[焰鬘]清淨熾盛如意寶印心無能勝大明王大隨求陀羅尼經 (in two *juan*), translated by Bukong—a more developed version.[13]

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[8] *Sanbao ganying yaolüe lu*, *T* 51: 3.852c.

[9] Chapter 6.3.1.

[10] On the translation, see *KSL* 9.566c; analyzed in Antonino Forte's study of this Kashmirian monk ("Manicintana," 308-9).

[11] Han Baoquan, "Shijie zuizao de yinshuapin"; Pan, *Zaoqi yinshuashu*, 50-52.

[12] *DB* 3: 356 (*S*. 403), 106: 278-84 (*B*. 7443), 106: 284-87 (*B*. 7444), 106: 288-89 (*B*. 7445), 106: 291-92 (*B*. 7446), 106: 292-93 (*B*. 7447), 109: 389-92 (*B*. 8239) and 111: 81-82 (*B*. 8644). I thank James Robson for calling my attention to these Dunhuang manuscripts.

[13] Bukong's version seems to have enjoyed more popularity among later practitioners. See Eugene Wang, "Spells and Space"; Tsiang, "Buddhist Printed Images."

The *sūtra* promises to avert calamity and bring good fortune. But it was probably the following passage that captured Fazang's imagination and prompted him to recommend the *sūtra* to Ruizong:

> Should a severe drought occur, make a nine-headed dragon in the center of the *dhāraṇī*. The same dragon should be drawn when there is excessive rain. Furthermore, you should place the *dhāraṇī* directly in the water where a dragon lives. Rain will then fall immediately in the case of a drought and the sky will clear instantly if there is an excess of rain. 若亢旱時，於咒心中作一九頭龍，若滯雨時，亦作此龍．並當安著有龍水中，旱即下雨，滯即得晴.[14]

When Fazang mentioned this *sūtra* to Ruizong, he emphasized that an altar should be constructed in order to copy the *dhāraṇī* contained in the *sūtra*. In fact, the *sūtra* lays out procedures for constructing the altar for copying, the main procedures of which are as follows. A vase filled with scented water should be placed at each of the four corners of the altar within which should be drawn two, three, four, or five lotus flowers. Around the circumference of the altar should be drawn the pistils and stamens of the lotus flowers. The practitioner should also draw a great lotus flower in full blossom, the stalks of which are to be completely draped with silk fabrics. An eight-leafed lotus flower should also be drawn, and on each leaf a three-pronged halberd. The stalks are to be completely covered with silk fabrics. Also to be drawn is an eight-petaled lotus flower, in the center of which is a *vajra*-mallet. This mallet is to be drawn on each leaf, and silk fabrics should cover its stalks. Also to be drawn is a lotus flower with a knife in its center and silk fabrics covering its stalks. Also to be drawn is a sword with a flower that has stalks completely hung with silk fabrics. Also to be drawn is a lotus flower with a conch in its center. Also to be drawn is a lotus flower with a robe in its center. Also to be drawn is a lotus flower with a jewel of flame in its center. Various offerings including incense, flowers, drinks, food and fruits are to be prepared. Those who wish to copy and wear this *dhāraṇī* must make sure that an altar is constructed in accordance with the prescribed procedures. The scribe of the *dhāraṇī* must bathe, don new and clean robes and eat only the three "white foods"—milk, cream (or curd), and upland rice. Any writing material, including paper, bamboo, white silk or colored silk, may be used to copy this *dhāraṇī*.[15]

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[14] *Foshuo suiqiu jide da zizai tuoluoni shenzhou jing*, *T* 20: 642a.
[15] *Foshuo suiqiu jide da zizai tuoluoni shenzhou jing*, *T* 20: 641c12-29.

2. Daoist practices

If it is relatively easy to identify the esoteric *sūtra* for this ritual, other relevant questions are harder to answer. First, if we assume that the snow-prayer was performed beside a pool ("dragon-pool" here), where was it located? Was it at or near Wuzhensi, as suggested by a literal reading of the text, or was it actually located at or near a temple named after the legendary dragon-pool—Longchisi 龍池寺 ("Temple of the Dragonpool"), which was also located at Mount Zhongnan? Secondly, why did Fazang carry out the ritual near a particular temple, whether Wuzhensi or Longchisi? Thirdly, what ritual did Fazang perform on this occasion? In addition to copying the *dhāraṇī* from the *sūtra* then casting the text into the pool, do we know anything else about ritual details? Finally, what made Mount Zhongnan and one mountain temple there so attractive to this monk? Attempts to answer these questions will lead us to a concern deeply embedded in Fazang religious life—his longstanding and profound engagement with Daoist ideas and practices.

2.1. *The Location of the 711 Ritual: Longchisi or Wuzhensi?*

First we should locate the ritual. For its name and its unmistakable association with a "dragon-pool," Longchisi is the likely first choice.[16] However, no matter how plausible that might be, there is other evidence that leads me to conclude that it was the temple called "Wuzhensi," that Fazang performed the ritual.

The only two studies on this important temple are somewhat unsatisfactory.[17] We need, therefore, to look at the basic facts. Wuzhensi was located in the Wuzhen 悟真 valley of Mount Zhongnan, Shaanxi (nine kilometers east of Lantian 藍田). The temple was composed of two parts, one called "Shangsi" 上寺 (Upper Temple) and the other "Xiasi" 下寺 (Lower Temple). The Upper Temple was located within the valley of Wuzhen. Because of the abundance of bamboo, it was also called Zhulinsi 竹林寺. The Lower Temple was situated on the southern bank of Lan River 藍水, at the mouth of the Wuzhen valley. Wuzhensi was

[16] For this temple, see Appendix L.

[17] See Hirokawa, "Shūnanzan Goshinji kō"; Naruse, "Shūnanzan Goshinji kō." Hirokawa's article is rather sketchy. Naruse collects and surveys some major sources on Wuzhensi. His study is, however, unsatisfactory and incomplete. He has made no mention of Fazang's ties with Wuzhensi, nor has he ever tried to investigate non-monastic sources relevant to Wuzhensi, which are quite rich, particularly Bai Juyi's 白居易 (772-846) poem (discussed below). His investigation does not go beyond the Tang era. Finally, he has not heeded the Daoist surrounding from which this Buddhist temple sprang.

founded by Jingye 淨業 (564-616), a disciple of two Sui-era Buddhist leaders, Jingying Huiyuan 淨影慧遠 (523-592) and Tanqian 曇遷 (542-607). Jingye arrived at the mountain sometime around 595, and stayed until 608.[18] His followers, after learning of his intention to spend the rest of his life at Mount Zhongnan, built a temple for him that was later known as Wuzhensi.

Among Jingye's companions at the temple was the eminent monk Huichao 慧超 (546-622), who was a major disciple of the Tiantai patriarch Huisi. When Jingye decided to live at Wuzhensi he invited Huichao to live there with him. The two monks then spent the following eight years together at the temple.[19] Huichao left Wuzhensi in 603 for his appointment at an important Chang'an monastery built that year, Chandingsi 禪定寺 (this also suggests that he and Jingye arrived at Wuzhensi in 595). He returned later to Mount Zhongnan, where he lived until his death in 622. Most of his time there was very likely spent at Wuzhensi, judging by the fact that this is the temple with which he is identified in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*.[20]

Jingye and Huichao were joined by another exceptional monk, Facheng 法誠 (563-640), who, after studying successively with two meditation leaders in the Chang'an area, Senghe 僧和 and Tanxiang 曇相 (?-582), eventually became an admirer (or even disciple) of Huichao.[21] An accomplished architect and calligrapher, Facheng came to play a central role in expanding Wuzhensi into a magnificent monastery. He built both a splendid *Avataṃsaka* Hall (Huayantang 華嚴堂) and a hall of one hundred Buddha-images.[22] As an expert calligrapher

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[18] *XGSZ, T* 50: 12.517b-c. Although here Daoxuan only notes that he arrived at Wuzhensi during the Kaihuang era (581-600), elsewhere he suggests that Jingye might have arrived there along with another monk around 595 (see below). It seems that Jingye only stayed there until 608, when he was invited to be a professor at Honglusi 弘臚寺 (Court of State Ceremonies) in the capital. For Jingye's studies with Huiyuan and Tanqian, see Chen Jinhua, *Monks and Monarchs,* 40-41.

[19] *XGSZ*, *T* 50: 28.687b.

[20] *XGSZ*, *T* 50: 28.687b-c; for the title of Huichao's biography, see *XGSZ*, *T* 50: 28.685c. His biographies are also contained in *Shimen zhengtong*, *XZJ* 130: 2.368b-c; *Fozu tongji*, *T* 49: 7.195c.3ff; *Fahua zhuanji*, *T* 51: 4.64b23ff. Robson, *Imagining Nanyue*, 469, also mentions Huichao (transliterated as Huizhao) as someone belonging to both the meditation and Pure Land traditions.

[21] For Tanxiang, see Chen Jinhua, *Monks and Monarchs*, 155-56. In his biography of Huichao, Daoxuan mentions a monk called Facheng 法成 as Huichao's disciple (*XGSZ*, *T* 50: 28.687c7). This Facheng was likely Facheng 法誠 the renovator of Wuzhensi.

[22] This was probably the Hall of Jade-images (Yuxiang dian 玉像殿) housing one hundred Buddha-images (or statues) that is mentioned in Bai Juyi's celebrated poem for Wuzhensi, "You Wuzhensi shi" 遊悟真寺詩 (*QTS* 429.4734; Zhu Jincheng [coll. and annot.], *Bai Juyi ji jianjiao* 6.340): 西開玉像殿, 百佛森比肩 (the original has 白佛, obviously an error for 百佛).

he inscribed Buddhist *gāthā*s on the cliffs overlooking the mountain roads around the monastery.[23] Through the efforts of Facheng and his supporters, Wuzhensi soon gained a reputation as one of the most elegantly designed temples on Mount Zhongnan, or even in the whole Chang'an area. Close to Wuzhensi was a grotto with Buddha-statues and inscriptions.[24] Starting in the Tang dynasty, Wuzhensi became celebrated as a breath-taking scenic site for literati, as is evidenced by the poems of renowned scholars and the inscriptions left in the Wuzhensi grotto during their gatherings there, especially during the Song.[25]

Other than the fact that the monastery was renamed Chongfasi 崇法寺 sometime during the Song, its history after the Tang remains unclear.[26] Judging by the fact that such literary luminaries as Su Shunqin 蘇舜欽 (1008-1048) were attracted to it, the temple must have remained prosperous at the time.[27] The temple continued to thrive until at least the Ming dynasty (1368-1662), when a hall called Shuilu 水陸 was built within the lower part of the monastery. Later renamed Shuilu'an 水陸庵, it housed famous sculptures depicting various mansions, halls, ordinary people, buddhas, bodhisattvas and *jātaka* stories.[28] Some of these were probably the very sculptures that Facheng helped recover from the secret places in which they were buried during the

[23] See also *Fayuan zhulin*, *T* 53: 27.486a-c; *Fahua zhuanji*, *T* 51: 4.65b-c; *Hongzan Fahua zhuan*, *T* 51: 8.37a-c; *HJZ*, *T* 51: 5.171a-b.

[24] See Wuzhensi shiku diaocha zu, "Lantian Wuzhensi shiku ji songdai tike." It seems that the grotto is the one mentioned in Bai Juyi's poem.

[25] These poems dedicated to Wuzhensi are included in *QTS*: (1) Wang Wei 王維 (701-761), "You Wuzhensi" 遊悟真寺 (*QTS* 127.1292; another source attributes it to Wang Jin 王縉 [700-781], see *QTS* 129.1311); (2) Qian Qi 錢起 (710?-782?), "Deng Yushan zhufeng ouzhi Wuzhensi" 登玉山諸峰偶至悟真寺 (*QTS* 236.2620); (3) Lu Lun 盧綸 (739?-799?), "Ti Wuzhensi" 題悟真寺 (*QTS* 279.3171); (4) Zhang Ji 張籍 (767?-830?), "Shihang wang Wuzhensi" 使行望悟真寺 (*QTS* 386.4356), in addition to the above-mentioned poem by Bai Juyi (*QTS* 429.4734-4736; Zhu Jincheng [coll. and annot.], *Bai Juyi ji jianjiao* 6.339-345), which runs as long as two hundred and forty lines (five characters each line). Xie Siwei 謝思煒 ("You Wuzhensi shi kaoshi") recently provided a careful study of this poem. Bai Juyi also mentions the same temple in two more poems, "You Wuzhensi hui shanxia bie Zhang Yinheng" 遊悟真寺迴山下別張殷衡 (*QTS* 437.4853; Zhu Jincheng [coll. and annot.], *Bai Juyi ji jianjiao* 14.853), "You Lantian shan buju" 遊藍田山卜居 (*QTS* 429.4731; Zhu Jincheng [coll. and annot.], *Bai Juyi ji jianjiao* 6.327).

[26] *Chang'an zhi*, *SKQS* 587: 16.10a.

[27] Wuzhensi shiku diaocha zu, "Wuzhensi shiku." A memorial poem that Su Shunqin wrote for Wuzhensi, titled "Lantian Wuzhensi zuo" 藍田悟真寺作, is extant. See Fu and Hu (coll. and annot.), *Su Shunqin ji biannian jiaozhu*, 67-69. Fu and Hu (68) believe that the poem was written in the first year of the Jingyou era (January 23, 1034-February 10, 1035), when Su was observing his mourning period for his parents.

[28] Ciyi, et al. (comp.), *Foguang da cidian*, 4112.

sweeping persecution of Buddhism by the Northern Zhou government between 574 and 578.

Of all the Buddhist traditions that left their traces at this monastery, the cult of the *Lotus sūtra* seems to have been most richly documented. This tradition was apparently brought there by Huichao, whose focus on the *sūtra* came from his teacher Huisi. During his five-decade monastic career Huichao purportedly recited the *Lotus sūtra* ten thousands times, evoking countless "auspicious signs" (i.e., miracles).[29] Like Huichao, Facheng and his lay disciple Yang Nanji 楊難及 (whose name suggests he was a layman) were assiduous chanters of the *sūtra*. Facheng, in particular, practiced the Lotus Samādhi (*Fahua sanmei* 法華三昧).[30] One more disciple of Huichao at Wuzhensi, Shanyi 善義 (dates unknown), was similarly dedicated to the *Lotus sūtra*, which he reportedly recited over ten thousand times. He died standing with his palms folded, a feat that in Chinese Buddhist literature is noted as a sign of saintliness.[31]

Other Lotus practitioners at Wuzhensi included Xuanji 玄際 (a.k.a. Jingwu 靜務) (640-706), and Huiyuan 慧遠 (597-647) (not to be confused with his contemporary Jingying Huiyuan), who, as the most important disciple of the Sanlun 三論 master Jizang 吉藏 (549-623), spent his last decade or so at Wuzhensi.[32] Xuanji was from a prestigious family. He entered the saṃgha at eleven and became an administrator of Daxingshansi 大興善寺 at thirty-two (671). Shortly thereafter he quit this position and retreated to Wuzhensi during the Xianheng era (March 27, 670-September 5, 674), where he took to the constant recitation of the *Lotus*. It is said that he recited it twelve thousand times and the *Diamond sūtra* ten thousand. *Hongzan Fahua zhuan* records various "marvelous experiences" that he encountered in the long process of *Lotus* recitation.[33]

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[29] *XGSZ*, *T* 50: 28.687c6-7. His biography in *Hongzan Fahua zhuan* (*T* 51: 8.35c) features several miracle stories about his veneration of the *Lotus sūtra*.

[30] In addition to a biography at *XGSZ* (*T* 50: 28.689a), Facheng also has an entry in *Hongzan Fahua zhuan* (*T* 51: 8.37a-b), which highlights miracles brought about by his veneration of the *Lotus sūtra*.

[31] *Fahua zhuanji*, *T* 51: 3.61c27-28. For more examples of dying standing up as verification of sainthood, see Chen Jinhua, *Monks and Monarchs*, 187.

[32] Daoxuan's biography of Jizang in *XGSZ* briefly mentions Huiyuan as a chief disciple, who escorted Jizang's body to Zhixiangsi on Mount Zhongnan (*XGSZ*, *T* 50: 11.514c13-17). Huiyuan carried on Jizang's teaching and promoted successfully the Sanlun tradition. Daoxuan remarks at the end that Huiyuan was still alive in his own day (*XGSZ*, *T* 50: 11.515a5-8).

[33] *Hongzan Fahua zhuan*, *T* 50: 10.46c15. Ogasawara Senshū 小笠原宣秀 ("Rankoku shamon Eshō ni tsuite") identifies the compiler of *Hongzan Fahua zhuan*, Huixiang 惠詳, as a Wuzhensi monk, which was the place for many of the monks narrated by Huixiang. Ibuki Atsushi 伊吹敦 ("Tō Sō Ejō ni tsuite"), however, has

Returning now to Huiyuan, although not accorded a biography in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, fortunately he gained an entry in *Hongzan Fahua zhuan* that contains a *Lotus*-related miracle story. Huiyuan's skill in lecturing on the *Lotus sūtra* was so amazing that two dragons helped him bring rain during a drought.[34] He resided in the Langu valley for over a decade. Although in the biography itself Huixiang does not tell us at which temple on Mount Zhongnan Huiyuan resided officially, it does, more indirectly, identify him as a monk at Wuzhensi for over a decade.[35]

That such an important Sanlun master as Huiyuan eventually became a resident of Wuzhensi should not come as a surprise: some decades earlier two Sanlun experts had already affiliated themselves with this temple. They are Baogong 保恭 (542-621) and Huiyin 慧因 (539-627), Buddhist leaders at the turn of the Sui and Tang dynasties.[36]

In addition to the *Lotus* and Sanlun traditions, another tradition with notable presence at Wuzhensi was Pure-land. The earliest practitioners there included Fangqi 方啓 (?-635+) and Xuanguo 玄果 (?-635+). According to Jiacai 迦才 (fl. 627-649), an early Pure-land practitioner and author, they had a series of dreams related to Amitābha's Pure Land some time around Zhenguan 9 (January 24, 635-February 11, 636).[37] The Song-era monk Feizhuo 非濁 (?-1063) records a story of a Wuzhensi monk visualizing the Pure Land through portraits he made of Śākyamuni and Amitābha.[38] Given that this story was newly added by Feizhuo, its subject may have been his contemporary. What is most noteworthy is that according to a late source, the Pure-land master Shandao 善導 (613-683) spent a long period of time at Wuzhensi, thus acquiring the sobriquet of "Great Master of Zhongnan."[39]

Moreover, it seems that accomplished meditation masters were also affiliated, as confirmed by several lines in Bai Juyi's poem dedicated to the monastery:

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recently argued against this, suggesting that Huixiang belonged to another Lantian temple, namely, Jinliangsi 津梁寺.

[34] *Hongzan Fahua zhuan*, *T* 51: 3.19b16ff.

[35] *Hongzan Fahua zhuan*, *T* 51: 3.17c21: 唐藍田山悟真寺慧遠. Huixiang observes here that Huiyuan had lived at Langu for over a decade. On the other hand, we have already noted that Huiyuan escorted Jizang's body to Mount Zhongnan when the latter died (in 623). It seems that it was only several years after this special mission that Huiyuan moved to Langu and stayed there until his own death in Zhenguan 17 (January 26, 643-February 13, 644). This information is also verified by Daoxuan (see note 32).

[36] Chen Jinhua, *Monks and Monarchs*, 170.

[37] *Jingtu lun*, *T* 47: 3.97a28; cf. *SGSZ*, *T* 50: 24.863b29.

[38] *Sanbao ganying yaolüe lu*, *T* 51: 1.829c11.

[39] *Xinxiu Wangsheng zhuan*, *Zoku Jōdo-shū zensho* 16: 2.92a17-b3.

又有一片石	There is also a stone slab,
大如方尺磚	One square *chi* in size.
插在半壁上	Inserted halfway up the cliff,
其下萬仞懸	[It] overlooks an abyss of ten thousand fathoms.
云有過去師	[People] say that there was a master in the past,
坐得無生禪	Who sat on it and attained the dhyāna of birthlessness.
號爲定心石	Called the “Mind-pacifying Stone,”
長老世相傳	It has been long transmitted from generation to generation.[40]

Thus we can see that since the late-Sui dynasty, Wuzhensi was a prestigious Buddhist monastery important for several major Buddhist traditions, including those based on the *Lotus sūtra*, the Three Mādhyamika Treatises (Sanlun), Pure-land, and meditation.

When considering Fazang’s possible relationship with Wuzhensi, we should ask whether or not Wuzhensi had ties with the *Avataṃsaka* tradition. For this, we need to take into account Jingye’s joint discipleship under Huiyuan and Tanqian, both of whom were major expounders of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*.[41] Although we have no evidence that shows Jingye’s personal participation in the *Avataṃsaka* teachings at Wuzhensi, the *Avataṃsaka* Hall at the temple, constructed under the supervision of Facheng, can be taken as a testimony to the *sūtra*’s appeal to the Wuzhensi group at the time of Jingye and Facheng. The strongest evidence of any *Avataṃsaka* ties comes, however, from Fazang’s own presence at the temple. It remains unclear when Fazang came to be affiliated—perhaps as early as 670. At any rate, we have evidence that the association had started as of August 29, 677. Fazang was also known to have been at the temple in the summer of 703.[42] Thus, in contrast with the absence of evidence of Fazang’s connection with Longchisi, his known relationship with Wuzhensi leads me to believe that in 711, only eight years after his last verified association with Wuzhensi, he performed there the snow-prayer ritual that we have already mentioned.

However, before finally identifying Wuzhensi as the site of the 711 ritual, we need to solve one more problem. Was there any pond at Wuzhensi into which Fazang could have thrown the *dhāraṇī*s in the course of the ritual? Fortunately, Bai Juyi’s poem once again lends evidence:

東南月上時	When the moon rises from the southeast,
夜氣青漫漫	The night air is fresh and wide-reaching.
百丈碧潭底	From the bottom of the jade pool hundreds of feet deep,
寫出黃金盤	Rise up golden dishes.
藍水色似藍	The blue water looks like indigo in color,

[40] *QTS* 429.4735; Zhu Jincheng (coll. and annot.), *Bai Juyi ji jianjiao* 6.341.
[41] Chen Jinhua, *Monks and Monarchs*, 40-41.
[42] Fazang’s ties with Wuzhensi are discussed in Chapters 5.2.1 and 6.1.1.

日夜長潺潺	Constantly flowing both day and night.
周迴繞山轉	Circling it twists around the mountain,
下視如青環	As I look down upon it, it is like a green bracelet when viewed from above.
或鋪爲慢流	In places it spreads out and flows slowly,
或激爲奔湍	In places it is diverted and becomes a torrent.
泓澄最深處	From the deepest limpidity and clarity,
浮出蛟龍涎	Floats [onto the surface] the saliva of the dragon.
....	
中頂最高峰	The central crown of the highest peak
拄天青玉竿	Is like a sky-supporting pole of green jade.
䶂䶅上不得	Even a *jiongling*[43] mouse cannot reach there,
豈我能攀援	How can I climb up by hand?
上有白蓮池	Above is a pool of white lotuses,
素葩覆清瀾	The white[44] flowers covering the serene ripples.
聞名不可到	Heard of but inaccessible,
處所非人寰	This place doesn't belong to the human sphere.[45]

Thus, at the top of the central peak there was indeed a pool called "Bailianchi" 白蓮池 ("Pool of White Lotus Flowers"). It seems that it was not accessible to ordinary people. Near the monastery there was a pool (*tan* 潭) as deep as one hundred *zhang*, a measure that although rhetorical unmistakably indicates some extreme physical depth. The pool flowed into a long, curving river, and at some point formed a pond that was so deep that a dragon was believed to have lived there. Therefore, it is not difficult to imagine that close to Wuzhensi there was a deep pool, which probably also bore a name such as *longchi* 龍池, *longtan* 龍潭, or *longqiu* 龍湫—all indicating "dragon pool"—thanks to its reputation as the residence for a dragon.

We turn now to the last factor that makes Wuzhensi the likely site of the 711 esoteric ritual. This involves Fazang's Daoist ties.

2.2. *The Daoist Elements of the 711 Ritual*

Although we know almost nothing about the specific procedures of the snow ritual except for those prescribed in the esoteric scripture that Fazang probably followed, Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's brief description still reminds one of the Daoist practices called *toujian* 投簡 ("hurling the slips"), *tou longjian* 投龍簡 ("hurling the dragon-slips"), *tou longbi* 投龍璧 ("hurling the dragon-jades"), or *toulong jianbi* 投龍荐璧 ("hurling the dragon [-slips] and presenting the jades"). These terms indicate the

[43] The *jiongling* is a kind of striped mouse.

[44] Another edition has the character 素 ("white") as 紫 ("purple").

[45] "You Wuzhensi shi," *QTS* 429.4735; Zhu Jincheng (coll. and annot.), *Bai Juyi ji jianjiao* 6.340-41.

practice of casting bamboo (jade, or metal) strips into a specific place as a ritual procedure.[46]

The *locus classicus* for this Daoist practice is probably Lu Xiujing's 陸修靜 (406-477) *Taishang dongxuan lingbaozhong jianwen* 太上洞玄靈寶眾簡文.[47] It entails a strip of bamboo or other material that was inscribed with a votive and scriptural passage and/or Daoist talisman (*fulu* 符籙) and then thrown into a cleft in the mountains, or into a body of water or a residence, in the hope that the messages on the strip would be passed on to the gods and fulfilled. In order to hasten the transmission of the message, the casting away of the script was usually accompanied by a piece of jade carved with a dragon, referred to as *jinlong yichuan* 金龍驛傳 ("Metal-dragon the Messenger"). The dragon was believed to be a reliable and rapid go-between for human communication with divine beings. The *toujian* procedure usually followed the Daoist sacrificial rite known as *jiao* 醮. The latter was repeatedly incorporated into the traditional imperial *feng* 封 and *shan* 禪 ceremonies on Mount Tai 泰 that during the Tang were executed under the auspices of Gaozong and Empress Wu. Of the nine such ceremonies recorded, six involved the practice of *toujian*.[48] Most interestingly, a "gold slip" (*jinjian* 金簡) was recently recovered which contains an inscription written in the name of Empress Wu, who humbly entreated Daoist deities to remove her name from their lists of sinners. It was a part of a "dragon-hurling" ceremony that a Daoist leader performed on her behalf on Mount Song early in the fall of 700.[49]

Even a hasty comparison of Daoist *toujian* with Fazang's snow-prayer reveals similarities. First and foremost is of course the presupposition that specific human wishes could be fulfilled through divine intercession. This is the same, whether state welfare, personal health, or ending of drought is the goal. Second, both rituals resorted to a "written slip" (either bamboo, jade or even gold in Daoism, or paper in Fazang's 711 ritual) as a means of communication with the deities. Third, both involved the act of casting away the strips. Finally, the image of a dragon occurred in both cases. In contrast to Daoism, in which a dragon was the explicit messenger, Fazang and his colleagues seem to have only implicitly called upon any dragon. Fazang's throwing the *dhāraṇī*s into the "dragon pool" was unusual enough to prompt us to think that it may have been inspired by the Daoist practice. It is therefore likely that

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[46] For this practice, see Chavannes, "Le jet des Dragons"; Charles D. Benn, *Cavern-Mystery Transmission*, 69-71; Kamitsuka, "Sokuten bukō ki no Dōkyō," 248-60; Robson, *Imagining Nanyue*, 277-80; Zhao Youqiang, "Toujian zhidu"; Ge, "Daojiao de toujian"; and Zhang Zehong, *Daojiao shenxian xinyang yu jisi yishi*, 264-78.

[47] *ZD* vol. 191, p. 840. In addition, *Wushang miyao* 無上秘要, *juan* 41, contains a chapter on *toujian* called "Toujian pin" 投簡品.

[48] Kamitsuka, "Sokuten bukō ki no Dōkyō," 253-54.

[49] This case was discussed in Chapter 8.4.

Fazang was reenacting a practice with a long history in Daoism. It makes increasing sense, as we look more closely at other Daoist aspects of religious life at Wuzhensi.

Wuzhensi's specific mount was Mount Fuju 覆車山 (part of the Zhongnan range)—believed to have been the place where Wang Shun 王順 achieved immortality. The mountain was therefore at some point named after him.[50] In his poem for Wuzhensi, Bai Juyi mentions several Daoist-flavored sites in the neighborhood of the monastery, like Yexianci 謁仙祠 (Shrine of Visiting Immortals), Shaiyaotai 曬藥臺 ("Herb-sunning Terrace"), Zhizhutian 芝朮田 ("Field of excrescences and atractylis"),[51] and so on:

卻上謁仙祠	I then retreated to ascend the Shrine of Visiting the Immortals,
蔓草生綿綿	Where wild grass grows in abundance.
昔聞王氏子	I heard that in the past a son of the Wang family,
羽化升上玄	Transformed himself into an immortal by ascending to the [Heaven of] "Upper Mystery."
其西曬藥臺	The "Herb-drying Terrace" to the west [of the shrine]
猶對芝朮田	Still faces the "field of excrescences and atractylis."
時復明月夜	It happened to be a bright moon night,
上聞黃鶴言	The words of yellow cranes could be heard from above.[52]

The founder Jingye, not coincidentally, was a devoted practitioner of the Daoist arts of cultivating life.[53] His fascination with Daoist practices was probably inherited from his teacher Tanqian, who was not only an expert on the Daoist philosophy based on *Daode jing* 道德經 and *Zhuangzi* 莊子, but also a master of the "technical arts" (*fangshu* 方術).[54] In the same vein, Huichao's decision to accept Jingye's invitation to live at Wuzhensi might also have been at least partly due to his personal interest in such practices. At the beginning of the Sui unification of China (around 589), Huichao, who was then probably staying at Mount Tiantan, went north to Mount Song, where he sought to spend

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[50] "You Wuzhensi shi," *QTS* 429.4734; Zhu Jincheng (coll. and annot.), *Bai Juyi ji jianjiao* 6.339.

[51] Scholars have proposed different translations for *zhi* and *zhu*, including "numinous mushroom," "excrescences," and *ganoderma lucidum* for *zhi*; "atractylis," or "thistle" for *zhu*. For a comprehensive discussion, see Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth*, 27n35 (on *zhi*), 134n4 (on *zhu*).

[52] "You Wuzhensi shi," *QTS* 429.4735; Zhu Jincheng (coll. and annot.), *Bai Juyi ji jianjiao* 6.341.

[53] Note Daoxuan's phrase: "He was deeply fond of 'technical methods.' Refraining from rice, he refined his own body. Ice-jades and cloudy pearls he used to support his spirit and nurture *qi*." 篤愛方術, 卻粒練形. 冰玉雲珠, 資神養氣 (*XGSZ*, *T* 50: 12.517c19-20).

[54] For Tanqian's involvement in Daoism, see Chen Jinhua, *Monks and Monarchs*, 37-40.

the rest of his life “consuming elixir concoctions” (*eryao* 餌藥) (these made from Daoist recipes) and practicing meditation.[55] As I noted elsewhere, Huichao’s enthusiasm for Daoism might have also derived from his teacher Huisi, whose personal involvement in that religion has been noted by scholars.[56]

2.3. *Other Evidence for Fazang’s Daoist Ties*

It is quite understandable that Fazang would have chosen Wuzhensi as the place in which to perform an esoteric ritual strongly influenced by Daoism. Fazang’s interest in Daoism probably derived from his long seclusion on Mount Zhongnan in his youth. His epitaph-writer Yan Chaoyin characterizes his experiences at Mount Zhongnan by a general expression, *ya yi chongxuan* 雅挹重玄 (“often investigating double mystery”), which might refer to a general sort of Daoist idea, if not specifically the *chongxuan* 重玄 (Twofold Mystery) trend in Daoist metaphysics.[57] The credibility of such an interpretation seems borne out by the fact that it was precisely this “school” that integrated Mahāyāna Buddhist (Mādhyamika in particular) teachings into Daoism.[58] Fazang’s involvement in Daoist practices while he lived at Mount Zhongnan is corroborated by Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn, who tells us that the year after he burned off of a finger in front of the Famensi pagoda, Fazang entered Mount Zhongnan to “learn the Way” (*xuedao* 學道), an expression which in classical Chinese usually indicated one’s effort to pursue Daoist practices. On another occasion, Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn also notes that during his seclusion at Mount Zhongnan in search of the dharma, Fazang “ate *zhu*” (*erzhu* 餌朮) for several years.[59] This suggests that Fazang engaged in both Buddhist and Daoist practices at the mountain.

Although Yan Chaoyin’s hints and Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn’s more direct observation probably should not be understood strictly as saying that

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[55] *XGSZ*, *T* 50: 28.687b16-17: 北入嵩高, 餌藥坐禪, 冀言終老. Cf. *Fahua zhuanji*, *T* 51: 4.64c1-2. Other evidence for Huisi’s ties with Daoism is discussed in Chen Yinque, “Nanyue dashi”; Sengoku, “Eshi.”

[56] Chen Jinhua, *Monks and Monarchs*, 201.

[57] “Kang Zang bei,” 280b14.

[58] Robinet, *Daoism*, 194; and particularly, Sharf, *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism*, passim.

[59] *PHC* 281a29-b1. *Erzhu* 餌朮, like *eryao* 餌藥, does not necessarily indicate a Daoist practice. The inverted phrase (*yaoer* 餌藥) in Bodhiruci’s biography, for example, probably has nothing to do with Daoism, as Antonino Forte privately informed me. See *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.570c18-571a3, translated in Forte, “Bodhiruci,” 108-9. However, given the Daoist milieu of Mount Zhongnan, I am inclined to believe that Fazang’s consumption of this material shows interest in specific Daoist practices.

Fazang's climbing Mount Zhongnan in 659 was primarily to seek Daoistic arts of longevity and immortality rather than Buddhist enlightenment and *nirvāṇa*, they nevertheless do show that religious seekers in medieval China, no matter Daoist or Buddhist, used similar *dhāraṇī*s, potions, talismans, *mudrā*s, divinations, and that their scriptures about such practices were often intertwined borrowings and in some cases pseudo-translations. After entering Mount Zhongnan, Fazang continued to learn and practice Buddhism along with Daoism. It is no wonder that a religious environment like Mount Zhongnan, where Buddhism and Daoism converged, encouraged Fazang to develop in both religions. The best example for the convergence of Daoist practice and *Avataṃsaka* study on Mount Zhongnan at that period can be found in the renowned physician Sun Simiao, whose reputed status as a Daoist priest makes us think again about the writing by Fazang that is our earliest known biography of Sun, whom Fazang calls a *chushi* 處士 (recluse).[60] Clearly, Sun Simiao is best regarded as a Buddho-Daoist whose career exemplified the confluence of the two religions in certain locales in Fazang's time.

Zhongnan was also at that time frequented by a number of hermits who were both *Avataṃsaka* experts and Daoist adepts, and some also self-immolators. Fazang must have felt empathy toward them, considering his own experiences as a selfmutilator.

Both Fazang's and Daoxuan's writings preserve traces of *Avataṃsaka* masters and self-immolators. Daoxuan's biographical collection contains entries for a monk Puyuan 普圓 (fl. ca. 560) and two of his disciples Puji 普寂 (?-581) and Puan 普安 (530-609), all *Avataṃsaka* experts and self-immolators.[61] Fazang describes a monk who studied the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* on Mount Zhongnan and who acquired immortality after making the acquaintance of local deities who resemble Daoist immortals, at least in Fazang's description. The specific story is interesting not only for the convergence of Daoist practice and *Avataṃsaka* study in the Zhongnan area at this time, but it also provides a refreshing insight into Fazang's attitude toward Daoist practice.

The monk Huiwu 慧悟 of Chanding daochang 禪定道場 (i.e., Chandingsi) of the Sui[62] resided on Mount Zhongnan as a recluse with

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[60] *HJZ*, *T* 51: 5.171b24-c19. Sun Simiao's connections with Buddhism (including his friendship with the famed Buddhist scholar-monk Daoxuan) and especially the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* are studied in Sakade, "Sun Simiao et le Bouddhisme."

[61] See *XGSZ*, *T* 50: 27.680b23-c10, 680c11-681a8, 681a9-682b4. The biographies of these monks have been summarized and analyzed in James Benn, *Burning for the Buddha*, 80-83, 212-13.

[62] *GYZ* (*T* 51: 174b24) has the story happening in the Tang, during the Yonghui era (February 7, 650-February 7, 656), and it identifies Huiwu's companion as Daoxiang 道祥.

a comrade. He was devoted to the *Avataṃsaka* teachings and his comrade studied the *Nirvāṇa sūtra*. They spent years eating only fruit and dwelling in a cave. Each concentrating on his chosen discipline, they worked without any morning or evening relaxation. One day, a stranger appeared. After introducing himself and exchanging greetings with them, he expressed his wish to invite one of them to his residence for alms. The two monks, being both of good virtue, recommended each other. Hearing that the stranger wanted someone who practiced the *Avataṃsaka* teachings, Huiwu cleaned his robe and bowl and left with him. Before going far, Huiwu asked the stranger where his house was, and was told that it was just to the south. Huiwu felt this odd since only mountains and ravines lay to the south: no village. At that moment, the stranger felt obliged to reveal his real identity—a mountain deity who dwelt among the caves and ravines of the area. He begged Huiwu's pardon for not telling him earlier. Although frightened, Huiwu still tried to move forward as well as he could by climbing over the rocks on the path. The deity asked, "Have you, master, an *Avataṃsaka* expert, not yet gained supernatural power?" After receiving a negative answer, the deity lifted Huiwu and jumped into the sky. They arrived shortly at the deity's place. Suddenly, in front of Huiwu was a magnificent mansion with beautiful halls and delicious food enough for one thousand monks spread out in the courtyard. When it was time to feast, the deity invited Huiwu to sit on an elevated platform. When Huiwu asked if there were more guests coming, the deity told him that many would come soon. Huiwu then refused to sit on the high seat, citing his young monastic age. The deity assured him that as an *Avataṃsaka* upholder he deserved this honor. In a short while, Huiwu saw more than five hundred extraordinary monks descending from the sky. He stood up in surprise. When he was about to bow to them, they stopped him and assured him that it was they who should pay respect for his devotion to the *sūtra*. After finishing the food in silence, they flew away to an unknown location, leaving Huiwu there bewildered. He then asked the deity to show him the way back.

There were at the time about ten children, all about three years old, who were playing naked in the courtyard.[63] The deity asked for a volunteer, but none came to help, until the deity started to yell at them in a harsh voice. A boy then stepped forward and asked Huiwu to open his mouth. Looking into it, he declared that Huiwu was suffering from a severe illness. He then took some dirt off of his fingernail and put it

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[63] According to *GYZ* (*T* 51: 174c19), there were only three to five children, who were six or seven years old, playing there at the time.

into Huiwu's mouth.[64] In a moment, the child asked Huiwu to open his mouth again so he could inspect it. After announcing that Huiwu was almost cured, he jumped into Huiwu's mouth, and it turned out that the child was none other than a "medicine spirit" (*yaojing* 藥精)! Huiwu thus acquired immortality.[65]

The deity then asked for Huiwu's pardon, saying that by troubling Huiwu to come, he had no other offerings except for this trivial reward. Huiwu felt immensely grateful, and he promised to pay the deity back by giving him whatever powers he had accrued from his self-cultivation. Bidding farewell to the deity, Huiwu, now an immortal, flew through the clouds and returned to his old place. Sitting cross-legged in the sky, he greeted his companion from afar, "Thanks to the power from my cultivation of the *Avataṃsaka* teachings, I have just secured the elixir of immortality. Since human beings and immortals are distinct in kind, I can no longer live with you. Having shared this place with you for long, I come to pass on my dharma pleasure to you. In the next life we should be able to meet in front of the Buddha." After saying this, he streaked across the sky and flew away. The scriptures that he used to chant also disappeared as he left, and no one knew where they were. Daoshu 道樹, a meditation master of the Five Assemblies (*wuzhong chanshi* 五眾禪師), of lofty conduct in meditation and highly respected by the scholar-monks, narrated this story in detail, claiming that it was witnessed by him in person.[66]

By transmitting such a story inside his own writing that promoted the *Avataṃsaka*, Fazang seems to suggest that *Avataṃsaka*-based practice would not present any hindrance to one's efforts at longevity or even immortality. On the contrary, the story points to the cause-and-effect relationship between the cultivation of *Avataṃsaka* and cultivation of health. The *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying zhuan* version of this story goes further, giving the opinion that *Avataṃsaka* teachings could be more profitably pursued at such Daoist sacred sites as the Abbeys of Penglai, Jinque, and Ziwei. We may suspect in fact that the Huayan story drew from elements used in common with a variety of hagiographies of immortals. The protagonist has an encounter with a mysterious stranger who turns out to be a god, and by virtue of his

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[64] This reminds one of Aśoka's gift of dirt to the Buddha, when Aśoka was a child. See *Ayuwang zhuan*, *T* 50: 1.99b; *Ayuwang jing*, *T* 50: 1.131c; Strong, *The Legend of King Aśoka*, 198-201.

[65] *GYZ* (*T* 51: 174c19-28) gives different details here: after diagnosing Huiwu's severe disease, the boy pulled out a pill as big as a mustard seed (*mazi* 麻子) and split it into three parts, asking Huiwu to swallow them. It also tells us that Huiwu went to Penglai 蓬萊, Jinque 金闕, Ziwei 紫微 and other Daoist abbeys to return to his original *Avataṃsaka* teachings.

[66] *HJZ*, *T* 51: 4.165c-166a.

skills he is granted an audience with other divine beings in a celestial palace. Finally he is magically cured of his human diseases and granted immortality. Similar themes may be found in such early medieval sources as Ge Hong's 葛洪 (283-343) *Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳 (Accounts of the Transcendentals)—for example, the biography of Shen Xi 沈羲.[67] By Tang times such tropes must have been well known to Buddhist authors.

3. Self-immolation and relic-veneration

Relic veneration and self-immolation were intertwined so inextricably in Fazang's religious life that they should be treated together. On the other hand, although these two practices were merged together for Fazang as if they were twin aspects of a single entity, in fact they did not proceed from completely identical sources. Further, the religious and political purposes that they served did not always completely overlap. For example, as opposed to his passion for the Buddha's relics, which was mainly derived from his faith in Buddhism, Fazang's infatuation with self-immolation was perhaps not exclusively Buddhist, but rather may also have been related to his ethnic background. Fazang also made offerings of his body with economic concerns (i.e., fund-raising purposes) in mind, and these did not figure so prominently in the majority of his acts of relic worship, which seem to have been primarily religiously and politically orientated.

3.1. *Relic Veneration*

Fazang's biographers suggest that a finger-bone thought to be that of Śākyamuni was a major catalyst of his religious enthusiasm—he burned off his own finger at the tender age of sixteen *sui* in front of the Famensi pagoda that enshrined the sacred bone. We noted in a previous chapter that the last example of Fazang's cooperation with and then betrayal of Empress Wu, in 705, was also mediated through this very relic. In fact, Fazang at that time had been charged with the task of relic escort and, more importantly, primary bearer.[68]

There are further details of that incident in 705 that should be examined in the context of this general discussion of relic-veneration. Miracles of light-emission occurred in the process. From the time the

[67] Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth*, 255-58. My thanks to James Benn for drawing this Daoist analogy to my attention. A fascinating discussion of the trope of achieving immortality through encounter with Daoist immortals (*xian* 仙) is made by Verellen, "Encounter as revelation."

[68] Chapter 6.1.2.

Famensi relic was brought out of the pagoda until the day it arrived in Luoyang, propitious lights appeared seven times and an aura appeared twice around the sun (*baodai* 抱戴).[69] Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn provides a detailed description of these miracles in an interlinear note to his biography for Fazang.[70] On the first day when the relic was unloaded from its reliquary it emitted light. Second, on the border of Wugong 武功 sub-prefecture (in present-day Baoji 寶雞, Shaanxi), the light from the relic shot back to Famensi and surrounded it. Third, on the night spent at Chongfusi, where the relic was kept in the Grand Hall (*huangtang* 皇堂, probably a hall reserved for the spirits of Empress Wu's parents) lights as bright as flames and shooting stars issued from the relic. Fourth, when the relic arrived at the gate to the Chongren 崇仁 Ward, an aura appeared around the sun. Fifth, on the night spent at Xingfasi 興法寺 in the Weinan 渭南 sub-prefecture, the light from the relic made the night as bright as if it were daytime. Sixth, when arriving on the border of the Shouan 壽安 sub-prefecture (in present-day Yiyang 宜陽, Shaanxi), the light from the relic shot into the sky, bringing forth another aura around the sun. Seventh, the relic produced light when Empress Wu and the heir apparent (i.e., Zhongzong) carried the relic, wrapped with *douluo* 兜羅 (Skt. *tūla*) silk, on the crowns of their heads.

3.2. *Self-immolation in the Huayan Tradition: Contextualizing Fazang's Self-immolation*

In addition to such miraculous signs, relic-veneration could invite acts of self-immolation.[71] It will take us too far afield to discuss how orthodox Buddhism in medieval China treated the practice of self-immolation. Suffice it to say that Buddhist doctors in the tradition were rather divided on this topic. Although some of them enthusiastically endorsed and promoted it, a significant number were quite reluctant, and some were harsh critics. For example, Yijing devoted a section to self-immolation in the forty-section report that he sent from South Asia to his Chinese colleagues. In it he rejected self-immolation as an inappropriate practice (*shaoshen buhe* 燒身不合).[72] It is therefore of particular interest to see what Fazang, a self-immolator himself, wrote about this issue in his commentary to *Fanwang jing*.

The latter, an apocryphal scripture, was one of the most important sources for self-immolation in medieval China. James Benn has con-

[69] *PHC* 284a9-14.

[70] *PHC* 284a14-19.

[71] See below, 3.3; more examples for the relationship between relic-veneration and self-immolation on similar occasions are discussed in Chen Jinhua, "*Pañcavārṣika* Assemblies in Liang Wudi's Buddhist Palace Chapel."

[72] See Wang Bangwei (coll. and annot.), *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan jiaozhu*, 222-23.

vincingly argued that a chief motive of its Chinese author was to legitimize self-immolation.[73] In view of this, it is only natural that Fazang expresses himself explicitly on that matter. He makes the following comments, apropos to the scripture's mentioning the proscription against over-parsing the Law in order to plan out personal advantage (*xifa guili jie* 惜法規利戒):

> This means that in the higher realm, one should make offering to the buddhas, while below one attempts to deliver the sentient beings. For these two purposes, one should not begrudge even one's own body and life. Furthermore, one receives from above the profound grace [from the Buddha] in the course of pursuing the Law, while below one takes pity on the sentient beings in his efforts to fulfill his compassionate vows. Moreover, in abandoning one's household life one values the Law and demotes the fragrant and flowery [aspects of the mundane world]. The gist of the proscription is to make offerings with one's own life, just like bodhisattva Priyadarśana's (and other bodhisattvas') burning their own forearms as an offering [to the buddhas].[74] One should also be aware of Prince [Mahā]sattva and countless other bodhisattvas, who, among all the sentient beings, saved the hungry tigers [by feeding them with their own bodies].[75] 謂上供諸佛，下濟眾生．於此二處，不惜軀命．又以上爲求法荷重恩故，下愍眾生滿悲願故；又以出家重法，不貴香華，要以身命，而成供養，如喜見菩薩燒臂供養等．爲眾生中，濟餓虎等，如薩埵王子等及餘無量諸菩薩等，並應當知.[76]

Fazang took these stories of heroic acts of self-immolation and corporal offerings literally and worthy of close emulatation. The open-minded acceptance of acts of self-immolation, even the radical notion of feeding oneself to hungry carnivores, is noteworthy in the light of their controversial nature and the relatively lukewarm attitudes held by others. The latter either understood such stories metaphorically (*jukuang zhi ci* 舉況之辭) and not to be emulated (e.g., Zhiyi), or rhetorically in order to test the steadfastness of people's faith. In other words, they were only useful for educational purposes and should not be put into practice (e.g., Ŭichŏk 義寂 [dates unknown]). Others (e.g., Sŭngjang 勝莊 [?-713+]) argued that self-immolation, because it was so frenzied and unseemly, should only be performed by lay

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[73] James Benn, "Where Texts Meet Flesh."

[74] The *locus classicus* is the *Lotus Sūtra*. It is found in the twenty-third chapter (*pin* 品) of Kumārajīva's version; see *Miaofa lianhua jing*, *T* 9: 6.53a-55a.

[75] Two of the best known sources for the story of Prince Sattva's feeding a hungry tigress and her cubs are the *Damamūkanidāna sūtra* and *Suvarnaprabhāsauttama sūtra*. For the Chinese version of the former, see *Xianyu jing*, *T* 4: 1.352b-353b. For the latter, see the two chief versions—Dharmakṣema (385-433): *Jinguangming jing* 金光明經 (T 16: 353c-358a) and Yijing: *Jinguangming zuisheng wang jing* 金光明最勝王經 (T 16: 10.450c-454b).

[76] *Fanwang jing pusa jieben shu*, *T* 40: 5.641c10-15.

believers, and even then merely because it was good for the strength of the religion.[77]

As James Benn has eloquently shown, with ample examples, self-immolation was a widespread practice among medieval Chinese Buddhist believers.[78] It is noteworthy that *Avataṃsaka* followers were known particularly as self-immolators, apparently in relatively larger numbers. In addition to Fazang's case, another famous example involved an auditor of a lecture by the *Avataṃsaka* master Zongmi. His lecture so excited the attendants that a certain Taigong 泰恭 (?-811+) cut off his arm to express his devotion to Buddhism. The self-mutilation was depicted by Zongmi in a letter of October 4, 811 (Yuanhe 6.9.13), to Chengguan, who was then residing in Chang'an as the "State Master" (*guoshi* 國師) of the emperor Xianzong (r. 805-820):[79]

> When he mutilated his limbs, with severe damage of his bones and sinews, he did not feel any pain and annoyance at all—on the contrary, his countenance remained calm. From beginning to end, he stayed unchanged both physically and mentally. No one, no matter religious or lay, failed to feel amazed by this. The merits of contemplating wisdom are so remarkable through [the interaction of] stimulus and response! 伊且割截支體，傷斷筋骨．都無痛惱，神色宛然．自初至今，身心仍舊．若道若俗，無不異之．觀智之功，感應昭著.[80]

Zongmi has provided such a firm approval of Taigong's self-mutilation that one might even suspect that Taigong had been encouraged by him. Chengguan's reply does not, however, echo the same degree of appreciation. Probably apprehensive about potential complaints against his newly adopted disciple,[81] Chengguan asked Zongmi not to encourage such radical acts, although he averred to positive support in scriptures:

> Taigong's severing of his arm reveals his utmost resolution in pursuing the Law, which he supplemented with his sincere prayers. The teaching is

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[77] The following authors express opinions on self-immolation in their commentaries on *Fanwang jing*: Zhiyi, *Pusa jie yishu*, *T* 40: 2.576b6-14; Ŭichŏk, *Posal kyebon so*, *T* 40: 2A.675c5-676a14; Sŭnjang, *Pŏmmanggyŏng posal kyebon so sulgi*, *T* 50: 1.5c.

[78] James Benn, *Burning for the Buddha*.

[79] This incident became a source of bitter debate, incurring intervention from the central government (*taisheng* 臺省). The investigation ended in Zongmi's innocence, partly thanks to the regent of Luoyang at the time, who happened to be a supporter of Buddhism and who submitted an appeal to the Secretariat-Chancellery (*zhongshu menxia* 中書門下). However, the repercussions continued, causing increasing pressure upon Zongmi, which in turn might have prompted him to write to Chengguan.

[80] "Guifeng Dinghui Chanshi yaobing Qingliang Guoshi shu," *T* 39: 577b26-28.

[81] Zongmi had not yet seen Chengguan in person by that time, although he had read some of his works. Apparently impressed by Zongmi's letter, Chengguan granted him discipleship by calling him "Zongmi fazi" 宗密法子 (my dharma-son Zongmi). See "Guifeng Dinghui Chanshi yaobing Qingliang Guoshi shu," *T* 39: 577a7-11; cf. Jan, *Zongmi*, 17.

> indeed recorded in the *sūtra*s that one should "disregard his own body in order to listen to the remaining half of a stanza,"[82] and that one dare to "throw himself into the fire in order to receive a sentence [of the Buddha's teachings]."[83] The purport [of these stories] is to show that there exists outside one's body the treasure of the precious Law. It is appropriate to admonish the beginners not to follow [the example of Taigong]. One must cut off his emotion and conceptualization, not the physical body; cut off his false mind-set, and not his limbs. 泰恭斷臂, 重法情至, 加其懇禱. 然半偈忘軀, 一句投火, 教有文矣. 意存身外有重法之寶爾. 宜誡之後學, 勿使傚之. 當斷其情慮, 勿斷其形骸; 當斷其妄心, 無斬其肢分.[84]

Zongmi, Taigong and other followers of the *Avataṃsaka* teachings in the Luoyang area certainly, it would seem, maintained a cultural memory of Fazang's finger burning in front of the Famensi pagoda, one hundred and fifty-two years earlier. They must have also thought of other respectable predecessors who did not hesitate to demonstrate religious passion through corporal sacrifice. Daoxuan, as noted above, records three *Avataṃsaka* experts who committed this act (i.e., Puyuan and two of his disciples). Their friend Jing'ai 靜藹 (534-578) was perhaps one of the most renowned self-immolators. After spreading slices of his own flesh on a stone slab, he scooped out his heart with a knife and died sitting in the posture of meditation, holding his heart in his hands![85] In his collection of *Avataṃsaka*-related accounts, Fazang mentions several of this type. First is a eunuch called Liu Qianzhi 劉謙之 (dates unknown), an author of a six-hundred-*juan* commentary on the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, who, though himself not a self-immolator, was inspired by a famous self-immolator—a Northern Qi dynasty (550-577) prince who burned himself to death at Mount Wutai because he failed to encounter Mañjuśrī.[86] Second is Lingbian 靈辯 (487-522), another *Avataṃsaka* commentator driven by his desire to see Mañjuśrī, who crawled along roads wearing a copy of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* on his head for a whole year until his feet were broken, the blood flowing from his body

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[82] This refers to the story of the "Snowy Mountain Youth," the future Śākyamuni, who, as depicted in the *Nirvāṇa sūtra*, throws his own body off a cliff in pursuit of the second half of a stanza (*gāthā*). See *Da banniepan jing*, *T* 12: 14. 449b7-51b; discussed in Durt, "Du lambeau de chair au démembrement," esp. 8.

[83] This refers to a story in *Damamūkanidāna sūtra*; *Xianyu jing*, *T* 4: 1.350c13-351b11.

[84] "Qingliang guoshi huida," *T* 39: 577c17-21.

[85] See Jing'ai's biography at *XGSZ*, *T* 50: 23.627b1-22; discussed in Jan, "Buddhist Immolation in Medieval China," 252-53; Teiser, "Having Once Died," 437-39; and James Benn, *Burning for the Buddha*, 227-28.

[86] Neither Fazang nor Huixiang, the author of *Gu Qingliang zhuan* (probably Fazang's source), tells us whether Liu Qianzhi became a eunuch before or after he witnessed the prince's religious suicide. The possibility therefore exists that he might have castrated himself in reaction to the prince's religious zeal. In this case, Liu Qianzhi can also be understood as an *Avataṃsaka* self-immolator.

and the flesh on his knees all gone, even completely exposing his knee bones. The third is Sengfan 僧範 (476-555), who burnt a finger (or fingers) as an offering to the Buddha.[87] Thus, the *Avataṃsaka* tradition seems to have been more willing to promote the practice; and Fazang's own attitude and involvement played a significant role in affecting how his later followers approached the concept of self-immolation.

3.3. *A Central Asian Showman?: Ethnic and Cultural Factors*

We have seen that the Chinese *Avataṃsaka* tradition and Fazang's role in it underscored attitudes toward self-immolation. Moreover, there were exemplars from other avenues of Buddhism. For example, the Buddha Bhaiṣajyarāja and several Buddhist princes understood to be Śākyamuni in his former lives were extolled in classics like the *Lotus sūtra* and the *jātaka* literature. However, at this point we take up Fazang's Sogdian background as a factor.

Following the lead of Egami Namio 江上波夫, scholars have come to recognize certain acts of bodily devotion, such as severing ears, cutting the face, or even piercing through one's heart and disembowelment as part of mourning ceremonies that were performed by medieval nomadic tribes living in the Eurasian grasslands, including Fazang's native area of Sogdiana.[88] These peoples sometimes extended their custom beyond their own cultural sphere. When Tang Taizong died in 649, for example, people from the "four barbarian regions" (*siyi* 四夷) who served, or who resided as hostages, at the Tang court, and those barbarian envoys who had come to pay tribute to the Tang are described as wailing, cutting off their hair, incising their faces, chopping off their ears and shedding blood.[89]

Under some circumstances, such acts could take on other kinds of political or legal purpose, including protesting, appealing, or claiming innocence to the authorities. At the beginning of Ruizong's reign (710-712), when Guo Yuanzhen 郭元振 (?-722), who was then commanding Anxi 安西 Protectorate (*duhu* 都護), was summoned to serve at court, the chiefs of the tribes under his stewardship in the Anxi area cut off their ears and cut their faces before filing a memorial ap-

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[87] These three examples are recorded in *HJZ*, *T* 51: 1.156c18-27, 157b6-16, 2.158b16-19, which seem to have been based, respectively, on *Gu Qingliang zhuan*, *T* 51: 1.1094, c16-22, c22-27 and *XGSZ*, *T* 50: 483b20-484a10 (esp. 483b25-26).

[88] Egami, "Yūrashia hoppō minzoku no sōrei ni okeru limen setsui senbatsu ni tsuite"; Mitani, "Nairiku ajia no shōshin ni kansuru gyōi ichi shiron"; Cai, *Jiuxing Hu*, 24-25; Lei, "Geer limian yu cixin poufu."

[89] *ZZTJ* 206.6537.

pealing for Guo to be retained as their governor.[90] While at least some of these appellants might have mutilated themselves voluntarily, the same cannot be said of another event under similar circumstances. In 750 or early 751, hearing that he was to be replaced by Gao Xianzhi 高仙芝 (?-755) as the governor of Wuwei 武威 and the military commissioner (*jiedushi* 節度使) of the Anxi Protectorate, An Sishun 安思順 (?-756) incited the "barbarian people" (*qunhu* 群胡) to commit various mutilations (including ear-cutting and face-slicing), in order to reverse the government's decision.[91]

The best known example of using self-mutilation as a radical form of appeal is, however, provided by a Sogdian immigrant in China, An Jinzang 安金藏 (before 664-732?), a case which has been studied for techniques of abdominal suturing in medieval East Asia.[92] An Jinzang was a son of An Pu 安菩 (601-664), whose ancestors were chiefs of the city-state Anguo 安國 (Bukhara). An Pu or his father submitted to the Tang by leaving a Turk tribe and entering Chang'an during the Zhenguan era (626-649).[93] Sometime after January 9, 693,[94] An Jinzang served in the capacity of *taichang gongren* 太常工人 (artisan in the Court of Imperial Sacrifice). When Ruizong was accused of treason, Empress Wu ordered Lai Junchen 來俊臣 (651-697) to interrogate his attendants, including An Jinzang. Broken by torture, other attendants were about to succumb to the false charge, when Jinzang

> shouted loudly to [Lai] Junchen, "If you, master, do not believe my words, let me cut out my heart to show that the heir-apparent has no

[90] See the biography that Zhang Yue wrote for Guo Yuanzhen, "Bingbu shangshu Daiguo gong zeng Shaobao Guo gong xingzhuan," *QTW* 233.5a-5b.

[91] *JTS* 106.3206.

[92] See, for example, Okano, "Tō no An Kinzō no kappuku." Although in China the application of the technique of abdominal suturing was early associated with the semi-legendary Hua Tuo 華佗 (?-208), whose name was probably of Indian origin. Hua Tuo's biography in *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 is translated in DeWoskin, *Doctors, Diviners, and Magicians of Ancient China*, 140-53. For the Indian (Buddhist) origins of legends about Hua Tuo (and his name), see Chen Yinque, "Hua Tuo zhuan yu fojiao gushi," 36-40; Mair, "Biography of Hua-t'o," 331-41. Egami Namio raises the possibility that some medical techniques attributed to Hua Tuo might have been derived from Central Asian magicians (*huanren* 幻人); Egami, *Ajia bunka-shi kenkyū*, 135-52. An early Chinese Buddhist self-immolator who practiced abdominal suturing is recorded by Huijiao 慧皎 (497-554); see *GSZ*, *T* 50: 12.404b-c, and James Benn (*Burning for the Buddha*, 31).

[93] "Tang gu Luhu zhou Da Anjun muzhi," *TMH* 1: 1104-5. Rong, "Beichao Sui Tang Sute ren zhi qianxi jiqi juluo," 51; Lei, "Geer limian yu cixin poufu," 100-1.

[94] Changshou 2.1.23 (*jiayin*). *JTS* here seems to have placed this event in the Zaichu era (December 18, 689-October 15, 690). However, according to *ZZTJ* (205.6490), which was based on *XTS* (4.93), this happened sometime after January 9, 693, when several of Ruizong's confidants were executed for visiting him secretly (one of them an architect and financial expert who built a mirror-hall for Gaozong, as discussed in Chapter 7, note 33).

> intention of rebelling." He then pulled out the knife that he carried and opened up his breast [and belly]. As the five internal organs spilled out and his blood gushed onto the ground, his breath stopped and he fell down. Hearing of this, [Wu] Zetian ordered him brought into the palace by cart, asking the [imperial] physicians to put his internal organs back into his body. After sewing close stitches on the wounds with threads manufactured by the root bark of white mulberry, the physicians applied medicinal ointments to the wounds. [An] Jinzang regained his consciousness in one night. Zetian visited him in person, sighing, "My own son, who is unable to vindicate himself, cannot compare with you in loyalty." She thus ordered [Lai] Junchen to terminate the prosecution, and because of this, Ruizong averted any harm. 大呼謂俊臣曰: "公不信金藏之言，請剖心以明皇嗣不反." 即引佩刀自剖其胸，五藏並出，流血被地，因氣絕而仆. 則天聞之，令輿入宮中，遣醫人卻納五藏，以桑白皮爲線縫合，傅之藥. 經宿，金藏始甦. 則天親臨視之，歎曰: "吾子不能自明，不如爾之忠也." 即令俊臣停推，睿宗由是免難.[95]

Given that An Jinzang was mortally wounded and required treatment from the imperial physicians, he very likely indeed had slit his belly. However, not all belly-slitting acts were perceived as real. Some Central Asians were believed to perform them as magic, as described with remarkable vividness by Fazang's contemporary Zhang Zhuo 張鷟 (660-733):

> There are Zoroastrian shrines of the barbarians in the Lide ward[96] and the ward to the west of South Market.[97] Every year, on the occasion of praying for [divine] blessings, the barbarian merchants cook pigs and goats, play *pipa*, drums, and flutes; they sing and dance drunkenly. After making offering to the deities, they recruit one barbarian as the *xianzhu* 祆主 (Zoroastrian Head?). The onlookers donate their monies, which are to be given to him. The Zoroastrian Head pulls out a knife, which is as sharp as frost and snow and able to cut a hair that blows against it. He inserts this sharp knife into his belly until the blade pierces through his back. He further crazily shakes the knife inside his body, making the blood spurt from his bowels and belly. For the space of a single meal, after spraying water on the wound and empowering it with spells, his body is restored to its original form. This is Western Regions' magic. 河南府立德坊及南市西坊，皆有胡祆神廟. 每歲商胡祈福，烹猪羊，琵琶鼓笛，酣歌醉舞. 酹神之後，募一胡爲祆主. 看者施錢，並與之. 其祆主取一橫刀，利同霜

[95] *JTS* 187A.4885; cf. *XTS* 191.5506. Forte summarizes this passage and discusses An Jinzang's lineage in his *An Shigao*, 34-35.

[96] Luoyang had no ward named Lide. There existed two neighboring wards named Lixing 立行 and Demao 德懋. Here Zhang Zhuo might refer to these two wards by Lide 立德.

[97] There were two wards, Fushun 福順 and Sishun 思順, to the west of South Market in Luoyang. It is unclear which ward Zhang Zhuo means here.

雪，吹毛不過，以刀刺腹，刃出於背．仍亂攪，腸肚流血．食頃，噴水呪之，平復如故．此西域之幻法也.[98]

As indicated, belly-slitting could be a form of western magic, here referring to a broad swathe of Asia that included Fazang's homeland Sogdiana. The magic was performed not merely for a religious assembly, but also for secular occasions like carnivals sponsored by the government:

> On February 21, 656,[99] Gaozong ascended the tower at Anfu Gate to watch the government-sponsored drinking feast.[100] A barbarian wished to perform magic to entertain the people by slitting his belly with a knife. The emperor did not approve. A decree was then issued declaring, "It is heard that outside [the palaces] there are some Brahmin-barbarians who on the occasions of entertainment often pierce their bellies with swords and cut their tongues with knives, cheating the people with magic. This very much contravenes the way and principles [of true government]. It is proper that these people be repatriated and not be allowed to stay for long." Subsequently, the prefectures on the borders were required not to send this kind of barbarian to the court. 高宗顯慶元年正月丙辰，御安福門樓，觀大酺．蕃人欲持刀自刺以爲幻戲，帝不許之．乃下詔曰，"如聞在外有婆羅門胡等，每於戲處，乃將劍刺肚，以刀割舌，幻惑百姓，極非道理．宜竝發遣還蕃，勿令久住." 仍約束邊州，若更有此色，竝不須遣入朝.[101]

Public performance associated with acts of apparent or real self-mutilation was by no means new in Tang times, but is traced to the Eastern Han era (25-220 CE). From what we have seen, it seems to have been imported from the so-called Western barbarians. Publicly staged self-mutilations included the performers' (or their assistants') cutting off of their tongues, piercing ears, slicing abdomens, and so on. But without exception, all mutilated organs are said to have mysteriously healed shortly afterwards.[102] As a Sogdian, Fazang was certainly familiar with these unusual acts, no matter whether attempted as genuine religious self-immolation or simply staged as a hoax. We may deduce that it was part of the Sogdian culture. A scrutiny of Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's

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[98] *Chaoye qianzai* 3.64-65.

[99] Xianqing 1.*zheng*.20 (*bingxu*). The original here gives the day as *bingchen*. However, there was no *bingchen* day in this month. According to *XTS* (3.57), the edict prohibiting magic was issued on the *bingxu* (the twentieth) day of this month. I have therefore emended *bingchen* in *Cefu yuangui* to *bingxu*.

[100] The expenses of the *dapu* 大酺 ceremony were borne by the government; see Schafer, "Notes on T'ang Culture."

[101] *Cefu yuangui* 159.10b. Cf. *THY* 34.628, *Taiping yulan*, *SKQS* 896: 737.9a.

[102] A wide range of Chinese sources on public self-mutilation as entertainment can be found in Wu Yugui, *Zhongguo fengsu tongshi*, 783-86, where he also covers the *Chaoye qianzai* instance. My thanks to Ian Chapman for a reference to these materials.

account of Fazang's 705 relic veneration suggests Fazang's own mastery of belly-slitting magic:

> Before opening the pagoda, a seven-day observance was performed. [The relic emitted] divine rays of shining light. Fazang, who once burnt off a finger here in the past, further destroyed his liver[103] at this time. Holding a votive text in his hand, he showed it around to the religious and lay people. Radiating on his palm, the relic projected its illumination from near to far. Following the strength of each person's [karmic] blessings, people witnessed miracles with tremendous differences—some seeing the radiant image of the Buddha made of the most brilliant gold and silver, some seeing extraordinary visions of [Buddha-statues embellished with] fringes.[104] The relic, with its jade-like shape and quality, sometime appeared big and sometime small. It measured several *chi* when it became big and only several *cun* when small. Therefore, people competed to set fire to the crowns of their heads or burn their fingers. They were also anxious about lagging behind in offering donations. 行道七晝夜, 然後啓之, 神輝煜爚. 藏以昔嘗鍊指, 今更隳肝, 乃手擎興願, 顯示道俗. 舍利於掌上騰光, 洞照遐邇. 隨其福力, 感見天殊. 或睹銑鋈晬容, 或觀纓毳奇像. 瑰姿瑋質, 乍大乍小. 大或數尺, 小或數寸. 於是頂釭指炬者爭先, 捨寶投財者恥後.[105]

A comparison of this account with the one provided by Zhang Zhuo, above, reveals similarities. First, the two occasions were religious—one Buddhist and the other Zoroastrian. Each included a grand assembly that seems to have been open to the public—a kind of *wuzhe fahui* 無遮法會 (*pañcavārṣika*), as it was called in Buddhism. Both involved fund-raising: in the case of Fazang, people "were also anxious about lagging behind in offering donations," while in the Zoroastrian assembly described by Zhang Zhuo "the onlookers donated their monies, which were to be given to the Zoroastrian Head." In each we encounter a disembowelment of some kind, which in Fazang's case was called *huigan* 隳肝 ("destroying the liver"). Finally, it is most interesting that in both cases self-mutilation seems to have been employed as a means to raise money. If the belly-slitting performed in the Zoroastrian assembly was, according to Zhang Zhuo, no more than a magic trick, then can the same be said of Fazang's self-mutilation? This seems highly likely when we consider that Fazang lived for eight more years after he allegedly "destroyed" his liver, which of course would have involved cutting deeply into his abdomen. However, I cannot imagine

[103] In literary Chinese, *huigan* was used metaphorically to show one's unrelenting efforts toward a goal, as in the expression *lidan huigan* 瀝膽隳肝. It is here, however, to be understood physiologically, given the contrast with *lianzhi* 鍊指, which refers to Fazang's experience as a self-immolator in his youth.

[104] This might refer to *Genben Shuoyiqieyoubu pi'naiye zashi*, *T* 24: 10.246c17.

[105] *PHC* 284a1-6.

how one, under the medical conditions in Fazang's time, could have continued to live for several years after the liver was removed or rendered useless. The only logical conclusion is that it was done through magic, and that his self-mutilation was, at least in part, a staged show. In other words, like some of his Sogdian compatriots, Fazang was also an adroit magician-showman. This specific talent helps us to understand certain of Fazang's services rendered to Empress Wu, as we will see in the following chapter.

4. Concluding remarks

This discussion of Fazang's esoteric and Daoist practices was primarily based on a short passage by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn that narrates a ritual that Fazang performed near the end of his life. The text conceals a host of significant issues. Foremost is the multiplex aspect of Fazang's religious practice—the direct blending of rites and actions that had developed along differently labeled traditional paths and in varying locales in China. This multiplicity has so far remained unnoticed. There are three further issues with even broader implications: the tension that this medieval Chinese Buddhist monk felt between his life as a cosmopolitan resident and as a reclusive mountain dweller;[106] how different Buddhist traditions existed and interacted within a single temple; and, finally, how a Buddhist monastery developed out of an environment saturated with Daoist myth and practice?[107]

Another pair of religious practices that involved Fazang, relic-veneration and self-immolation, turns out to be a dynamic link too. Beginning toward the end of Empress Wu's reign, a series of "Fazang-directed" relic-veneration activities was carried out over a long period. A variety of miracles punctuated the process, which featured acts of self-immolation. Fazang skillfully used the political context of the relic in order to amplify powerful images and values from within his religious tradition. In addition, we were able to fit all this into his own Sogdian background, including Zoroastrianism. He might have also been an adept of belly-slitting magic, which in some Central Asian groups was performed to amuse and entertain people when a religious assembly turned into a carnival.

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[106] Such a tension, as demonstrated in Zhiyi's life, has received meticulous treatment in Shinohara, "Guanding's Biography of Zhiyi," 135-53.

[107] The symbiotic existence of Buddhism and Daoism on one mountain has been the subject of a series of studies by James Robson; see, in particular, *Imagining Nanyue* and idem, "Southern Marchmount." An exemplary study of the interaction between several Buddhist traditions within one single temple is provided by Barrett, "Devil's Valley," which is actually a look at local religious interactions at Yuquansi 玉泉寺 in Jingzhou 荆州.

Thus, not only does this chapter bring to light several long-obscured aspects of Fazang's religious life, but it also highlights the dynamism and complexity of Fazang's career. One cannot help but marvel at the ease with which Fazang traversed the boundary between Daoism and Buddhism, balanced the polarity between his cosmopolitan and mountain life, and overcame the tension between his activity as a writer on technical matters of Buddhist belief and his engagement in esoteric, or shamanistic, practices. In the course of this examination we have also encountered evidence pointing to Fazang's role and reputation as a wonderworker. Although we have only been able to touch briefly on this aspect of his career, we will have occasion to discuss it in detail in the following chapter.

CHAPTER TWELVE

FAZANG THE WONDERWORKER

Fazang was an adroit politician and Buddhist leader. In both cases, he was able to maneuver across numerous stages, matching and mixing his connections within the imperial family and wielding a polymathic array of ritual, textual, and charismatic techniques. This chapter looks at another instance of multiple identities. It is his role of intermediary between the heavenly and human realms. The perception of Fazang as a wonderworker seems mostly to have been created posthumously. One may say that after an important career as religious leader and court politician, Fazang continued to be important in the afterlife, or as Paul Groner has so aptly put it, his "posthumous career."[1] Like many historical figures, his death created a life story that was continuously reshaped by his hagiographers generation after generation.

1. Miracle stories about Fazang's mastery of the Avataṃsaka teachings

Centered around the theme of Fazang's preaching of *Avataṃsaka*, stories were created both within and beyond the Chinese *Avataṃsaka* tradition. These can be divided into two categories, one in which the legendary elements clearly have no historical veracity, and one in which legendary and semi-legendary elements are mixed with accounts that are potentially historical. The latter category seems relatively complicated and deserves more attention. In this section we study two examples of the first and three of the second.

1.1. *Faithful Accounts*

The first category, clearly legendary stories, gives us one from Fazang's *Huayan jing zhuanji*, but probably added by a disciple after Fazang's death:

> Recently, during the Yonglong era (September 21-November 14, 681), Guo Shenliang,[2] a native of Chang'an Subprefecture of Yongzhou,[3]

[1] Groner, *Ryōgen*, chapter 13.
[2] The original's 廓 is obviously an error for 郭, as is verified by a similar passage in *HPC* 281c11-16.

> continuously cultivated the purity of celibacy (Ch. *fanxing* 梵行; Skt. *brahmacaryā*) before he died suddenly of illness. The deities led him to Tuṣita Heaven to pay homage to Maitreya. A bodhisattva [there] asked [Guo Shen]liang, "Why didn't you receive and uphold the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*?" [Guo] replied, "Because nobody preached that *sūtra*." The bodhisattva said, "There is indeed someone who preaches [the *sūtra*], why do you say that there is not?" Later [Guo Shen]liang returned to life and completely recounted this experience to Dharma-master Baochen, who discussed it with him in detail. Looking closely into this, [we find that] [Xian]shou's expositions and his turning of the dharma-wheel were such that their powers was known even in the most ethereal [realms]. 近永隆年中, 雍洲長安縣人廓神亮, 梵行清淨, 因忽患暴終. 諸天引至兜率天宮, 禮敬彌勒. 有一菩薩語亮云, "何不受持華嚴? "對曰, "爲無人講." 菩薩曰, "有人見講, 何以言無?" 亮後再蘇, 具向薄塵法師論敘其事. 以此而詳, 首之弘轉法輪, 亞跡參微矣.[4]

Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn has another version largely identical except for the way of ending: Ch'oe does not specify that it was to Baochen that Guo Shenliang recounted his supernatural experiences. Rather, he says,

> After coming back to life, he recounted [his experiences] in detail. People thus had proof that [Fa]zang's ability to promote and turn the wondrous wheel [of dharma] was celebrated among both human and celestial beings. 及甦委說. 衆驗藏之弘轉妙輪, 人天咸慶矣.[5]

Although we cannot exclude the existence of a layman named Guo Shenliang who was more than likely an acquaintance of Fazang, his visit to Tuṣita Heaven, where he came to understand the superiority of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* and the availability of an *Avataṃsaka* preacher in the area, places Guo inside a pious fiction concocted by an *Avataṃsaka* believer (of believers). We can certainly reject the idea that the end of this story, which praises the supernatural power of Fazang's lectures, was written by Fazang himself; rather, it was added by his disciples. Ch'oe's version indicates an interesting process, through which a legend originally focusing on the superiority of the *Avataṃsaka* teachings in general was more directly given over to Fazang's preaching brilliance.

In a separate work compiled by Fazang's disciple Huiying, Fazang's disciples rewrote a story left by Fazang about the character Guo Shenliang:

> In the fourth month of Chuigong 3 (May 17-June 15, 687), Master Huayan [Fa]zang lectured on *Huayan jing* at Great Ciensi. Tanyan 曇衍, a monk belonging to the monastery, acted as the Head of the Lectures (講主). After the lecture series was over, a "dharma assembly without discrimination" (Ch. *wuzhe [fa]hui* 無遮[法]會; Skt. *pañcavārṣika*) was held. Later, Master Fazang went to Chongfusi to visit the two

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[3] The original 洲 is an error for 州.
[4] *HJZ*, *T* 51: 3.164a.
[5] *HPC* 281c15-16.

vinaya masters [Dao]cheng [道]成 and [Bao]chen [薄]塵.[6] At that time, Vinaya Master Baochen told Master Fazang:

> This summer, Dānapati Guo Shenliang of the Xian'an[7] Ward died, but returned to life seven days later. He then came to this monastery to pay homage to the Buddha. In seeing me, he said, "I died a sudden death and shortly afterward I returned to life. At the time, the Three Commissioners [of King Yama] fetched me. Upon reaching the residence of King Pingdeng (i.e., Yama), a review was conducted of [my history of] crimes and merits. The result showed that I deserved punishment for my crimes. He ordered a commissioner to seize me, and deliver me to Hell. Just as I was about to be thrown into Hell I suddenly saw a monk who told me, 'I wish to rescue you from the tortures of Hell, and I can teach you to chant a *gāthā*.'[8] I, Shenliang, was shocked and frightened, and entreated the monk to rescue and protect me, bestowing on me the *gāthā*. The monk recited the *gāthā*, which said, 'If one wishes to understand/all the Buddhas of the three periods (past, present and future)/he should contemplate [them] in this way/the mind creates all the Tathāgatas.' With my mind concentrated, I, Shenliang, recited it several times. I, Shenliang, along with all the other people (as many as several ten millions) who were condemned to suffer in hell, was relieved from the [imminent] suffering and did not go to hell." All this was spoken of by this *dānapati*. It should be known that this *gāthā* is capable of destroying hell and is truly inconceivable! 垂拱三年四月中, 華嚴藏公於大慈恩寺講華嚴經. 寺僧曇衍爲講主. 散講設無遮會. 後藏公往崇福寺, 巡謁大德成, 薦二律師. 時塵律師報藏公曰, "今夏賢安坊中郭神亮檀越, 身死, 經七日卻蘇, 入寺禮拜. 見薄塵, 自云, '傾忽暴已, 近蒙更生. 當時有使者三人來追, 至平等王所, 問罪福已, 當合受罪. 令付使者, 引送地獄. 垂將欲入, 忽見一僧云, '我欲救汝地獄之苦, 教汝誦一行偈.' 神亮驚懼, 請僧救護, 卑賜偈文. 僧誦偈曰, '若人欲了知, 三世一切佛, 應當如是觀, 心造諸如來.' 神亮乃志心誦此偈數遍. 神亮及合同受罪者數千萬人, 因此皆得離苦, 不入地獄." 斯皆檀越說. 當知此偈能破地獄, 誠叵思議.

Responding to Baochen, Fazang said, "This is a *gāthā* spoken in the fourth *hui* in *Huayan jing*." Baochen initially did not remember that this was from *Huayan jing*, and therefore did not completely believe Fazang. After looking for "Shixing pin" and inspecting it, it turned out to be the last of the ten *gāthā*s.[9] Sighing, Master [Bao]chen said, "Millions of people, on hearing this *gāthā* alone, were saved from torture. How much

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[6] Emend *jian* 薦 to *chen* 塵 on the basis of another edition, which has 塵 rather than 薦.

[7] There was no ward in Chang'an bearing the name Xian'an 賢安. It could be an error for ward names like Jing'an 靖安, Feng'an 豐安, etc.

[8] The original has 一行偈, which literally means one-line *gāthā*. However, since the *gāthā* is actually four lines, 一行偈 is here used as 一首偈 (one *gāthā*). The same is true for the expression 十行偈 that appears toward the end of this passage.

[9] This *gāthā* is in Buddhabhadra's *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing*, *T* 9: 11.466a4-5: 若人欲求知, 三世一切佛, 應當如是觀, 心造諸如來, which only differs from the *gāthā* appearing in this story by one character: 求知, rather than 了知.

> greater are the benefits one can expect for someone who receives and upholds the whole *sūtra*, lecturing on and completely comprehending its profound meanings?!" 藏答塵曰: "偈乃華嚴第四會中偈文." 塵初不記是華嚴, 猶未全信藏公, 乃索十行品撿看, 果是十行偈中最後偈也. 塵公歎曰, "纔聞一偈, 千萬人一時脫苦. 況受持全部, 講通深義耶?"[10]

Here, Guo Shenliang dies in the summer of Chuigong 3, rather than in the Yonglong era. Rather than merely acting as a conveyer of the wish of the bodhisattvas in Tuṣita Heaven that the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* be more widely studied in the human world, Guo is transformed into a witness of the mysterious power of the *sūtra*.

The above turns out to be a combination of two stories in *Huayan jing zhuanji*—one already quoted and the other as follows. In the first year of the Wenming era (March 8-October 18, 684), a Chang'an native named Wang had not performed any virtuous deeds whatsoever before he died of disease. When two agents of King Yama led him to the front gates of hell, he saw a monk who identified himself as Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha and taught him to recite the same *gāthā* as that Guo Shenliang received, assuring him that it was powerful enough to save him from hell. After committing the *gāthā* to memory, Wang went to hell to see King Yama. Being asked what kind of merits he had cultivated, Wang answered that he had only upheld a four-sentence *gāthā*, which he accordingly recited to Yama. Yama then spared him. People within reach of the sound of the *gāthā* chanted by Wang were also spared. When Wang came back to life three days later, he talked about his experiences to many śramaṇas, who, on inspecting the *gāthā*, found that it was from the chapter "Yemo tiangong wuliang zhu pusa yunji shuofa" 夜摩天宮無量諸菩薩雲集說法 ("Various Bodhisattvas of unlimited number gathering like clouds to lecture on the Dharmas in the heaven of the God Yāma).[11] Among those monks with whom Wang shared his experiences was Dharma Master Sengding 僧定 of Kongguansi 空觀寺.[12]

The story was quoted in *Zuanling ji* with slight changes. First, the man is identified as Wang Minggan 王明幹.[13] Second, although it does

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[10] *GYZ*, *T* 51: 175c12-29.

[11] In the current edition of Buddhabuddha's version of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, this *gāthā* is found in a chapter (*pin*) in the tenth rather than the twelfth *juan*, and it also bears a different title: 夜摩天宮菩薩說偈品 (*parivarta* 16).

[12] *HJZ*, *T* 51: 4.167a.

[13] About the given name of this Mister Wang, *Zuanling ji*, as quoted in *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao*, has 名明幹 ("named Minggan"). Comparing this with the way Fazang tells us about his name: 失其名 ("his name has been lost [become unknown]"), I get the impression that 失其名 has become so corrupt that it has been turned into 名明幹. In other words, given that the *Zuanling ji* version is based on *HJZ*, one may speculate that either the compilers of *Zuanling ji* changed 失其名 into 名明幹, or although *Zuanling ji* originally had it as 失其名 too, some of its editions had corrupted in this point to the extent that 名明幹 was adopted to replace 失

not identify the chapter, as above, it does ascribe the *gāthā* to Bodhisattva Juelin 覺林, which is closer to what we know about the *gāthā* as it appears in Buddhabhadra's version.[14] Finally, *Zuanling ji* notes the one-character difference (了知 versus 求知) between the *gāthā* attributed to Kṣitigarbha and that found in the current edition.[15]

We should explore further just how Fazang's disciples rewrote the two stories (Guo Shenliang and Mister Wang). Let us compare narrative elements: time, hero (including his attitude towards Buddhism), destination (either ascending to heaven or falling down to hell), central theme, and the monk quoted to verify the story. The two stories are set apart by four years (one in 680 and the other in 684), with two completely different heroes: Guo, a Buddhist believer with various virtuous acts, and Wang, who was an unbeliever and had accumulated bad karma. In contrast to Guo, who went up to Tuṣita Heaven thanks to a life of virtue, the other was dragged down to hell. One story emphasizes the human necessity of studying the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, while the other features the *sūtra*'s incredible power. Finally, regarding the monk who verifies, one gives us Baochen and the other a Kongguansi monk Sengding, who is otherwise unknown. The two stories were combined by the following process. First, the new story is set in a new time—Chuigong 3.4, with Guo Shenliang chosen as the hero. Then, despite virtuous conduct, Guo is improperly dragged to hell, whence he would never have come back to the world but for the kindness of a monk he encounters there. Moreover, in addition to the earlier central theme of the power of the *Avataṃsaka*

其名. Feizhuo, who also quotes this tale in his *Sanbao ganying yaolüe lu* (2.838b17-27), gives Mister Wang's name as Dingzang 定藏 on the basis of a "separate account" (*bieji* 別記 or *yuji* 余記), which he, unfortunately, does not deign to identify. Dingzang sounds like a dharma-name. Be that as it may, Feizhuo seems to have understood Dingzang as a monk. This is corroborated by another Song-era monk Changjin 常謹 (?-980+), the author of *Dizang pusa xiang lingyan ji* 地藏菩薩像靈驗記, in which this tale is recast into one featuring the Kṣitigarbha cult. Changjin explicitly states that Mister Wang is a monk with the dharma-name Sengjun 僧俊 (*Dizang pusa xiang lingyan ji*, *XZJ* 149: 355b18). Sengjun is also the subject of another story in the same collection. This story is translated and discussed in Zhiru, "The Maitreya Connection in the Tang Development of Dizang Worship," 107-8; other stories from this collection are discussed in Teiser, *Scripture on the Ten Kings*, 43-48.

[14] In the Buddhabhadra version, this *gāthā* is indeed one of the ten *gāthā*s delivered by a bodhisattva called Juelin; see *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing*, *T* 9: 19.102a29-b1.

[15] This *Zuanling ji* story is quoted in Chengguan's *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* (*T* 36: 15.116b18-28). Chengguan also quotes it on another occasion in the same commentary; see *T* 36: 324b5-18, where he tells us in the new version of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* the *gāthā* is in *juan* 19 in the chapter (*pin*) called 夜摩天宮無量諸菩薩雲集說法品. It is true that a similar *gāthā* (若人欲了知, 三世一切佛, 應觀法界性, 一切唯心造) is found in a chapter of *juan* 19 of the current edition of Śikṣānanda's version, but the chapter is named "Yemogong zhong jizan" 夜摩宮中偈讚 and the *gāthā* is also different at several points.

sūtra, a new theme—that of Fazang's superb knowledge of the *sū-tra*—was introduced. Finally, Baochen was retained as the verifier of the story.

Table 2. Narrative Elements in Three Different Stories about Fazang

NARRATIVE ELEMENTS	*HUAYAN JING ZHUANJI* STORY (I)	*HUAYAN JING ZHUANJI* STORY (II)	*GANYING ZHUAN* NEW STORY
Time	680	684	687
Hero	Guo (believer)	Wang (unbeliever)	Guo
Central theme	Necessity and feasibility of learning *Avataṃsaka sūtra*	*Avataṃsaka* power	*Avataṃsaka* power; Fazang's superb knowledge of the *sūtra*
Destination	Tuṣita Heaven	Netherworld	Netherworld
Verifier	Baochen	Sengding	Baochen

Thus, while on the first occasion Fazang's disciples deliberately changed the central theme of a story, for the New Story they merged the versions in such a way that a new theme could be added to promote Fazang's skill. We here detect two general methods of manufacturing a synthetic hagiography.

Finally, a typical medieval Chinese story describes how Fazang was involved with hell, a type of story that Stephen Teiser characterized as "Having Once Died and Returned to Life."[16] Kang Alushan 康阿祿山, a native of Wannian 萬年 Subprefecture of Yongzhou 雍州, died of a disease on June 2, 680. After five days, his body was sent to a cemetery. Before discharging the "corpse" from the cart, people heard voices coming from within the coffin. Suspecting that he might have come back to life, his relatives and fellow villagers opened it up, and, sure enough, Alushan was alive and of course brought home. He claimed that having been wrongly seized by agents of the Netherworld (*mingdao* 冥道), he was sent before King Yama along with other people, including the commander of the Courageous Garrison (Guoyi 果毅) of Xinfeng 新豐, who was of virtuous conduct. After appealing to Yama, all of these people were sent back to the human world. In the hells he also saw He Rongshi 何容師,[17] the owner of a medical shop (*yaohang* 藥行) in the

[16] Teiser, "Having Once Died."

[17] The original has it as A Rongshi 阿容師, which I have emended to He Rongshi 何容師 in accordance with Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn (*HPC* 284c12-14). This tale is quoted in

Eastern Market (*dongshi* 東市) who died of disease in Tiaolu 1 (July 15, 679-February 5, 680). Because he cooked eggs (*jizi* 雞子) during his lifetime, He Rongshi was banished to a hell full of boiling pots along with seven hundred people. A former acquaintance of Alushan, He Rongshi urged him by saying, "Please ask my fourth son Xingzheng 行證, who has some compassion, to copy a set of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*—other scriptures won't work. Should such a copy be made, all these seven hundred people here will be saved!"

After regaining his health, Alushan went to Xinfeng to search for the commander of the Courageous Garrison. They recognized each other like old friends and discovered that they had identical memories of their experiences in the netherworld. He also went to see the He family, and passed on Rongshi's words to He Xingzheng. Immensely saddened, Xingzheng went to borrow a copy of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* from Fazang of Western Taiyuansi, and had it copied. From the time He Rongshi passed away until the day they were visited by Alushan, Rongshi's family had never had any dreams of him. On the very night when the *sūtra* copying commenced, the whole family dreamed of their father coming home, which greatly pleased them.

By the eighth month of Yonglong 1 (August 30-September 27, 680), the *sūtra* was ready; *bhadanta*-monks were invited to celebrate the completion of the copying and a vegetarian feast was offered. Alushan also attended the celebration. He saw Rongshi and seven hundred ghosts come for the feast and pay homage to the Three Treasures. All together, they knelt before the monks from whom they received the bodhisattva-precepts. They left once the ceremonies were over. Since he had witnessed what happened in the Netherworld, Alushan became completely convinced of the existence of his criminal karma. Therefore, he cut off his secular ties forever. He entered Mount Taibai, devoting himself to a life of seclusion.[18]

This story does not present Fazang as its hero. However, it does assign him the significant role of provider of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra.* This is considered a key factor contributing to the rescue of He Xingzheng's father from the inferno and in helping lead Kang Alushan into the religious life.

1.2. *Semi-Historical Accounts*

Representing the second category we have the two most famous and representative stories of the Ordination Episode, as discussed in Chapter

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Sanbao ganying yaolüe lu, *T* 51: 2.838a28-b16, in which the name is also given as A Rongshi.

[18] *HJZ*, *T* 51: 5.171c20-a13.

Four, and the Earthquake Story mentioned in Chapter Five. Not only do these highlight Fazang's capacity as expounder of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, but they also portray the high esteem he elicited from Empress Wu, based particularly on the miracles.

The goal here is to look closely at the sources, development, and complex ramifications of the narratives and their elements. Given that a detailed investigation has been made of the Ordination Episode in Chapter Four, suffice it here to give a brief summary of our conclusions on the development of its various narratives. Although it was based on a legend found in two early sources originating with Fazang's direct disciples,[19] the first known, fully developed version is found in the Song-era *Longxing biannian tonglun*. The episode was later retold or even quoted verbatim in a number of Buddhist sources, both Huayan and non-Huayan. It is of particular importance for the Huayan school as it is the major support for the assumption that Empress Wu bestowed on Fazang the title of Xianshou, which was subsequently so firmly associated with the Buddhist philosopher that both he himself and his school have come to be known by that name. However, almost no element of this much-burnished episode can be considered historically accurate.

Different from the Ordination Episode, the Earthquake Story seems to have had various historical facts as its basis. The story first shows up in an early source, a commentary named *Xu Huayan jing lüeshu kanding ji* that Fazang's disciple Huiyuan wrote on the new version of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* made by Śikṣānanda and his group:

> As for the present eighty-*juan* version [of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*], after it was translated the *bhadanta*s of Foshoujisi and others requested the Preceptor Huayan (Fazang) to lecture on this *sūtra*. On November 12, 699,[20] the lecture was started and Fazang immediately entered the text. On the twelfth day of the twelfth month of the year (January 7, 700),[21] when the lecture reached the sentence "Huazang shijiehai zhendong" 華藏世界海震動 ("the Seas of the *Avataṃsaka*-realm started to shake"), suddenly an earthquake was felt within the lecture-hall and the whole of the monastery. At that time the audience, both religious and lay, numbering several thousand, all watched this portent and moaned in awe over this as [something that] had never been known before. At that time Dharma Master and Trepiṭaka Śikṣānanda, and the *bhadanta*s

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[19] They were *Zuanling ji* and *Zanggong bielu*, a biography of Fazang. See Chapter 1.2.1.

[20] Shengli 2.10.15. That is, one week after the completion of the translation, which was officially announced on November 5, 699 (Shengli 2.10.8). For this date, see "Da Zhou xinyi Da Fangguangfo huayan jing xu," *T* 10: 1b11-12 (*QTW* 97.7a6-7).

[21] The sources have this date as Shengli 2.12.12, which is problematic given that the calendar newly introduced at the time had the new year start with the 11th month (*zheng* 正) (and the 12th month became the *la* month). Cf. note 70. Shengli 2.12.12 must have been a mistake for Shengli 3.*la*.12, which corresponded with January 7, 700.

> of the monastery, Vinaya Master Mingquan, Dharma Master Degan and others, reported this numinous response in a memorial, which they hoped to bring to the attention [of Her Majesty]. Huibiao, the Administrator [of the monastery] signed the memorial and submitted it [to the throne] on the nineteenth day of the *la* month of Shengli 3 (January 14, 700). 今此八十卷本, 初譯之後, 佛授記寺諸大德等, 共請華嚴和尚講此經. 其年十月十五日開講, 便即入文. 至十二月十二日晚上, (講)[22] 講至華藏世界海震動之[文][23], 其講堂中及寺院中, 忽然震動. 于時聽眾道俗, 有數千人, 共睹斯徵, 歎未曾有. 時三藏法師實叉難陀, 及寺大德明詮律師, 德感法師等, 述茲靈應, 具狀以聞. 都維那慧表署狀爲首, 即以聖曆三年臘月十九日進.[24]

This record is repeated, with slight variations, in Huayan texts both biographical and exegetical.[25] Abbreviated versions (with different details) of the same story can be found in several non-Huayan sources.[26]

After relating this episode, Huiyuan continues by saying that both the memorial (*zhuang* 狀) and Empress Wu's written comment (*pi* 批) were preserved in a *bielu* 別錄,[27] which probably refers to *Zanggong bielu*. Huiyuan's commentary directly quotes the empress's reply and is datable to shortly after the death of Fazang, a time quite close to Empress Wu's reign. This would make it nearly impossible to have been a post facto fabricated edict in the empress's name. I believe that it should be accorded historical credibility, although the event might not have happened exactly as described. The following scenario appears plausible. In the course of lecturing on the new *Avataṃsaka* translation, probably on January 7, 700, a small earthquake was felt in the region close to Foshoujisi, not necessarily when Fazang lectured on the sentence regarding the

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[22] This character seems redundant. Another way of reading this sentence (although somewhat awkward) is: 至十二月十二日晚上講, 講至華藏世界海震動之[文].

[23] Here I add the character *wen* 文.

[24] *Xu Huayan jing lüeshu kanding ji*, *XZJ* 5: 1.25b-c.

[25] See (1) *GYZ* (*T* 51: 23.176b18-25); (2) *Da Fangguangfo Huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* (*T* 36: 15.114a6-19; according to Chengguan, Empress Wu's reply also contains the sentence 宜付所司, 頒示天下, that is, "This [memorial] should be given to the relevant bureau, which must see that it be spread and shown to the people under the Heavens"); (3) *PHC* (281c2-11); (4) *Fajiezong wuzu lüeji* (*XZJ* 134: 274a9ff); and (5) *Huayan ganying yuanqi zhuan* (*XZJ* 134: 291a8ff).

[26] See (1) *SGSZ* (*T* 50: 5.732b4-11), which dates the event to November 5, 699 (Shengli 2.10.8), the day the completion of the new *Avataṃsaka* translation was officially announced, and has the Foshoujisi Administrator who presented the memorial to Empress Wu as Hengjing 恆景 (var. Hongjing 弘景, 643-712), rather than Huibiao (quoted by *Shishi jigu lüe*, *T* 49: 3.82111-13); (2) *Longxing biannian tonglun* (*XZJ* 130: 14.281c4-5), which dates it to Chang'an 1 (November 26, 701-February 1, 702), says that the quake lasted for two hours, and that Fazang was immediately summoned to the court for his Golden lion Lecture (this version of the story is quoted by the *Fozu lidai tongzai T* 49: 12.585b23-25); and (3) *Fozu tongji* (*T* 49: 27.293a13ff), which provides a version very similar to *Longxing biannian tonglun* that relates this event to the Golden lion Lecture.

[27] *Xu Huayan jing lüeshu kanding ji*, *XZJ* 5: 1.25c11.

quake in the "Seas of the *Avataṃsaka*-realm."[28] Very likely, the Foshoujisi monks correlated the earthquake with the sentence in the *sūtra* in an attempt to recast the event as a propitious portent related to the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*. Given that earthquakes were generally understood as punitive omens from the heavens, this reaction of the Foshoujisi monks can also be interpreted as a deliberate act of turning an unfavorable sign into a favorable one according with Buddhist ideology.

Before concluding this section, let us briefly have another look at a story that we have discussed in Chapter Eight in connection with Fazang's knowledge of paper-making technology. In this story, which is told by Fazang himself, a Buddhist monk called Deyuan produced a special copy of *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing* with a special kind of paper that he and his assistants manufactured using some unusual techniques and during a religious ceremony.[29]After narrating this story on the arduous process of *sūtra* copying, Fazang makes the following comments,

> The purity and piety caused in the course of copying this *sūtra* have indeed never been heard of from the past to the present. All these propitious signs find few matches. This copy was transmitted from person to person and so far it has been passed on to five masters. Efficacious responses have occurred from time to time when people, after purifying themselves, continuously chanted it. This copy is currently preserved and venerated in the place of the Western Chongfusi monk Xianshou (i.e., Fazang). 至於潔敬, 事絕今古. 若茲徵瑞, 蓋亦罕儔. 此經遽相付授, 至今五師. 後人入淨轉讀, 時有靈應. 今在西大原寺僧賢首處, 守護供養焉.[30]

Although this story does not have Fazang as its subject, it is nonetheless notable for the fact that according to Fazang himself, the encased copy was transmitted from Deyuan to other *Avataṃsaka* experts, including Fazang himself. This means that Fazang's expertise on the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* was regarded highly enough by his contemporaries to be accorded the honor of holding a unique treasure symbolizing the *sūtra*'s mysterious power.

2. Fazang the Rain-Maker and Disciplinarian

There are stories that feature Fazang's power to produce miracles that are not presented as being directly derived from his achievement in the *Avataṃsaka* teachings, as with the above ones. Some of the miracles were effected, or happened, in response to actual, positive needs of Fa-

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[28] Under the entry of Shengli 2, no earthquake is reported in the two Tang histories (*JTS* 6.128, *XTS* 4.99-100) or the *ZZTJ* (206.6539-6544).

[29] Chapter 8.6.

[30] *HJZ*, *T* 51: 5.171a16-19.

zang's patrons; others were effected as punishments for false Buddhist practitioners or heretics.

2.1. *Fazang's Supernatural Ability to Bring Snow and Rain*

It seems that Fazang gained a reputation as an efficacious invoker of rain at the same time that he distinguished himself as an *Avataṃsaka* master. During Empress Wu's regency and reign, local officials around the Chang'an area had suffered from the ravages of drought, and had repeatedly engaged Fazang's sort of supernatural power.[31] Fazang was also sought by Zhongzong and Ruizong for the same services. Under the reign of Zhongzong alone, he was known to have twice intervened (in 708 and 709) with heaven by praying for rain.[32] The extent of his capacity to make precipitation is best demonstrated in the spring of 711, when he performed an esoteric ritual at Wuzhensi for snow, on behalf of Ruizong's government, as we have discussed.

Other Buddhist monks were asked to intervene against unfavorable natural events as well. On January 19, 707, at the recommendation of Yijing and Ācārya Jing (Jing Sheli 景闍梨), who was probably Hongjing 弘景, Zhongzong ordered a Buddhist thaumaturge named Qingxu to enter his inner palaces to pray for snow, but only a little bit appeared. Thus, Zhongzong had Qingxu pray outside the palaces. The monk first prayed beside a "dragon-pool" (*longqiu* 瀧湫 [probably an error for *longqiu* 龍湫]) in the Tan 炭 valley on Mount Zhongnan. Although some snow fell, the amount was not enough. Qingxu then moved to the Buddha-hall at Anle[si] or simply Anlesi (Anlesi fotang 安樂寺佛堂) in the Quarter of Suo 索曲,[33] where he recited the text of *Jin'gang bore jing*. In

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[31] Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn records two such examples, in 687 and 695; see *PHC* 283c911, discussed in Chapter 5.2.2, 5.3.1.

[32] Chapter 6.3.1.

[33] We should consider the possibility that this Anlesi was a temple of the same name that Empress Wei built for her daughter Princess Anle 安樂 (?-710) in the Daoguang Ward 道光坊 of Luoyang during Jinglong 1 (*THY* 48.849, *Chaoye qianzai* 1.10). It is true that Jinglong 1 ran from October 5, 707 to January 27, 708, and that Qingxu entered the Suoqu Anlesi shortly after January 19, 707 (Shenlong 2.12.11), both facts suggesting that these were two Anlesi. However, Jinglong 1 could also denote Shenlong 3 (February 7-October 4, 707) given that the Jinglong era was introduced on the fifth day of the ninth month of Shenlong 3 (October 5, 707). On the other hand, considering that it was toward the very end of Shenlong 2 that Qingxu was summoned by Zhongzong, it had probably already been in Shenlong 3 when he entered the Suoqu Anlesi. This has rendered it possible that the Suoqu Anlesi was actually the Daoguang one. However, the following consideration has inclined me to discredit such a possibility. Although our source fails to specify if the Suoqu Anlesi was in Chang'an or Luoyang, given that Zhongzong had then already moved his capital to Chang'an from Luoyang, this Anlesi was in Chang'an. Be that as it may, it could not have been the Anlesi built by Empress Wei, which was located in Luoyang.

seven days the recitation resulted in further snow, but still too little. He then set two of his fingers on fire. In one day and one night, before the two fingers were burnt off completely, clouds gathered from every direction, and snow and rain started to fall down together. His two fingers also miraculously healed. In spite of his success in praying for an abundance of snow, Qingxu still found himself the target of a series of bitter debates due to his self-immolation acts, which were harshly criticized by Yijing (Zhongzong had already aired his suspicions and disapprovals when Qingxu expressed to him his intent to stimulate Heaven with an offering of his own body). Some people even accused Qingxu of performing black magic.[34]

The story of Qingxu is not meant to function in parallel with similar Fazang stories, but as a prelude to a story, below, in which he cooperates with Fazang. This one will highlight Qingxu's thaumaturgic prowess but hint at Fazang's lack of similar power. Hagiography, as discussed in my Introduction, can live alongside historiography; and this story contains historical elements, including, for example, the information on Fazang's whereabouts in the summer of 703.

We are told that in the fourth month of Chang'an 3 (May 20-June 18, 703), Qingxu went to Wuzhensi for a summer retreat. The upper division of the meditation cloister (上坊禪院) at the temple was dilapidated and lacked a well. People living there had to fetch water from a ravine over five *li* away. Fazang and the three temple principals (*sangang* 三綱) asked Qingxu to find a well through prayer. Qingxu responded, "This is really a tough job!" Someone said to Qingxu, "Now that you, dear master, spend your summer retreat here, can't you really concentrate to memorize and chant the [*Diamond*] *sūtra* and pray for the benefit of the temple? Since this will not hamper your cultivating the Way, we hope that you won't turn us down." Finding it hard to go against the people's will, Qingxu looked for a place to memorize and chant. All the rooms in the upper and lower divisions of the Meditation Cloister were occupied, except for a Maitreya pavilion, which, located in between the two divisions, was always locked and which no one dared to open. Seeing that the pavilion was locked, Qingxu summoned the person on duty, and asked him if he could unlock the pavilion so that he (Qingxu) could chant inside. The host and visiting monks unanimously objected to this by saying, "Do not enter this pavilion! A black snake is inside. As huge as a hill, it is two *zhang* in length and constantly lives there. We fear that it will hurt you, dear master!"

Qingxu answered, "In the south, there was a deity that lived in Lake Gongting 宮亭. It measured several miles in length and kept changing its

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[34] *Jin'gang bore jing jiyan ji*, *XZJ* 149: 2.48d-49a.

shape as it pleased. It was also a big snake, and was able to stir up violent storms. Even such a ferocious creature could be tamed by An Shigao, let alone one which is smaller!"[35] Thus, searching out the key, Qingxu opened the gate to the pavilion. Holding a torch in hand, he entered it resolutely. He saw nothing, only smelling the stench of a snake. With his mind focused correctly and having burned incense, Qingxu started to pray to the deity, "This disciple has heard that you, the sentient being with a huge body, reside here in order to protect this pavilion. I wonder if you are the reincarnation of a sage or saint belonging to the past, or one of the deities dwelling on this mountain as a dragon (山龍諸神). Now, I, [your] disciple, have entered this pavilion, single-mindedly memorizing and chanting the *sūtra* in order to secure a well by prayer for the upper division of the Meditation Cloister. It is my wish that all of the deities will protect me and not frighten me. After hearing my chanting of the *Diamond sūtra*, please bestow on me a well, so that I can offer it to the upper division of the Meditation Cloister."

Then with the utmost concentration he started to recall and chant the *sūtra*. Sitting there for three successive days and nights, he never closed his eyes. Appearing in his mind and in front of his eyes were three women, who, to the northwest of the Maitreya-pavilion and at the waist of the mountain, cut into the ground with knives. All of sudden, they disappeared. The next morning he went to the northeast of the mountain, where he meditated beside a ravine and chanted the *sūtra*. He then saw a stream of water coming from the place where the women cut into the ground and passing in front of him. This vision kept appearing for a number of days. Not completely sure of the reality of this vision, Qingxu kept chanting the *sūtra* without stop. In the following days the vision became clearer and clearer. Not until then did Qingxu move to the place where the women cut into the ground and start to chant there. When he closed his eyes a vision appeared in which the water flowed out of his back. Three days later, after setting aside the leaves on the ground, Qingxu found a wet patch as big as a plate of two *chi* in diameter. Digging into the ground with a hoe, he found a fountain, which subsequently developed into a pit containing one *dan* 石 of water. After wholeheartedly chanting the *sūtra* five times, the pit became full of water. Qingxu then had the source drawn to the Meditation Cloister for people's consumption.[36]

It is interesting to note that this account, which was compiled by someone with no ties to Fazang and on the basis of an earlier source which probably appeared when Fazang was still alive, portrays in such detail the

[35] For the legend about a snake in Lake Gongting and its relationship with An Shigao, see Forte, *An Shigao*, 21, 86, 87n54.

[36] *Jin'gang bore jing jiyan ji*, *XZJ* 149: 2.47d14-48b6.

supernatural power of Qingxu seemingly at the expense of Fazang's reputation as a wonderworker. It seems that at least in the eyes of some of his contemporaries, Fazang was not as capable of drawing water from under the ground as he was of bringing down water from the sky!

2.2. *Fazang the Disciplinarian: Punishing Traitors and Conquering Heretics*

In the faithful accounts that his admirers manufactured of him, however, a helper is not always the role that Fazang has been made to play. He could also be depicted as a punisher of traitors within the saṃgha and more impressively, a defender against heretics who attacked Buddhism from without the saṃgha.

An anecdote created by someone probably Fazang's friend attributes to Fazang the role of punisher. The monk Sili 思禮 (?-670+) was a native of Lantian, Yongzhou. He was vulgar and shallow in nature, determined only to make profit. Although he donned the monastic robe, he showed no intention in identifying himself with Buddhism. During the Xianheng era (March 27, 670-September 20, 674), he once spent his summer retreat at Wuzhensi in Langu 藍谷. There were then at the temple several tens of practitioners, most of whom were refined and vigilant in their behavior. He mixed with monks while planning illegal activities.

One day he stole the silk inside a Buddha-statue within the Buddha-hall. Several days later other monks noticed this theft, although they did not know who had committed it. Suspecting and questioning each other, they started to entertain mistrust and confusion in their hearts. Many of them felt ashamed of this, and planned to leave. At that time, the elder (*shangzuo* 上座) Fazang spoke to his fellow monks, "I heard that this temple is full of miraculous traces. Now that someone has broken the Buddha-statue, how could the deity protecting this *saṃghārāma* keep silent for long? I anticipate that within three days he will reveal the truth and bring peace back to this community."

After delivering this speech, Fazang dispatched his fellow-monks back to their chambers. Sili, who slept during the daytime in his own chamber which was underneath the bell-tower, suddenly saw a great deity in white, who inserted his body in between his bed and the wall. Hanging Sili's body upside down, the deity further laid a stone on his body. At dawn on the next morning, all the monks, not seeing Sili, went to his chamber to find him. It was locked so tight that no one could open it. People's wonder increased as they still couldn't find Sili for one more night. They bored a hole in his window, through which they found him being hung between the bed and wall, with his body covered by the silk from the statue. The monks pulled him out of the gap and moved him outdoors. His complexion was as black as lacquer, and his breath became

blocked. He did not regain consciousness until other monks repented on his behalf. Confessing the crimes he committed, Sili absconded by night and nobody knew what happened to him in the end.[37]

Although this story does not depict Fazang as a direct punisher of an unlawful monk, he is indeed conceived as someone who is able to effectively communicate with the divine, secretly but successfully persuading the latter to step in and correct an unusual situation that is threatening to break a Buddhist community apart.

In view of the importance of Daoism in Fazang's career, one might expect him to be friendly towards Daoist priests. However, this impression is not borne out if we can believe a story told by one of his direct disciples, which appears to reflect Fazang's attitude toward Daoism after he became an *Avataṃsaka* master. It shows what a merciless attacker of heretics (Daoist or otherwise) Fazang could be:

> Reaching the second year [of the Tianshou era] (December 6, 690-November 25, 691), [people in Cengzhou] entreated [Fazang] to lecture on *Huayan jing*. After preaching on the dharma, the discussion [between him and his audience] carried them to issues of what was orthodox and what heterodox. A young Daoist priest, who was then present, returned to report to the Head of Hongdao Abbey, saying, "The preacher in the temple to the north has disparaged the Daoist Worthies." This exasperated the Head, so the next morning he led over thirty Daoist priests to the lecture center. With his face contorted with anger, he uttered coarse words, asking Master [Fa]zang, "It would be all right if you just focused on your lectures. [But] why did you [rashly] comment on things related to Daoism?" Master [Fa]zang replied, "A poor monk [like me] has only lectured on the Huayan [teachings], with no intention whatsoever to comment on or disparage other [teachings]." The head of the abbey asked, "Are all the dharmas equal?" Master [Fa]zang replied, "All the dharmas are both equal and unequal." The head asked again, "Which dharmas are equal, and which not?" [Fazang] replied, "None of the dharmas goes beyond the sphere of two categories, one Absolute Truth and the other Provisional. In view of the Absolute Truth, there is neither this-ness nor that-ness, neither self nor others, neither purities nor impurities, [since they] are all detached from [any characteristics]. Therefore, [all the dharmas] are equal. However, when judging from the view of Provisional Truth, there are distinctions between the good and evil, the honorable and humble, the orthodox and heterodox—how could they be equal?" Although the priest found himself unable to respond to this argument, he couldn't constrain his anger, speaking poisonous and harmful words in the "Place of the Tathāgata" (i.e., the Buddhist temple). 至二年, 請講華嚴. 說法之次, 議及邪正. 時有少道士在側, 歸報弘道觀王[38], "北寺講師, 誹謗道尊." 觀主聞之其[39]怒, 明晨領諸道士三十餘人, 來至講所.

[37] *Shimen zijing lu*, *T* 51: 1.805a22-b8.
[38] Obviously an error for 主.
[39] 其 is probably an error for 甚.

> 面興慍色, 口發麤言. 謂藏公曰, "但自講經, 何故論道門事?" 藏公曰, "貧道自講華嚴, 無他論毀." 觀主問曰, "一切諸法, 悉皆平等耶?"藏公對曰, "諸法亦平等, 亦不平等." 觀主又問, "何法平等? 何法不平等? "答曰, "一切法不出二種: 一者真諦, 二者俗諦. 若約真諦, 無此無彼, 無自無他, 非淨非穢, 一切皆離, 故平等也. 若約俗諦, 有善有惡, 有尊有卑, 有邪有正, 豈得平等耶?" 道士詞窮無對, 猶嗔不解. 於如來所, 生毒害言.
>
> He then returned to the abbey. The night passed [without anything abnormal happening]. But in the morning, when he washed his face and hands, his eyebrows and hair all started to fall out suddenly, and boils erupted all over his body. Not until then did he start to repent and take refuge in the Three Treasures. He pitifully begged [pardon] from Master [Fa]zang, vowing to recite and uphold *Huayan jing* one hundred times. After chanting the *sūtra* for about two years, he was still ten times [short of one hundred recitations], he felt [to his delight] that his eyebrows and hair started to grow back and the sores on his body start to heal. This was seen and heard by both the religious and lay people in Cengzhou. 歸觀, 經一宿, 明朝, 洗面手, 忽眉髮一時俱落. 通身瘡皰, 方生悔心, 歸敬三寶. 求哀[40]藏公, 誓願受持華嚴經一百遍. 轉誦向二年, 猶有十遍未畢, 忽感眉髮重生, 身瘡皆愈. 曾洲道俗, 無不見聞.[41]

This account should be considered as a part of Buddhist literature that takes up the theme of conversion through debate, or conversion of heretics in general. Beginning in the sixth century, conversion through debate was a key element in the popular perception of such Buddhist "patriarchs" as Aśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna and, in particular, Āryadeva. While it will be of interest to scholars to explore fully how the images of these patriarchs, which were, as Stuart Young has recently argued, heavily recast by Chinese authors, might have informed this particular account concerning Fazang's proselytizing,[42] here it should merely be noted that the story of Fazang's defeating a Daoist challenger cast very little light on Mahāyāna's "Two Truths" but instead highlighted black magic. Magic of this type, as suggested by the plot, was responsible for his opponent's symptoms of leprosy. It is quite remarkable for a Buddhist theoretician of Fazang's fame that magical prowess would be depicted as more influential than eloquence and theoretical sophistication. The fact that a skilled Buddhist metaphysician was shown in anecdotes as exerting a powerful effect through indirect and direct magic, as well as spells and other devices, reveals medieval court-centered Buddhism in China as rich in outlook and diverse in practitioners. Many of the latter were from Central Asia and they mixed and matched ethnic traditions of showmanship with Chinese Daoist traditions of talismans and supplica-

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[40] *Qiuai* 求哀 is probably an error for *aiqiu* 哀求.
[41] *GYZ*, T 51: 176a-b. A brief account is in *HPC* 283c11-16.
[42] Young, *Conceiving the Indian Buddhist Patriarchs in China.*

tions. There was no embarrassment or controversy over the mere fact of Fazang's repertoire of skills.

Maybe we do not have to believe that a Daoist leader was defeated and converted by a Buddhist through magical influence, but some of the essential facts are believable: there probably was such a Daoist priest, someone no doubt important as the head of a Daoist abbey at the local level who was converted by Fazang. We know that at the time some Buddhist monks, probably encouraged by Empress Wu's pro-Buddhist policies, aggressively approached Daoists, sometimes converting them by force. In one particular case, Huaiyi was accused of having physically tortured Daoist priests who refused to convert.[43] A Daoist victim of such a campaign of forced conversion has been mentioned in a previous chapter.[44] What is more interesting in this regard is that in 696 the head of Hongdao Abbey in Luoyang, Du Yi 杜乂, gave up his faith in Daoism and had himself ordained as a Buddhist monk, taking the dharma-name Xuanyi 玄嶷. To the immense dismay and exasperation of his former religious brothers, Du Yi/Xuanyi wrote a three-*juan* work, titled "Zhenzheng lun" 甄正論 (Treatise on Selecting the True [Way]), to criticize Daoism and defend Buddhism.[45] We note with interest that our author identifies his Daoist priest also as the head of Hongdao Abbey, although he locates this abbey in Cengzhou, rather than in Luoyang. Is the author recasting the Du Yi/Xuanyi conversion in such a way that Fazang is represented as his tamer, or he is here simply partly reproducing the famous case by contextualizing his tale in a marginal area with a homonymous Daoist abbey? Whatever the real situation, this tale is definitely worth serious note for those who are interested in the Buddho-Daoist and state-saṃgha relationships during this period, when Buddhism was reaching its heyday under the patronage of Empress Wu.

3. The Magician as Warrior?: Fazang and the Suppression of a Khitan Rebellion (696-697)

We have already highlighted several elements contributing to Fazang's success as a court priest: Buddhist philosopher, politician, and miracle worker. This section focuses on a rare power of Fazang—his role in creating a strategy of psychological warfare, as seen in a series of campaigns that the Great Zhou army launched against the Khitan rebels. This particular role was achieved by virtue of his prowess in black magic. We will contextualize the events against the larger political, military

[43] Forte, "Huaiyi."
[44] The Daoist priest in question is called Hou Jingzhong. See Chapter 5.3.2.
[45] For Du Yi and his authorship of the *Zhenzheng lun*, see Palumbo, "*Zhenzheng lun*."

and religious background—the 696-697 Khitan rebellion and its suppression, and the Avalokiteśvara cult that developed under the rule of Empress Wu.

3.1. *Historical Background*

In 696, the tribe known as the Khitan, then a vassal state based in the northeastern part of the empire, refused to pledge loyalty to Empress Wu, who then dispatched an army to suppress them. At the same time she sought advice from Fazang, consulting about how Buddhism could be put into the service of this campaign. Fazang suggested the "left-hand path," and permission was granted. As touched on earlier, Fazang bathed and changed robes, and constructed a *bodhimaṇḍa* of the Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara, in which he placed images of that bodhisattva. The effect of his esoteric procedure was astonishing. Within several days, the Khitan soldiers saw that they were faced not only with countless warriors of the Great Zhou army, but also a bevy of deities. Some of the enemy saw images of Avalokiteśvara floating in the sky and then slowly descending to the battlefield. In addition, flocks of goats and packs of dogs started to harass the Khitan soldiers. Some weeks later, the empress received news of victory, and she addressed Fazang in a special decree.[46]

Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's biography of Fazang gives the impression that with Fazang's help Empress Wu and her government smashed the rebels effortlessly. This is by no means supported by the historical sources, which depict the two major campaigns against the Khitans as some of the bloodiest of this time.[47]

The sources date the outbreak of the rebellion to June 16, 696 and identify the two rebel leaders as the commander-in-chief (*dudu* 都督) of Songmo 松漠[48] Li Jinzhong 李盡忠 (?-696) and the governor of the Guicheng 歸誠 Prefecture (in present-day Hebei) Sun Wanrong 孫萬榮 (?-697); the two were relatives.[49] We also learn that the rebellion was triggered by the haughtiness and callousness that the commander-in-chief of Yingzhou 營州, Zhao Wenhui 趙文翽 (?-696), showed to the

[46] *PHC* 283c16-25. This passage is translated in Chapter 5.3.2.

[47] The following account of the Shengong Khitan rebellion is mainly based on *ZZTJ* 205.6505-6523. See also Guisso, *Wu Tse-t'ien*, 138-43; idem, "The Reigns of the Empress Wu, Chung-tsung and Jui-tsung (684-712)," 314-16. For a survey of the history of warfare under the Tang and Zhou, see Graff, *Medieval Chinese Warfare,* esp. chapters 8-11.

[48] Also known as Qianli songlin 千里松林 or Pingdi Songlin 平地松林 for its prosperous production of the cedar trees. Shortly after 13 November 648 (Zhenguan 22.11.23 [*gengzi*]), Taizong established an Area Command in Songmo to control the Khitans (*ZZTJ* 199.6263). Songmo covered present-day Weichang 圍場, Hebei and Keshiketeng 克什克騰, Inner Mongolia.

[49] Li Jinzhong married Sun Wanrong's younger sister.

Khitan chieftains, especially during a certain famine. Khitans killed Zhao Wenhui and occupied Yingzhou, and supposedly many thousands joined this uprising. This caught Empress Wu by surprise, and only thirteen days after the uprising she dispatched an army, which seems to have been quite large. The joint leadership comprised twenty-eight generals, including the prestigious Cao Renshi 曹仁師 (?-696+), Zhang Xuanyu 張玄遇 (?-696?), Li Duozuo 李多祚 (654-707), and Ma Renjie 麻仁節 (?-696+). Still uncertain about the military leadership, on August 15 the empress appointed her nephew the Prince of Liang 梁, Wu Sansi 武三思 (?-707), as the pacification commander-in-chief (*anfu dashi* 安撫大使) of the Yuguan 榆關 Circuit (Dao 道),[50] with Yao Shu 姚璹 (?-705)[51] as his associate.

Li Jinzhong and Sun Wanrong turned out to be two exceptionally shrewd warriors. Sources claim they were unusually successful in their initial strikes. They were victors in the first major battle against the imperial army on October 29, 696 at the Valley of Xiashi 硤石 (probably in present-day Mengjin 孟津, Henan). They expanded the quick success by luring Zhou relief forces into an ambush with forged orders, which they made with the official seals captured from the Zhou army.[52]

In the ninth month (October 2-31, 696) the empress offered rewards to any criminal or private slave willing to serve in the army. For the first time, the prefectures to the east of the Taihang 太行 Ranges (the so-called Shandong 山東 areas) set up cavalry units (*wuqi bingtuan* 武騎兵團) who were expected to fight the Khitan horsemen. She appointed one of her first-cousins first-removed, Prince Jian'an Wu Youyi, the Tongzhou 同州 Governor, as the grand general of Right Militant and Awesome Guard (Wuweiwei 武威衛), the adjunct (*xingjun* 行軍) commander-in-chief of the Qingbian 清邊 Circuit, obviously in preparation for another major attack on the Khitan.

Fortunately for the empress, at this crucial moment the new qaghan of the Northern Turks, Qapaghan (Mochuo 默啜) offered to help, on the condition that he be accepted as her son and that an imperial marriage be arranged for his daughter, both of which were apparently part of his own strategy to seize the Chinese throne. Although by no means blind to the hidden agenda, the empress welcomed the offer and rewarded Mochuo

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[50] *Dao* indicated a frontier military jurisdiction encompassing several armies (*jun* 軍) supervised by a general-in-chief (*dajiang* 大將), then superior area commander (*da zongguan* 大總管), then a commander-in-chief (*da dudu* 大都督); See Hucker, *Official Titles*, 487.

[51] Yao Shu, a grandson of the historian Yao Silian 姚思廉 (557-637), was a promoter of Empress Wu's ideology. He supervised the construction of the *tianshu* 天樞 and the *mingtang* complex; see his biographies at *JTS* 89.2902-04, *XTS* 102.3979-80.

[52] Battles in China often deployed tricks, in some cases in favor of armed battle. See Graff, *Medieval Chinese Warfare*, 4-7.

with titles of distinction. Turkish support was compounded by an unexpected turn of events favorable to the empress: Li Jinzhong died on November 22, 696. Mochuo wasted no time in taking advantage of the chaos this created among the Khitans and raided the Khitan base in Songmo, capturing Li Jinzhong's and Sun Wanrong's wives and sons. However, it did not take Sun long to recover, managing as he did to rally the scattered Khitan soldiers. Using two of his subordinates Luowuzheng 絡務整 and He Axiao 何阿小 as vanguards, he seized Jizhou 冀州 (present-day Jixian 冀縣, Hebei) and massacred the inhabitants of the city, killing several thousand officials and commoners, including the governor Lu Baoji 陸寶積 (?-696). He then attacked the whole Yingzhou area, making the Chinese-inhabited areas to the north of the river nervous about further military aggression.

On April 8, 697, another major battle was fought in which Zhou armies, comprising 170,000 troops, was commanded by Wang Xiaojie 王孝傑 (?-697), the commander-in-chief of the Qingbian Circuit. Just as in October of 696, the battles took place in the eastern Xiashi Valley and resulted in the complete annihilation of the 170,000 soldiers, including Wang Xiaojie, who was driven off a cliff.

On May 13, 697, Empress Wu appointed another of her first-cousins first-removed, Wu Yizong 武懿宗 (641-706),[53] who was then the grand general of the Right Imperial Insignia Guard, as the adjunct commander-in-chief of the Shenbing Circuit 神兵道, ordering him and He Jiami 何迦密, the general of the Right Guard of Leopard Strategy (Baotaowei 豹韜衛), to prepare for another round of battle with the Khitans. On June 2, 697, Empress Wu appointed Lou Shide 婁師德 (631-700) the vice commander-in-chief of the Qingbian Circuit, Shatuo Zhongyi 沙陀忠義 (?-707), the general of the Right Militant Awesome Guard, as the commander of the Army of the Front (*qianjun* 前軍). They led two hundred thousand soldiers to attack the Khitans. Obviously, the empress had staked virtually the whole of her empire on this single strike. Once again, she turned out to be extraordinarily fortunate, largely thanks to a tussle between the Turks and Khitans.

The decisive victory over Wang Xiaojie in April of 697 turned Sun Wanrong's thinking. He pondered staging one more raid on a major Chinese city, Youzhou 幽州 (close to present-day Beijing). In hopes of freeing himself of any possible threat to the rear while dealing with the Chinese, Sun tried for a provisional alliance with the Turks, intending to turn against them as soon as he got his way in Youzhou. The Turks saw

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[53] Wu Yizong's two brief biographies are at *JTS* 183.4721, *XTS* 206.5842. His funeral epitaph, by Su Ting 蘇頲 (670-727), provides details of his life, including birth and death dates; see "Da Tang gu Huaizhou cishi zeng tejin Gengguo gong Wu fujun muzhi zhi ming."

through his trickery and turned it against him: they attacked the Khitan base in Liucheng 柳城 (present-day Chaoyang 朝陽, Liaoning), seizing all the booty that had been stored there. When news reached the Khitan army, which was then battling the Chinese army, they panicked. The Khitan tribe of Xi 奚 mutinied, which led to the dispersion of the whole army. Sun Wanrong fled, followed only by some remnants of his routed army. He did not run too far, however, before he was beheaded by one of his servants on June 23, 697.

On July 27, 697,[54] Wu Youyi returned in triumph to the capital from Youzhou. This marked the successful suppression of the Khitan rebellion, which was not achieved without an enormous loss of life and property on the side of the Great Zhou government. From June 16, 696, when the rebellion broke out, to June 23, 697, when Sun Wanrong died, it took the Chinese army a whole year to suppress the Khitan rebels. In order to celebrate this hard-fought victory, and probably also for the casting of the *jiuzhouding* 九州鼎 (Tripods of the Nine Prefectures),[55] on September 29, 697[56] the empress ordered a change of the reign name from Tiancewansui to Shengong 神功 (The Divine Feat), apparently attributing the overcoming of the Khitans to divine intervention.

3.2. *Impact*

Secular sources make no mention whatsoever of Fazang's role in the year-long military endeavor.[57] We do know that Wu Youyi was a friend of Fazang, and that the latter had just helped the prince by ending a drought afflicting the area under his jurisdiction.[58] However, it is Empress Wu's edict and a poem that Zhongzong wrote for Fazang (both quoted earlier in this study), which confirm Fazang's role in "destroying these demonic camps" (very likely referring to the Khitan rebels),[59] that force us to consider this role of Fazang more seriously. It seems unde-

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[54] Tiancewansui 2.7.6 (*gengzi*). The original has the day as *gengwu*. As there was no *gengwu* day in the seventh month of Wansuitongtian 2, I have emended *gengwu* 庚午 to *gengzi* 庚子 on the basis of the similarity in form between *wu* 午 and *zi* 子.

[55] *JTS* 22.867-68; cf. *ZZTJ* 205.6499, 206.6512; for the historical and intellectual background of the Nine Tripods of the Nine Prefectures, see Forte, *Mingtang*, 170-71. A specialized study of the *jiuzhouding* is that of Fracasso, "The Nine Tripods of Empress Wu."

[56] Tiancewansui 2.9.9 (*renyin*). The original has *renchen* 壬辰, a date which did not exist in the ninth month of Wansuitongtian 2. *XTS* (4.98), on the other hand, dates the change of the reign-name to the *renyin* 壬寅 day of that month.

[57] Cf. Zhang Yue, "Wei Henei junwang Wu Yizong ping Jizhou zei Qidan deng lubu," *QTW* 225.1aff.

[58] See Chapter 5.3.1 and Chapter 6, note 22, for this cooperation between Fazang and Wu Youyi.

[59] *PHC* 284a23-24; *QTW* 17.22a2. See Chapter 6.2.1.

niable that Fazang did contribute to the overcoming of this severe military crisis, or at least was perceived to have done so.

We are forced to speculate about Fazang's actions. He may have performed some form of black magic (the so-called "Left Path" he was reported to have recommended to Empress Wu), so as to produce the illusion of images of Avalokiteśvara floating in the sky, which scared away the Khitan soldiers.[60] Further, certain facts allow us to deduce that Fazang himself created the apparition. Empress Wu's edict was addressed to him personally, indicating that he had been for the operation, which was essentially his idea. Finally, we remember that Fazang was already known as an accomplished magician.[61]

Although the effect of this feat might not have been as decisive and far-reaching as it is depicted in the Buddhist sources, Fazang's intervention and Empress Wu's appreciation seem beyond doubt. It is not hard to imagine that both Fazang (and his group) and the empress were more than happy to play up the overall effect, although they may have done so with different purposes in mind. Fazang and his group must have interpreted this episode as a telling demonstration of the divine power of both the bodhisattva and Fazang himself, while Empress Wu and her ideologues must have valued it as a potent sign from the heavens that justified and protected her rule.

It does not seem mere coincidence that Fazang availed himself of the rituals of Avalokiteśvara in this case. This bodhisattva was widely worshipped within China, as is amply shown by a story that a Buddhist leader at the time referred to in the preface he wrote for an esoteric text titled *Qianyan qianbi Guanshiyin pusa tuoluoni shenzhou jing* 千眼千臂觀世音菩薩陀羅尼神咒經 (Sūtra of Divine *Dhāraṇī*s [Spoken by] the Thousand-eyed and Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara):

> In addition, at Foshoujisi there was a monk of Brahmanic origin called Damozhantuo. A native of Uḍḍyāna, he was well-versed in *dhāraṇī*s. He often participated in Buddhist translation as ordered by the emperor. He drew on a fine carpet a portrait of the Thousand-armed bodhisattva [Avalokiteśvara], which he presented to the throne along with the original *dhāraṇī sūtra*. The Divine Thearch ordered palace maidens to embroider the portrait. Her Majesty also ordered a craftsman to draw portraits of the bodhisattva. The portraits were then distributed throughout

[60] It would be interesting to know why Fazang would call such a standard procedure the "left-hand path." This might not have been so much because of the nature of the scripture on which this ritual was based, as due to its results—military aid from deities. Eugene Wang (*Shaping the Lotus Sūtra*, 257) suggests that Fazang was producing frightening reflections with a device composed of eleven mirrored faces. Although this interpretation is not supported by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's biography, in which *shiyimian guanyin* 十一面觀音 just means the "Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara," it is still important to consider that it was a device of some kind that Fazang used.

[61] See Chapters 11.3.3.

> the empire in the hope that his numinous shape would never sink [into obscurity]. 又佛授記寺有婆羅門僧達摩戰陀, 烏伐那國人也. 善明悉陀羅尼咒句, 常每奉制翻譯. 於妙氎上, 畫一千臂菩薩像, 并本經咒, 進上. 神皇令宮女繡成, 或使匠人畫出. 流布天下, 不墜靈姿.[62]

Damozhantuo must have been the monk who is elsewhere simply known as Zhantuo 戰陀, a major translator very active under the reign of Empress Wu.[63] Here we see the high degree of esteem that Avalokiteśvara garnered among Empress Wu and her Buddhist supporters.

More remarkably, in Changshou 2 (December 6, 690-November 25, 691), shortly after the empress declared herself as the founding emperor of the Great Zhou dynasty, another Indian monk closely associated with Empress Wu, Huizhi 慧智 (fl. 676-703), composed in Sanskrit a set of odes in praise of the bodhisattva and then translated it into Chinese. To the end of the translation Huizhi makes it clear that these odes were dedicated to Empress Wu, implying that he regarded her as a reincarnation of the bodhisattva.[64]

It should be noted that it is the Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara, rather than the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara, who was invoked by Fazang in his service on the battlefield. Therefore, it must have been an esoteric text other than *Qianyan qianbi Guanshiyin pusa tuoluoni shenzhou jing* that was used as the scriptural support for Fazang's Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara *bodhimaṇḍa*. Although the latter type of Avalokiteśvara had already appeared in Chinese translation as early as the Northern Zhou dynasty, it seems that it did not gain widespread popularity until the Tang, especially after it was translated by both Atikūṭa and Xuanzang within a two- or three-year period.

A telling example of its popularity is that sometime between April 5 and May 3, 661, five years after the appearance of Xuanzang's version, a Daoist priest of the Xihua Abbey 西華觀, Guo Xingzhen 郭行真 (?-663), who then bore the official title of *chaosan daifu* (grand master for closing court) and who was a neophyte of Buddhism, made two sandalwood statues of the Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara in addition to five gold or copper statues of the Buddha.[65] Significantly, Guo Xingzhen was a

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[62] *Qianyan qianbi Guanshiyin pusa tuoluoni shenzhou jing*, *T* 20: 83c7-11.

[63] For the importance of this monk, see Appendix G, note 31.

[64] This text is now extant as *Zan Guanshiyin pusa song* 讚觀世音菩薩頌 (*T* 20: 67a-68a). Forte ("Hui-chih," 118-22) has convincingly argued that Huizhi was not only its translator, but also its author.

[65] *Ji gujin fodao lunheng*, *T* 52: 4.395cb-397a, which records fifteen compositions that the author of *Fozu lidai tongzai* (*T* 49: 12.581c22) recognized as his "Votive Texts" (*qiyuan wen* 啓願文). According to *Fozu lidai tongzai*, Guo Xingzhen decided to convert to Buddhism after he was criticized for plagiarizing Buddhist texts. This account might have been based on Daoshi, but he only records Guo Xingzhen and his plagiarism, without any mention of his conversion to Buddhism; see *Fayuan zhulin*, *T* 51: 55.703b10-c17.

confidant of Empress Wu. He started to associate with her probably in or shortly after 655, when she became Gaozong's new empress and when she, out of her sense of insecurity over her position, regularly invited Guo Xingzhen to the inner palace to perform black magic (*yasheng* 壓勝) aiming at dispelling malicious spirits and bringing disaster to her enemies. The degree of trust that Guo Xingzhen was able to command from Gaozong and Empress Wu is shown by the fact that only a few weeks before dedicating himself to casting statues of the Buddha and Avolokiteśvara, Guo Xingzhen performed a series of observances and rituals on Mount Tai for the benefit of the emperor and empress.[66] However, it turned out that his newly aroused piety towards the Buddha did not bring him good fortune. After his black magic was exposed in 663, which would have destroyed the empress herself but for her shrewdness and resoluteness, he was banished to Aizhou 愛州 (in present-day Qinghua 清化 in Guangxi) where he soon died.[67] The unusual closeness of Guo Xingzhen's relationship with Empress Wu means that both his decision to switch his religious faith and his efforts to cast the statue of

[66] The inscription (dated Xianqing 6.2.22 [March 27, 661]) that Guo Xingzhen made to celebrate this occasion is still preserved; see *Jinshi cuibian*, *Shike shiliao xinbian* I, 1: 12.34a. He identifies himself as an "imperial envoy" (*cishi* 敕使) and Sir Eastern Marchmount (Dongyue Xiansheng 東岳先生). The text notes that the mission resulted in an "unadorned statue" (*suxiang* 素像) waited upon by two immortals, who stood on each side of the statue (*jiashi* 夾侍). Guo Xingzhen cast the Buddhist statues in the third month of Longshuo 1 (April 5, 661-May 3, 661), which started a mere eight days after the date on which Guo Xingzhen dated his inscription.

[67] For Guo Xingzhen's involvement in Empress Wu's court strife, see *Da Tang xinyu*, *SKQS* 1035: 2.8b; *Tang yulin*, *SKQS* 1038: 512a-b; *XTS* 76.3474; *ZZTJ* 201. 6342. Zhou Ying 周郢 and Lei Wen 雷闻, quoting from *ZZTJ*, date Guo's collusion with Empress Wu and the exposure of the conspiracy to the end of Linde 1 (February 2, 664-January 21, 665) (Lei Wen even suggests that this happened after Guo Xingzhen returned from his exile to Aizhou). See Zhou Ying, "Taishan yuanyang bei shishi xin jian," 398; Lei Wen, "Lun zhong wan Tang fodao jiao yu minjian cisi de heliu," 70-78; idem, "Daojiaotu Ma Yuanzhen yu Wu Zhou geming," 73-80. This is a misreading of the *ZZTJ* passage. The disgracing and banishment of Guo Xingzhen happened in Longshuo 3 (February 13, 663-February 1, 664), as is verified by Gaozong's edict, which, dated Longshuo 3.12.14 (January 17, 664), condemns Guo Xingzhen. The edict is fully quoted in *Fayuan zhulin* (55.705b5-18), which Daoshi precedes with a summary (55.705a27-b5). The edict refers to Guo Xingzhen by his official titles, *chaosan daifu* and *qiduwei*. According to the edict, Guo Xingzhen was a medical expert and he was rewarded because of his merits in curing the heir-apparent Li Hong. The edict also accuses him of bribery and reading "forbidden books" (*jinshu* 禁書), which might refer to *chenwei* 讖緯 texts. In his comment on Guo Xingzhen, Daoshi tells us that he came from a poor family and that he once performed the *toulong* ceremony and collected medical herbs on the mountains, both by order of the emperor. He refers to the ceremony that Guo performed on Mount Tai in 661 on behalf of the imperial spouses (although in the inscription that Guo Xingzhen left on Mount Tai after the ceremony he does not mention the *toulong* procedure), and to his efforts to cure the heir-apparent. Since Li Hong fell sick and recovered in 656, we know that Guo Xingzhen came into Empress Wu's favor at the time (if not earlier).

Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara must have been tacitly approved if not instigated by her. Thus, it seems that Empress Wu might have been exposed to the worship of the Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara as early as the beginning of the 660s.[68] It is also noteworthy that one of her confidants became a devotee of the Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara when his patroness was deliberately working through to the political summit from where she was able to rule as a co-emperor.[69] Therefore, the idea of invoking intervention by the Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara in 697 might not have been completely Fazang's.

On either October 24, 696 or December 22, 696[70]—almost simultaneous with Fazang's availing of the *dhāraṇī* of the Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara—the Buddhist thaumaturge Qingxu succeeded in saving his own hermitage from a fire on Mount Sanzong 三總, to the north of Lingyansi 靈嚴寺 (probably an error of Lingyansi 靈巖寺) in Qizhou 齊州 (Shandong), not far from the battlefield of the Great Zhou and Khitan armies.[71] Some time between May 31 and June 29, 702,[72] the same Qingxu used the *dhāraṇī* of the Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara and that (or those) in *Jin'gang bore jing* 金剛般若經 to pray for rain at the request of Fuli, whom we have already identified as a foe of Fazang. It was successful.[73] However, the same Avalokiteśvara *dhāraṇī* did not prove efficacious two years later (around May 8, 704), when Qingxu was

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[68] Sima Guang (*ZZTJ* 200.6322) remarks that after overcoming this crisis, Empress Wu became the *de facto* ruler of the empire (權與人主牟矣). See Twitchett and Wechsler, "Kao-tsung and Empress Wu," 255.

[69] It is even more fascinating to note that Guo Xingzhen's veneration of Avalokiteśvara in 661 was followed by his mission to Mount Tai to perform a ritual for the benefit of the royal family. This fact lends more credibility to the assumption that not unlike Guo Xingzhen, Fazang also went to another sacred mountain to pray to that bodhisattva during his 697 expedition against the Khitan.

[70] The original says Wansuitongtian 1.11.23, but Wansuitongtian 1 only lasted from April 22, 696 to November 29, 696. On December 18, 689, Empress Wu had decreed a new reign (Zaichu), whose new calendar was based on the Western Zhou's, in which the twelve months of a year were designated as *zheng* 正, *la* 臘 followed by months one to ten (rather than months one to twelve, in accordance with the Xia 夏 calendar). This system was abolished in Zhengsheng 3, when the twelve months were designated 1-12, as usual. For this reason, Wansuitongtian 1.11.23 might have been Wansuitongtian 1.9.23 (October 24, 696), or Wansuitongtian 2.1.23 (December 22, 696).

[71] *Jin'gang bore jing jiyan ji*, *XZJ* 149: 2.47c.

[72] The original gives it as Dazu 2.5; but the Dazu era lasted only from February 15, 701, to November 25, 701. I argue elsewhere (Chen Jinhua, *Collusion and Collision*, Chapter 1) that Dazu 2 here might have referred to the year following Dazu 1, or Chang'an 1 (November 26, 701-February 1, 702) or Chang'an 2 (February 2, 702-January 21, 703), which seems more likely given that Chang'an 1 lasted for barely two months and that it did not have the fifth month. Under this reasoning, Dazu 2.5 would have been Chang'an 2.5 (May 31, 702-June 29, 702).

[73] *Jin'gang bore jing jiyan ji*, *XZJ* 149: 3.53b-c.

requested to pacify a malicious spirit haunting a Buddha-hall at Shaolinsi 少林寺 on Mount Song.[74]

Fazang's feats seem to have further contributed to the popularity of the Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara. A good example is the fact that it was such an image of Avalokiteśvara, rather than that of the thousand-armed and-eyed Avalokiteśvara, that was materialized in a statue within the so-called Qibaotai 七寶臺 (Tower of Seven Jewels). The tower was completed around 703 under the supervision of Degan 德感 (ca. 640-703+)—another major Buddhist ideologue of Empress Wu—at Guangzhaisi 光宅寺, a monastery in Chang'an of essential importance to Empress Wu.[75]

The cult of the Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara eventually infiltrated so deeply into society that it became embodied in Sengqie 僧伽 (Saṃgha?, 628-710), a Central Asian Buddhist thaumaturge, who arrived in China in the early Longshuo era (661-663).[76] This embodiment, in turn, catalyzed the cult of Sengqie and its integration with the cult of the Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara. After spending some time in Xiliang Prefecture 西涼府, Sengqie settled in Longxingsi 龍興寺 of Shanyang 山陽, where he wrought various miracles. Then, he moved to Linhuai 臨淮, where he impressed a local householder so much that he surrendered a plot of land for building a temple. From there was unearthed an old epitaph, which revealed that the place was the old site of Xiangjisi 香積寺 of the Northern Qi dynasty, and an image of a Buddha, who was called "Puzhao wang" 普照王 (The King of the Universal Illumination). There was a legend that when he was staying at the home of one of his patrons (surnamed Heba 賀拔), his body suddenly grew so much that it exceeded the whole bed by three *chi*. He subsequently turned himself into the Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara. Some time after being called to Zhongzong's court in 708, Sengqie proposed to the emperor that his temple at Sizhou 泗州 be renamed Puzhaowangsi 普照王寺—the temple of the King of Universal Illumination. Given that the character *zhao* 照 was tabooed because of Empress Wu's personal name Zhao 曌, Zhongzong modified the temple's name as "Puguangsi" 普光寺. The name of Puzhao 普照 or Puguang 普光 obviously echoes the Dazhao puguang Wang 大照普光王, a name of the Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara. That Sengqie

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[74] *Jin'gang bore jing jiyan ji*, *XZJ* 149: 3.52d-53a.

[75] For the importance of Qibaotai under the late years of Empress Wu, see Yen, *Tower of Seven Jewels*; and Chen Jinhua, "*Śarīra* and Scepter, " 48ff. Other evidence for the spread of the cult of the Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara during the Tang period is gathered and discussed in Lee and Ho, "A Colossal Eleven-Faced Kuan-yin of the T'ang Dynasty."

[76] This semi-legendary figure and the cult fostered around him are discussed quite extensively in Makita, "Shishū daisei Sōga oshō ni tsuite"; Xu, "Sengqie zaoxiang"; idem, "Sengqie et le culte de Sengqie"; and particularly, Yü, *Kuan-yin*, esp. 211-22.

was an avatar of Avalokiteśvara was verified by Wanhui 萬迴 (632-711), another Buddhist thaumaturge in Zhongzong's favor. When Zhongzong, who was amazed by a series of miracles that arose following Sengqie's death, asked him to reveal the real identity of Sengqie, Wanhui confirmed this to the emperor.[77]

4. Concluding remarks

Here we have scrutinized different types of hagiographical accounts concerning Fazang's supernatural powers. The accounts are mainly (although not exclusively) concerned with the paradigmatic roles that the authors believed or wished Fazang to have played. We saw his superior preaching, especially concerning *Avataṃsaka* doctrines; he was also presented as mediator between the human and celestial realms, someone striving to reduce conflicts between them, acting in fact as a defender of Buddhism. But all this could occur inside larger moments in which he used conjuration, especially in a military context. Some of the stories, above, show Fazang merely as the witness, the secondary participant or verifier of miracles. Although they do not focus on Fazang, they are of interest for the wider perspective they provide. We can see how the monk was considered by groups of people other than his hagiographers, who were mainly his disciples or later admirers.

In the course of examining these stories, with or without Fazang as their hero, we have observed some of their main features, functions and implications. We have also occasionally noted major patterns that seem to have governed the complex process of casting and recasting miracle stories, for example, those underlying the versions of the Guo Shenliang episode. How are we to read these tales in a broader perspective and are there any major governing laws for these hagiographical accounts that we have not had the opportunity to address? We will discuss these more general implications in the Conclusion.

[77] *SGSZ*, *T* 50: 18.822a3-823b11; Yü, *Kuan-yin*, 213.

CONCLUSION

This study has helped us to see Fazang as a figure of extraordinary complexity. He was a brilliant man who assumed an enormous variety of roles that were open to religious men and women in medieval China: philosopher, translator, mystic, vinaya expert, self-immolator, miracle-worker, shaman, showman, inventor and promoter of technology, practitioner (at some level) of body cultivation and Daoist-flavored rituals, and, importantly, an intense reader of Confucian texts who could integrate those Chinese traditions into his Buddhist-dominated discourses. On a more intimate level, he was a loving son and a caring brother who spent much energy taking care of his parents in illness and shrewdly used his secular power to promote the interests of his family.

Perhaps the largest irony in all of this, from our modern standpoint at least, is that Fazang possibly was never fully ordained. It raises the larger issue of medieval Chinese Buddhist monks' attitude towards their precepts, especially the bodhisattva-precepts. This is an area that lies somewhat beyond the scope of this study. Let me confine myself here to the following brief remarks, which I hope might invite further attention from experts in the field of medieval Chinese (or East Asian) Buddhist vinaya, ordination, and pedagogy. Scholars have made it clear that some parts, if not the whole, of the apocryphal *Fanwang jing* were composed in an effort to suit some characteristically Chinese understandings of and attitudes towards Buddhist precepts.[1] The downplaying of the so-called "Hīnayāna" precepts in favor of the (perhaps) more liberal Mahāyāna precepts is therefore to be understood in just this historical and intellectual environment.[2] As seen in this study, certain aspects of Huayan ideology that were related to Fazang's full ordination demonstrate unconventional notions about precepts. They suggest that one's sound understanding of Buddhist doctrine was far superior to, and therefore could transcend the limits of, the formally textualized and transmitted precepts.[3]

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[1] The latest effort to investigate the socio-religious factors contributing to the forgery of this important text is James Benn's excellent study, "Where Text Meets Flesh."

[2] This needs qualification. James Benn (personal communication, May 28, 2005) notes that some bodhisattva-precepts are considerably more stringent than the Vinaya. Thus, there may be a dichotomy between the two forms of precepts, but it may not run along the lines of "restrictive" vs. "liberal." See Bodiford (ed.), *Going Forth*.

[3] Scholars have assumed that this kind of attitude to the precepts was a feature of Japanese Buddhism—Saichō, etc., but in fact it was prefigured by continental thinkers like Fazang. This is a topic that deserves some serious scholarly attention.

In view of this, a thorough investigation of Fazang's own ideas about Buddhist precepts, for which his own commentary on *Fanwang jing* may prove a valuable source, will provide insights that may penetrate the mystery surrounding Fazang's own ordination, or lack thereof.

Likewise, the relationship between philosophical work, religious devotion, and technological innovation displayed in the life of Fazang poses a host of questions with far-reaching implications. Fazang's case highlights the presence of religious (especially ritual) elements in almost every major scientific and technical invention in medieval China.[4] As some scholars have compellingly proved, the invention of woodblock printing in China and its subsequent spread throughout East Asia proceeded in step with the growth of Buddhism, and especially in close connection with the urgent need of both the Tang and Zhou governments under Empress Wu to broadcast the religious forms that she favored. In examining the evidence surrounding Fazang's familiarity with paper manufacture, we are struck by the degree to which a plain mechanical technology could be rendered highly religious and ritualized. Yet, this example of paper ends up seeming rather usual if we recall that major technical innovations in general occurred under similar circumstances. Examples that come to mind include the invention in China of the first mechanical clock and of gunpowder. As Antonino Forte has shown, it was an increasingly deep sense of the approach of the "end times" (*mofa* 末法, or "end of the dharma") and the keenly-felt need to measure the temporal distance between the present moment and the advent of *mofa* that drove the invention of the mechanical clock and its incorporation in the *mingtang* ritual complex, that splendid politico-religious institution built and rebuilt on the orders of Empress Wu.[5] Such a device was therefore by and large a product of Buddhist millenarian ideas. As for gunpowder, which has been celebrated as one of the four greatest inventions of China because of its immense impact on western civilization, historians of Chinese technology mostly agree that it was an accidental by-product of the arduous pursuit of saltpeter, a key component of alchemical rituals for concocting a life-prolonging elixir. For this unique invention in particular, maybe we should recall that, according to Forte, the captain of the team to Mount Wutai in search of saltpeter in 667 was actually a Singhalese monk who happened to befriend Fazang.[6]

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[4] The latest study of Buddhism's roles in the invention and spread of major technologies in medieval Asia has been capably done by Kieschnick, *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture*.

[5] Forte, *Mingtang*.

[6] Appendix D.

The fact that a host of technologies was invented and developed in pace with the spread of Buddhism across a major part of the Eurasian continent nicely contexts the interplay that we see in Fazang's polymathy. He maintained a certain passion for science and technology and brought that to bear on Buddhist scriptural translations and lecturing. We saw, in particular, the construction of a mirror-lamp hall and the uses of the new technique of printing. Needless to say, like technology, translation was a great vehicle by which Buddhism traveled. We must note, too, that Fazang's role as a major Buddhist translator of his time shows the exceptional extent to which he impacted the affairs of court Buddhism. I have highlighted the fact that three of the six leaders of the Buddhist translation projects with whom Fazang collaborated (i.e., Devendraprajña, Śikṣānanda and Mitrasena) had links to Khotan, a place that was instrumental in the development of *Avataṃsaka*-related teachings.[7] I explained this in terms of Empress Wu's passion for the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* and Fazang's own intellectual background. Current research and recent publications indicate that the time is ripe for examining the ideological, political, and diplomatic elements of the empress's eagerness to promote *Avataṃsaka* teachings. I want to proceed at this point by commenting on larger religious and the sociopolitical milieu within which close ties were formed between Fazang and the empress, ties that represented a key aspect of Fazang's political life.

Our survey of Fazang's political career from the 670s to the 710s was focused on his complex and oft-misunderstood relationship with Empress Wu, whose influence upon his career is hard to exaggerate. It makes sense to look to the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* as a dominant factor in their relationship. However, a number of stories and legends that feature the empress's admiration for Fazang's erudition and his unparalleled skill in driving home the abstruse ideas of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* have prevented scholars from fully recognizing and appropriately appraising "non-scholarly" elements in their relationship. As a step to uncovering these, I have chosen two foci: one is the *Avataṃsaka* Dharma-assembly of 689 and the other consists of several famous episodes regarding Fazang and Empress Wu.

Stories of Fazang's unparalleled skills as a Buddhist expounder and the esteem these skills inspired in Empress Wu are much celebrated in historical sources and their dramatic effects are often used by modern Buddhist scholars as well. In this way, they have overshadowed the facts of the 689 Avataṃsaka Dharma-assembly. It turns out that most of those stories have little if any historical veracity and that the 689 Ava-

[7] Devendraprajña, Śikṣānanda were from Khotan, while Mitrasena was from a neighboring area—Tokhara.

taṃsaka Dharma-assembly appears to have been a significant link in a series of deliberate and complicated operations aimed at a political revolution in the secular world at the beginning of 690. This does not necessarily imply that the empress lacked real knowledge and a personal fondness for the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*; on the contrary, her preface to its new translation demonstrates her own command of Buddhist teachings in general and the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* in particular. What I wish to stress is, however, the need to explore the profound political, diplomatic and ideological agendas underlying her interest in the *sūtra* and her relationship with Fazang, which appears to have been so heavily dominated by that text. In addition to the appeal of the Avataṃsaka worldview, to which Stanley Weinstein has justly drawn attention, we need first to note political motives that were equally at work in the empress's support for the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* and Fazang's religious activities. We need also to note that the new translation was attempted with an eye to turning Mount Wutai into a pan-Asian Buddhist "sacred site" by identifying it as the abode of Mañjuśrī.[8] This complicated program had two purposes. One was to situate China at the center of the whole Buddhist world, while the other was probably to promote the sacredness of Empress Wu's own provenance by connecting the mountain with her natal home in Wenshui 文水, Shanxi, which was close to Wutai.[9] Moreover, we have evidence that Empress Wu's interest in the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* might have been at least partly aroused by her effort to foster diplomatic ties with the kingdom of Khotan, which was, in turn, an important link in her policies toward other Central Asian states. After the death of Taizong, the western regions became the main border problem for China. The stabilization of Khotan, which had always had close connections with the heartland of China, was of strategic significance. Historically, Khotan had been Buddhist for some time. Given the likely Khotanese provenance of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, the unusual importance Empress Wu attached to the *sūtra*, and especially her decision to prepare a new version, we thus must see a deliberate act of currying favor from the Khotanese people. Consequently, Fazang's "international" roles need to be evaluated in the light of politics and diplomacy, and not in terms simply of his status as *Avataṃsaka*'s founder in East Asia.

Likewise, Fazang's relationship with Empress Wu proves to be far more complicated than traditional Buddhist historiography would have us believe; it was also more volatile than is generally accepted in modern scholarship. According to a fascinating episode told in a Korean

[8] Sen, *Buddhism, Trade, and Diplomacy*, 76ff.
[9] Forte, "Buddhapālita"; Chen Jinhua, "*Śarīra* and Scepter," 109-11.

source, Fazang once fell afoul of a Buddhist monk who happened to have been a favorite of Empress Wu. He thus found himself out of her graces, and the conflict intensified to the point that he was exiled to the south, although probably only briefly thanks to other translators' need of his expertise at a time when the empress and her ideologues were keenly preoccupied with preparing the new translation of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*. We do not know if there were other more profound reasons behind this political setback of 694, or early 695, neither do we know when exactly Fazang was called back to the capital to aid the translation project, nor how much his eminence as a scholar helped ultimately to right his career path. However, it is clear that Fazang did regain the empress's trust and reinforced it through his aid in the suppression of the Khitan rebellion, which itself turned out to be a key point in the empress's career.

This brings us to a unique and little-known way in which Fazang served his patroness and her state. There was more to Fazang than contributing to Central Asian diplomacy and to a new Chinese translation of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*. He also personally acted to suppress the northern "barbarian" enemies, not through philosophical and philological expertise, but by spell-casting. Opaque as it may be, the account of Fazang's role in the 696-697 crisis found in a Buddhist source (which is, interestingly enough, again Korean) not only attests Fazang's participation in military action (in which he cast an image that frightened the enemy troops), but also suggests that his role was appreciated by the Zhou government. As a matter of fact, Fazang was perceived as having acted so decisively that Empress Wu issued an edict to praise him, and about a decade later Zhongzong fondly recalled and eulogized his merits in one of four poems dedicated to Fazang. Out of all this came an expansion of the Avalokiteśvara cult. Furthermore, the whole effort to serve the Zhou in 697 might have yielded an indirect, and unexpected, result—the Yunjusi stone canon, which I mention again, below.

We must question the received impression that Fazang enjoyed sustained support from the empress throughout the whole period of their association, which lasted for at least three and half decades; moreover, the long-standing belief among Buddhist scholars that Fazang did not waver in support of the empress also seems questionable.[10] Evidence shows that towards the end of her reign he worked with pro-Tang activists to neutralize her power by removing her favorites at court. Although Fazang might have betrayed his patroness, the political move saved Buddhism from being tied too closely with the Zhou dy-

[10] For two strong voices representing this view about Fazang's unfaltering support for the empress, see Weinstein (*Buddhist under the T'ang*; "Imperial Patronage," 302) and Forte, *Jewel*, 12-13.

nasty, and it succeeded in stabilizing the regime, which was jeopardized by the ailing empress's reliance on two men of questionable character and doubtful political capacity.

In addition to the political shrewdness he demonstrated in this 705 court intrigue, Fazang's reputation as trouble-shooter also greatly contributed to his success as a religious and political leader in the last eight years of his life. The two Tang emperors Zhongzong and Ruizong repeatedly resorted to his esoteric (some of which I have also called shamanic) expertise, especially a skill in bringing precipitation. Thus, we have scrutinized Fazang's overall role as wonderworker. Through two typical examples—his large-scale ceremony in 708 to bring rain, and a unique ritual for snow that he performed at Mount Zhongnan in 711, at the behest of Zhongzong and Ruizong, respectively—we recover deeply-hidden layers in Fazang's intellectual and religious life that have been largely unexamined. They include, but are not limited to, his promotion of relic veneration, his ideas about and also personal engagement in acts of self-immolation, and his deep involvement in Daoist practices, which could be traced back to his early years as a religious seeker on Mount Zhongnan, a mountain with a longstanding relationship with both Daoism and Buddhism. We are particularly interested in the ingenious way that he brought religious ingredients of different traditions into a creative combination, as exemplified in the Esoteric-Daoist ritual that he performed on the banks of a pond, either within or beside Wuzhensi, a prestigious Buddhist monastery with Daoist ties.

In 711 a ritual was performed at Wuzhensi that I analyzed as containing a time-honored Daoist practice known as *toulong* ("hurling dragon-slips"). It compels us to place due weight on Daoist influences in Fazang's life. Evidence suggests that as a young seeker of religion who went to Mount Zhongnan, Fazang seems to have been equally inspired by Buddhist and Daoist ideals. In addition, in one of his highly polemic and propagandist works he openly advocated the favorable effect that Avataṃsaka-related ideas and practices might have on Daoist practices of longevity and immortality. The intensity of Fazang's Daoist practice inspires another way of looking the importance of his relationship with Empress Wu in her later years, when she became obsessed with the Daoist arts of health and longevity. I would suggest that Fazang displayed to the empress his skill in Daoist ideas and practices, not unlike others who offered Daoist arts in this stressful period of her life. Given Fazang's polymathic nature and especially his proven skill in psychological-shamanic effects, it seems likely that he was also an experienced physician, a talent that the empress relied on in her relationship with certain others at court, for example, the two Zhang brothers.

Fazang's ties with Wuzhensi and his active involvement in a series of complex rituals staged at this temple in a highly Daoist environment stresses the necessity of understanding Buddhist sacred sites in a broad perspective. Such sites served as arenas for the interaction between Buddhism and other religious traditions. This interaction was both cooperative and competitive. When Buddhism moved beyond the confines of the Indian sub-continent, cross-religious and cross-cultural collusions and collisions became frequent. More often than not, a site considered to be sacred in Buddhism also happened to be so for other religious traditions (e.g., Hinduism, Confucianism, Daoism, Shinto or a host of local traditions). The patterns of interaction between Buddhist and non-Buddhist religions around a specific sacred site were usually varied and complex. It might be that an originally non-Buddhist sacred site was taken over by Buddhists, or vice versa; but a particularly fascinating pattern was manifested when Buddhism and other religions co-existed, although sometimes under competition. Such sites reveal a broad common ground of religions in China.

Parallel to the Wuzhensi snow ritual, we should pay attention to the religious and political interactions in Fazang's practice of relic veneration and self-immolation, practices that persisted throughout most of his career. One cannot help but sense amazement at the skill with which diverse (and at times conflicting) fibers were woven into the texture of pious acts. First is Fazang's and his followers' passion for self-immolation. Fazang was so enthralled by the Buddha's finger-bone relic enshrined underneath the Famensi pagoda that the "sacred bone" brought about an abhorrence for his own finger, the burning of which was subsequently intended as an offering. It acted as a catalyst to transform his physical, mutable body into an immutable diamond-like quality—a personal and direct partaking of the *dharmakāya*. In this sense, a general remark by John Kieschnick on self-mutilation seems applicable to Fazang: it was "not only a sacrifice; it was an appropriation. By burning himself, the adept drew on the power of the Buddha's body, purifying his own body and transforming himself into a holy, living relic."[11]

Fazang's relic veneration turns out to be more multi-dimensional than just body offerings. A long unknown aspect of Fazang's intellectual life was exposed to us through a brief comment that Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn made concerning Fazang's performance during the 705 Famensi relic worship. Although it seems historically true that Fazang burned off a finger in front of the Famensi pagoda at the age of fifteen, the same cannot be said of another, far more startling, self-mutilation. About fifty years later in front of the same pagoda, according to Ch'oe Ch'i-

[11] Kieschnick, *Eminent Monks*, 44.

wŏn, Fazang greeted the Buddha's finger-bone that had been newly brought out from the Famensi pagoda by "destroying his liver." On the basis of the fact that he continued to live for seven years and that slicing of the abdomen was a common component of Central Asian entertainment traditions, I have broached the possibility that on this occasion Fazang simply performed a sleight of hand, without really cutting open his belly and destroying his liver. It may show that in addition to actual skill in interpreting, understanding, and performing esoteric and shamanic rituals, Fazang was also a showman, which fits well his actions to conjure illusions that frightened the Khitan army.

Contrary to the apparently damaging effects that the sacred bone caused Fazang and other participants of the ceremony, the same sacred object was sought as the source of therapeutic power that Fazang invoked on behalf of his patroness's health, and as a source of blessings for personal welfare (above all, health and longevity) that Fazang's other patrons, Zhongzong and chief members of the imperial family, desired when court politics turned against them.

This was, however, only the beginning of the story. Either of his own accord or against his will, in the course of the protracted relic veneration Fazang found himself on the hot seat as a middleman between distinct forces operating at distinct levels. First, at a grand level that other religionists envied, he was expected to mediate between sacred and secular spheres, each driven by its own vying parties. At a lower level, as the relic venerations turned into a special form of *pañcavārṣika*, in which people from all walks of society were encouraged to participate, Fazang acted as mediator between people from diverse social and cultural backgrounds. Eventually, at the rarest—but by far the most powerful—level, we come to the innermost part of Empress Wu's imperial palaces, the *mingtang* complex (to be specific, its third story, which was built and also functioned as a pagoda). There, the relic veneration series reached its climax. In addition to its therapeutic effects, the Famensi relic was pursued by the empress as a new politico-sacral symbol that could unify various interest groups,[12] several of which were then—to her alarm—starting to spin out of control. To reenshrine the relic in the *mingtang* was the first step towards fashioning her imperial palace as the center of the divine and human realms. Fazang was not only the chief escort of the relic during the physical relocation, he was also expected to sanction a paradoxical transformation—the relic was raised to great heights, coming from the

[12] It seems that relics were also used similarly in the context of medieval Japan; see Brian Rupert's important study (*Jewel in the Ashes*).

margin of a local monastery to the center of political power, but simultaneously it was undergoing a fall—from the sacred to the mundane.

Following the reliquary transfer, Fazang acted as the guardian of the sacred bone and, more importantly, he was the orchestrator of a series of political and religious ceremonies aimed at mobilizing the broadest possible support for the politically weakened empress. Thus, as far as this series of venerations was concerned, the primary role that Empress Wu assigned to Fazang—at least at the level of court politics—was that of coordinator of religious and political forces the representatives of which would be affected by Fazang's relic-centered ideological maneuvers. Fazang was gradually drawn close to the top of the power pyramid at court, and we can speculate that he felt enormous pressure from the two rival political forces at that time that headed inexorably towards each other. As a result, he had no choice but to side with one, and fortunately for him (and unfortunately for his patroness) he chose the winning side. Subsequently, Empress Wu's political life ended, and as well a unique chapter in the history of imperial China.

No matter at which of the above three levels he operated, Fazang's status as a mediator seems to have been primarily derived from his widely perceived power to combine quite delicately spirituality, personal charisma, and—without doubting Fazang's religious sincerity—political shrewdness in the face of inner-court power plays and in the face of the mob. The halo of power that surrounded Fazang contributed to the production of miracle tales, which, in turn, reinforced his image as holy man and wonderworker.

We normally learn about Fazang through a caricature that depicts a stern, and great philosopher. My study shows, however, that Fazang was always prepared to step into the secular world, especially when that world was heading towards crisis and fundamental sociopolitical change (even revolution). We have examined three different images that Fazang has given us through a close reading of the historical and hagiographical sources: first as a politician who added his significant weight to the balance of power when it reached a critical point (his roles in the 689 ceremony and his intervention in the 705 coup); second, as a warrior who fought the enemies of the empire, not by sword, but by technically wrought wonderworkings; and eventually, as a mediator between humans and heavens when disharmony threatened to overturn things. It is probably in these terms—the go-between, or, more in line with Chinese traditional ideas, the manipulator of *yin* and *yang*—that we should talk about Fazang's image as a "holy man" in medieval China. Fazang's role as a middleman reminds us of Peter Brown's saint, who, as an outsider to a social group, is perceived by that group as distant, unknown and thus mysterious, and able to resolve disputes

within the group and act as a mediator between the group and external entities.[13] Fazang appears to have been a typical "saint" in that he served as a "middle" man in several senses. He was a mixed being, namely both Han Chinese (in culture) and Sogdian (in ethnicity); he was of course a monastic, but also lay, both in terms of his secular links and possibly his lack of full ordination. In the eyes of his followers and later hagiographers he was even half-human, half-divine due to his purported ability to communicate with deities on behalf of human needs. All these characteristics qualified him as a mediator and arbiter within a society that was in the grip of intensifying conflicts between diverse forces of distinct origins.

Do we then get the elephant? I wish that I could be more optimistic, but I have to concede that we do not. The elephant is gone for good and we are left only with pieces of evidence about its activities, the so-called "traces" (*ji* 跡), through which we can never—according to the *Zhuangzi* commentator Guo Xiang 郭象 (252-312)—*fully* retrieve "what has left these traces" (*suoyi ji* 所以跡). As historians who take critical historical reconstruction as our mission, this leaves us no happier than the Indian blind men who at least had the elephant standing in front of them and could touch a part—no matter how limited and incomplete—of the elephant. We have to reconstruct the activities of our subjects, who lived long ago, through sources that are mostly fragmentary, obscure, and sometimes deliberately misleading or hyperbolic. They were not intended for early twenty-first-century historians of medieval Chinese religions, who wish to construct our uniquely "modern" articulated descriptions at some level or other. This study has collected and analyzed all the available hagio-biographical pieces on Fazang originally scattered in various sources with the aim of finding proper contexts and thus illuminating a complex life. No matter how hard we try, we can only partially succeed, in that the fragments do not allow a full reconstruction of Fazang's life in all its complexity, whether developmental, chronological, or horizontal—through neatly interconnected stories. While some parts of the reconstructed picture are clear, other parts remain obscure and contingent upon further research. Parts of my reconstruction may require modification or simply reversal, as new evidence comes to light. This said, I hope not to be perceived as over-optimistic if I assume that the reconstruction given here succeeds in poking holes in the conventional image of Fazang, and that compared with this old image, the new one appears more lively, complete (although less "sacred"), and reflective of the available source materials.

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[13] Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity."

The new image of Fazang affects our understanding of him as a Buddhist leader and shaper of the intellectual trends of his days. We can see the merit in studying a medieval religious tradition as a coherent entity, as advocated by Peter Brown. In accordance with his methodological reversion, the so-called "elite" philosopher in studies of medieval Chinese Buddhism would become simply a projection of the biased view of the investigator. Fazang as subject was both "elite" and a popular "wonder-worker," as most medieval religious figures everywhere tended to be. He engaged in a variety of Buddhist practices ranging from interpretations and teaching of metaphysical systems and translation of Buddhist literature, to such "mundane" (and therefore neglected, or even dismissed) matters as self-immolation, relic-veneration, staging of esoteric rituals to overcome enemies, and bringing precipitation and alleviating other natural disasters. The distinction between the so-called "Great" *versus* "Small" Traditions does not apply to medieval priest-scholars such as Fazang, who particularly seems to have traversed them with ease.

We can also reassess larger issues, such as saṃgha-state relations in the medieval period. We are wont to interpret the saṃgha-state relationship in terms of a rather mechanical and oversimplified pattern, according to which the state always plays the dominant role and arbitrarily decides whether or not, when and how, to sponsor the saṃgha, with the latter somehow passively acting as the beneficiary of government patronage or as the hopeless victim of state persecution. The case of Fazang challenges this conventional interpretation. It confronts us with a picture of dynamism and complexity: in it the mainstream saṃgha agreed and disagreed, collaborated and competed with the secular authority on the one hand, and Buddhist leaders interacted among themselves on the other. Fazang's life shows that when they related to the state, Buddhist leaders actually could play an aggressive role, rather than just obediently rendering service. They frequently reached out, and were neither timid nor scrupulous in steering the mechanism of state power.

Furthermore, the saṃgha and its lay adherents were, in some respects, the masses. We often think of Buddhist theoreticians of Fazang's caliber as gaining power in the secular world through work on the Buddhist philosophical traditions. This of course makes some sense. However, we should recognize non-scholarly elements that created an impact, namely, his engaging the masses in popular forms of religious behavior that were related to miracles, show, wonders, and healing.

This study also shows how closely the secular and religious realms interacted with each other, which makes it both necessary and rewarding to read secular and monastic sources side by side. This provides crucial background information without which it would be difficult to

construe properly the huge body of textual and epigraphic evidence coming from each side. A close cross-reading of the relevant materials from two sides will shed light on some crucial points at which monastic and secular worlds cooperated and clashed. An excellent example showing the merits of this approach concerns Fazang's role in the 705 court coup, which is important in disentangling some puzzles surrounding this turning point in the whole of Tang history.

Inevitably, we must ask just how typical Fazang was. Was he a rare, brilliant figure thrown up by history, or can we find other monks in early China and East Asia with similar characteristics? I fear that the answer is yes and no. Fazang was unique: he had a multicultural background (with roots in places that received Central Asian, Indian, Roman and Greek traditions) and was born and raised in the most prosperous and cosmopolitan city in the world at the time; he was an unusually busy polymath; and his career was spent in close and politically tense service to the Chinese throne, dominated mostly by an empress who possessed a grandiose vision of building a Buddhist empire in Asia. Nobody else exhibits such a mind and career, under such a time. But on the other hand, our new image of Fazang may be useful as a heuristic template for academic endeavors that seek to understand the genre of "eminent monk" in medieval China per se, especially the "patriarchs" credited with the foundation or major development of Buddhist traditions in China.[14] Around such figures legends and stories have created and perpetrated opaque images that can now be softened and examined to great advantage.

Excellent historical reconstruction has been made concerning some of these figures,[15] but others are in limbo. A hagiobiography must go through at least the following few steps. First of all, it must be critical enough not to take every aspect of his conventional image at face value. Second, it gathers and sifts all the relevant materials, dividing them into four different categories as described in the Introduction. Third, particular attention should be paid to the complexity and fluidity of the religious life, extending as it did far beyond any one specific tradition, a simplex hook on which sectarian historians and even modern scholars have hung their analyses of such areas as Tiantai, Chan, Mijiao, Pure-land, Vinaya and so on. Like Fazang, the relevant leaders would

[14] A qualification is in order here. The methodology that I propose and apply to the study of Fazang is probably less appropriate for studying the Chinese sources on the ancient Indian patriarchs, such as Nāgārjuna, Aśvaghoṣa and so on. We might need to treat such sources as reflecting the religion and culture of the time and place in which they were produced, rather than as historical and biographical materials for reconstructing the historicity of their subjects. This is the kind of work that Stuart Young of Princeton University is currently undertaking as his dissertation research.

[15] For two recent studies, see Jorgensen, *Huineng*; and Groner, *Ryōgen*.

have shown little hesitation in crossing boundaries—by and large erected by modern scholars—between the forms of religions; that is, between Buddhism, Daoism, Confucianism, or popular religious expressions. Finally, our hagio-biographies must look outside the religious realm; we must see the eagerness with which our subjects interacted with the secular world. Their interactions were manifested in disparate ways, including associations with secular leaders, efforts to shape intellectual trends, and continuing engagement with both the literary elite and those talented craftsmen from different walks of life who were the source of gradual evolutions in technologies that would affect human civilizations worldwide.

The preceding remarks summarize the results of the biographical aspect of this study. I would like also to invite my readers to reflect on general issues. In particular, we have not yet had an opportunity to discuss in a systematic fashion the general implications of the hagiographical sources on Fazang.

I mentioned in the Introduction that while we should separate biographical parts from hagiographical parts in a hagio-biography, we should also be careful not to fall victim to the delusion that all these apparently biographical elements can be used for historical and biographical purposes and that those apparently hagiographical accounts are all about paradigms, neither reflecting historical reality nor containing any historically verifiable details. We should, rather, be sensitive to the historically unverifiable elements implied in biographical sources, on the one hand, and on the other, the veracious biographical and historical elements contained in the hagiographical sources. The veracious elements used to construct Fazang's life were not only taken from the relevant biographical accounts, but also distilled from a large number of the hagiographical sources.

We have also attempted to make use of the elements that look like biographical and historical accounts but turn out to be historically untrue narratives manufactured out of sectarian and other ideological concerns. The chief example is Fazang's full ordination. A whole chapter of this book has been devoted to the analysis of the formation and development of the ideology and the major supporting legends about this basic religious status that Fazang probably never achieved, or even deigned to achieve.

My study reads a significant part of the traditional accounts about Fazang as hagiographies and not histories, and pays attention to those very aspects of the hagio-biographies that have troubled historians. As we have seen in the above, quite a few hagiographies portray him as a "multitasking" wonderworker—a brilliant preacher on the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, a successful rain-maker, an awe-inspiring defender of Buddhism

who conquered the unfaithful and punished the unlawful, and a magician-warrior on the battlefield. Concerning the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, my investigation of the stories and legends about Fazang's role reveals that his followers were the ones who were most apt to depict him as a miracle-worker. Fazang's status as a Buddhist metaphysician and his reputation as a miracle-worker became perfectly united in the way he was depicted as the greatest promoter of such a philosophically sophisticated text. What is striking for modern scholars is perforce the fact that in the eyes of his contemporaries, no matter whether dignitaries at court, members of the imperial families, or his own disciples, the charisma of this Buddhist master derived not solely from doctrinal expertise but also quite strongly from skills as an esoteric/shamanic adept—or simply as a miracle-worker.

The various supernatural powers ascribed (almost always posthumously) to Fazang might appear to modern scholars as some of the boldest exaggerations and most imaginative creations ever attempted by his admirers, who may or may not have had any sense of the supernatural (and ahistorical) nature of these stories (we cannot exclude the possibility that some—or even many—of these hagiographers did believe that these miraculous phenomena were true). My textual analyses of some parts of this hagiographical literature showed major strategies that Fazang's disciples and followers of later generations employed to present and re-cast his image as a wonderworker. In the course of this discussion, we underscored several principal rules governing the processes through which the stories and legends about Fazang were created and developed.

This said, we need to recognize that a major part of the project to build up Fazang's status as a miracle-worker was based on some of his historically verifiable activities as a religious practitioner. Although, as required by their sectarian and ideological agenda, his hagiographers have reconstructed or mis-constructed the historical contexts of various religious activities, reinterpreted (or even distorted) their functions, exaggerated their effects and woven into their accounts legendary elements highlighting Fazang's almost boundless energy and competence as a holy (super)man, their accounts still preserve for us rare historical facts. With sufficient scholarly prudence and critical spirit, these facts can be recovered from the hagiographical layers in which they are embedded. Since emphasizing the historical value of biographical elements implied in a hagiographical account constitutes a major aim of this book, let me here elaborate before ending my concluding thoughts.

That some hagiographical accounts on Fazang lie within existing historical frameworks that yield valuable facts has been proven through abundant examples covered in almost every chapter of this book. We

noted how the hagiographical account about making a special copy of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* reflects the state of contemporary technology for producing paper as well as Fazang's contact with that technology. We found important evidence in the legend about the one-hundred petaled lotus that clarified the tricky issue of where Śikṣānanda's Avataṃsaka translation bureau was based. Finally, the best example was the account of Fazang's role in suppressing the 696-697 Khitan rebellion: through it we saw that some hagiographical pieces are simultaneously positive historical pieces. To use them, we must skillfully work into the inner markings, as if dealing with a palimpsest, to find kernels of historical facts. We normally find it hard to believe that Fazang played a decisive role in that battle, as Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn, or the source on which he based his narrative, indicates. But through a solid method of hagio-biography and our sifting of tiny narrative elements, it does seem easily believable that during a critical moment Fazang traveled to a place close to the battlefront, very likely in the present-day Fangshan area (or even Yunjusi), where he performed rituals whose aim was to help win the battle for the Zhou dynasty.

If the deduction about his location bears up under further scrutiny, we are then obliged to give more thought to the general and long-lasting significance of that 697 mission. It not only marked a critical turn in Fazang's life, it also (although Fazang did not live to see it) significantly affected the fate of one of the boldest cultural endeavors that was ever attempted on the soil of medieval East Asia. Although Empress Wu's government survived the Khitan rebellion, it left an indelible impact on the rest of her dynasty and on the restored Tang. The insurgency affected the northeastern defense system of the Zhou and the restored Tang so much that the perceived defense line in Youzhou was given a much larger role, eventually leading to another, far more disastrous, uprising fifty-nine years.[16] This time, Xuanzong was far less fortunate than his grandmother. No foreign allies with the strength of Qaghan stood with him, nor was a capable monk like Fazang ready to apply special powers in service of the empire.[17] The unhappy emperor was forced to flee to a remote corner in the southwestern part of his empire, where he had to wait for two years until his son and heir Suzong (756-762) had him escorted back to Chang'an in 757. It is quite ironic

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[16] Li Songtao ("Qidan") has recently provided an interesting discussion of the far-reaching implications of the 696-697 Khitan uprising.

[17] In some of his hagio-biographical sources, Bukong is also depicted as a staunch and resourceful defender of the interests of the Tang central government. This image cannot, of course, be accepted without reservation. Even if we assume that Bukong did provide some service to the Tang, this did not happen until Xuanzong was forced to leave Chang'an.

that the chief culprit of this rebellion, An Lushan 安祿山 (703-757), a Buddhist believer himself, also happened to be associated with Yunjusi. One inscription that he left there as a testimony of his faith has come down to us.[18]

It is even more intriguing to note that two centuries later, when the Khitans eventually established their own rule in North China centering around the Youzhou area in 907, taking the dynastic name Liao (907-1125), they too became enthralled with Yunjusi and its stone-canon project. Their generous and continuous patronage pushed that project to an unprecedented size and scope. One cannot help but wonder, "When the Liao rulers devoted their energies to the Yunjusi project, did it ever occur to them that the temple had been the stage upon which Fazang performed esoteric rituals so unfavorable to their ancestors?" Either way, I am quite certain that they never expected that underneath a pagoda at a temple in one of their vassal states, Silla, which, not very far from the seat of their government, was enshrined a *dhāraṇī* text on paper that was probably sent there by this same Chinese-Sogdian monk and which, once emerging from the darkness many centuries later, was to shake the academic world.

[18] Beijing tushuguan jinshizu and Zhongguo fojiao tushu wenwuguan shijingzu, *Fangshan shijing tiji huibian,* 14.

PART THREE
APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

A TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF *PŎPJANG HWASANG CHŎN*

This appendix has two purposes. One is to provide a critical, punctuated edition of Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn* and the other, to identify the Buddhist sources of which Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn availed himself in composing his biography. In order to illustrate the extent to which Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn was based on these sources and the ways he has made use of them, the relevant passages and their corresponding sources will be presented side by side in the main body of this appendix. I will further highlight some more delicate textual problems in the footnotes, by reference to Dōchū, who wrote the only known commentary on *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn*.

As was noted in Chapter One, there have so far appeared two critical editions of *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn*, respectively prepared by Fang Litian and Ch'oe Yŏngsŏng. Fang's edition was included as an appendix to his collated and annotated edition of Fazang's *Jin shizi zhang—Huayan jin shizi zhang jiaoshi*, published in 1983. Ch'oe's edition was included in his annotated edition of the full collection of Ch'oe Ch'iwon's works, *Yŏkchu Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn chŏnjip*, published in 1998-1999. Both editions are of high quality; yet they also are marred by some flaws. Fang's edition is based on the Jinling kejing chu 金陵刻經處 version, which seems to be based on the Sōshun-*Taishō* edition. Ch'oe Yŏngsŏng's was based on the Sōshun-*Taishō* edition too, but he has tried to reconstruct the Kōzanji version (of the Song) by the aid of Dōchū's commentary. The critical edition I presented here is based on the copy Miyoshi Shikao made of the Kōzanji version (see Chapter 2, note 107). Although I have not been able to check the Kōzanji version in person, the Miyoshi copy seems to be a faithful one judging by the fact that it reflects almost all the differences that Dōchū detected between the Kōzanji edition and the Sōshun copy, as are reported in his comentary. Thus, in what follows, in addition to highlighting the differences between the Sōshun copy and its Kōzanji original, some of which have escaped Dōchū's attention, I will point out the various problems in the critical editions prepared by Fang Litian and Ch'oe Yŏngsŏng.

Table 3. *Pŏpjang Hwasang Chŏn* and Its Main Sources

唐大薦福寺故寺主翻經大德法藏和尚傳 海東新羅國侍講兼翰林學士承務郎前守兵部侍郎 權知瑞書監事賜紫金魚袋崔　致遠　結	SOURCES QUOTED OR CONSULTED BY CH'OE CH'IWŎN
0.1 (280c25-28): 案: 纂靈記云, "西京華嚴寺僧千里撰藏公別錄, 縷陳靈跡." 然是傳未傳海域, 如渴聞梅. 耳目非長, 難矜井識. 今且討片文別記中概見藏之軌躅可聳人視聽者, 掇而聚之.	華嚴纂靈記[1]: 凡所聖跡, 未易具言. 至於縷陳, 咸載別傳. (其傳則京華嚴寺僧千里所撰)
0.2 (280c28-281a4): 古來為傳之體不同. 或先統其致, 後鋪所因; 或首標姓名, 尾綰功烈. 故太[2]史公每為大賢如夷齊, 孟軻輩立傳, 必前冠以所聞, 然後始著其行事. 此無他, 德行既峻, 譜錄宜異故爾. 愚也雖慚郢唱, 試效越顰. 仰彼圓宗, 列其盈數.	
0.3 (281a4-12): 仍就藏所著華嚴三昧觀直心中十義而配譬焉: 一族姓廣大心, 二遊學甚深心, 三削染方便心, 四講演牢[3]固心, 五傳譯無間心, 六著述折伏心, 七修身善巧心, 八濟俗不二心, 九垂訓無礙心, 十示滅圓明心. 深悲兩心, 互准可見. 書云, "措諸枉, 思無邪." 經曰, "為淨土, 是道場," 乃直心之謂也. 事將顯實, 語不芟繁. 悉舉因緣, 聊彰本跡. 其傳:	華嚴發菩提心章[4]: 初中問曰, "云何名為發菩提心?" 答曰, "依起信論有三種心: 一者直心, 正念真如法故;二者深心, 樂修一切諸善行故;三者大悲心, 救度一切苦眾生故."依此三心各曲開十門. 就初直心中具有十心: 一者廣大心 ... 二者甚深心 ... 三者方便心, ... 四者堅固心 ... 五者無間心 ...六者折伏心 ... 七者善巧心 ... 八者不二心 ... 九者無礙心 ... 十者圓明心 ....
第一科曰: 1.1 (281a12-19): 釋法藏者, 梵言達摩多羅, 字賢首, 梵言跋陀羅室利. 帝賜別號 "國一法師." 俗姓康氏, 本康居國人. 屠門濫說, 解在字釋. 雖僧會異時, 而曇諦同跡. 亦如法護月支人, 支氏; 吉藏安息人, 安氏. 外所謂 "因生以賜姓"是也. 諦護後稱支竺, 蓋從西師改焉. 猶吉法二藏, 皆歸釋氏. 內所謂"四河入海"是也.	康藏法師之碑[5]: 法師俗姓康氏, 諱法藏. 華嚴纂靈記[6]: 即藏和尚, 僧法藏字賢首, 俗姓康氏, 康居國人.
1.2 (281a19-26): 高曾蟬聯, 為彼國相. 王[7]父自康居來朝, 庇身輦下. 考諱謐, 皇朝贈左衛中郎將. 母氏夢吞日光而孕, 以貞觀十七年癸卯暢月旁死魄而生. 身當四方合統之朝, 值三寶重興之運. 庸詎非商頌所謂"自天降康"者乎? 康居地接竺乾, 人侔	康藏法師之碑[8]: 累代相承, 為康居國丞相. 祖自康居來朝, 父謐, 皇朝贈左侍中.

[1] *Huayan zuanling ji*, 53.

[2] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 太 as 大.

[3] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 牢 as 堅. Sōshun made this change probably in accordance with the relevant passage in Fazang's *Huayan sanmei guan*, which indeed has *jiangu xin* 堅固心, rather than *laogu xin* 牢固心.

[4] *Huayan fa putixin zhang*, *T* 45: 651a12-b1.

[5] *PHC* 280b7-8.

[6] *Huayan zuanling ji*, 52.

[7] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 王 as 祖.

[8] *PHC* 280b8-9.

梵眾. 既饒師子, 能胤法王. 偉矣哉! 弟寶藏以忠孝聞.	華嚴纂靈記[9]: 初賢首母夢異光而孕.
1.3 (281a26-27): 此之謂族姓因緣. 豈非以廣大心, 誓願觀一切法, 悉如如乎?	華嚴發菩提心章[10]: 一者廣大心, 謂誓願觀一切法悉如如故.
第二科曰: 2.1 (281a28-b1): 年甫十七 (顯慶四年己未),[11] 志銳擇師, 遍謁都邑緇英, 懊其拙於用大, 遂辭親, 求法於太白山. 餌朮數年, 敷閱方等.	華嚴纂靈記: 及生而志慕無上, 年十七辭親, 求法於太白山.
2.2 (281b1-11): 後聞親疾, 出谷入京. 時智儼法師於雲花[12]寺講華嚴經, 藏於中夜, 忽睹神光, 來燭庭宇. 迺歎曰, "當有異人, 弘揚大教." 翌旦, 就寺膜拜已, 因設數問, 言皆出意表. 儼嗟賞曰, "比丘義龍輩, 尚罕扣斯端. 何計仁賢, 發皇耳目?!"或告曰, "是居士雲棲朮食, 久玩雜華. 為覲慈親, 乍來至此." 藏既餐儼之妙解, 以為真吾師也. 儼亦喜傳炷之得人. 自是預流徒中, 後發前至. 高超二運, 白牛也力騁通衢; 俯視六宗, 赤象也躬行實土. 不由他悟, 莫若自知.	華嚴纂靈記[13]: 時儼法師於雲華寺講華嚴經, 賢首至中夜, 忽見神光, 來燭庭宇. 賢首歎曰, 當有異人, 發弘大教. 及明, 乃遇儼和尚. 自是伏膺, 深入無盡. 寺塔記[14]: 大同坊雲華寺: 大歷初, 僧儼講經, 天雨華, 至地咫尺而滅, 夜有光燭室. 敕改為"雲華." 儼即康藏之師也. 康本住靖恭里氈曲, 忽覩光如輪, 眾人皆見, 遂尋光至儼講經所滅.
2.3 (281b11-12): 此之謂遊學因緣. 豈非以甚深心, 誓觀真如, 要盡源底乎?	華嚴發菩提心章[15]: 二者甚深心, 謂誓願觀真如要盡源底故.
第三科曰: 3.1 (281b13-16): 及總章元年, 儼將化去, 藏猶居俗 (時年二十六). 儼乃累道成, 薄塵二大德曰, "此賢者注意於花[16]嚴, 蓋無師自悟. 紹隆遺法, 其惟是人. 幸假餘光, 俾沾制度."	華嚴纂靈記[17]: 及儼將去世, 首尚居俗. 謂諸德曰, "此賢者蓋無師自悟. 願假餘光, 共成佛事. 大法興茂, 其惟此人."
3.2 (281b16-20): 至咸亨元年 (藏年二十八), 榮國夫人奄歸冥路, 則天皇后廣樹福田. 度人則擇上達僧, 捨宅乃成太原寺.[18] 於是受顧託者連狀薦雄,[19] 帝若[20]曰俞. 仍隸新刹, 周羅遂落, 敻拔常科.	康藏法師之碑[21]: 屬榮國夫人奄捐館舍, 未易齊衰, 則天聖后, 廣樹福田, 大開講座. 法師策名宮禁, 落髮道場, 住太原寺. 華嚴纂靈記[22]: 至咸亨中, 諸德連狀以聞, 因之削髮.

[9] *Huayan zuanling ji,* 52.
[10] *Huayan fa putixin zhang*, *T* 45: 651a16-17.
[11] Here, like elsewhere in the text of *PHC*, the parenthesized part is an interlinear note added by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn himself.
[12] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 花 as 華.
[13] *Huayan zuanling ji,* 52. *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao*, *T* 36: 15.116b2-5.
[14] *Youyang zazu* II: 6.250.
[15] *Huayan fa putixin zhang*, *T* 45: 651a17-18.
[16] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 花 as 華.
[17] *Huayan zuanling ji*, 52.
[18] Ch'oe Yŏngsŏng (*Yŏkchu Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn chŏnjip*, 321-22) has thus punctuated these sentences: 則天皇后廣樹福田度人, 則擇上達僧捨宅, 乃成太原寺.
[19] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 雄 as 推.
[20] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 若 as 諾.
[21] *PHC* 280b15-17.

<table>
<tr><td>3.3 (281b20-21): 此之謂削染因緣. 豈非以方便心, 推求簡擇, 趣真方便乎?</td><td>華嚴發菩提心章[23]: 三者方便心, 謂推求簡擇趣真方便故;</td></tr>
<tr><td>第四科曰:
4.1.1 (281b22-23): 既出家, 未進具. 承旨於所配寺講百千經.</td><td>華嚴纂靈記[24]: 未進具戒, 奉敕於太原寺講華嚴經. 名價日高, 道俗雲集.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">4.1.2 (281b23-28): 時屬端午, 天后遣使, 送衣五事. 其書曰, “蕤賓應節, 角黍登期. 景候稍炎, 師道體清適? 屬長絲之令節, 承命縷之嘉辰.[25] 今送衣裳五事, 用符端午之數. 願師承茲采艾之序, 更茂如松之齡. 永耀傳燈, 常為導首. 略書示意, 指不多云.”</td></tr>
<tr><td>4.2 (281b28-c2): 後於雲華寺講, 有光明現從口出, 須臾成蓋, 眾所具瞻. 延載元年, 講至十地品, 香風四合, 瑞霧五彩. 崇朝不散, 縈空射人. 又感天華, 糝空如霰 (中宗讚所云: “講集天華”是).</td><td>華嚴纂靈記[26]: 後於京雲華寺講, 乃有光明現從口出, 須臾成蓋, 眾所知見.</td></tr>
<tr><td>4.3 (281c2-11): 後於佛授記寺譯新經畢, 眾請藏敷演. 下元日序題入文, 洎獵月望前三日晚, 講至花[27]藏海震動之說,[28] 講室及寺院, 欻然震吼. 聽眾稻麻, 歎未曾有. 當寺龍象, 狀聞天上. 則天御筆批答云, “省狀具之[29]. 昨因敷演微言, 弘揚祕賾[30]. 初譯之日, 夢甘露以呈祥; 開講之辰, 感地動而標異. 斯乃如來降祉, 用符九會之文; 豈朕庸虛, 敢當六種之動? 披覽來狀, 欣暢兼懷.” 仍命史官, 編於載籍. 無慮前後講新舊兩經, 三十餘遍.</td><td>續華嚴經略疏刊定記[31]: 今此八十卷本, 初譯之後, 佛授記寺諸大德等, 共請華嚴和尚講此經. 其年十月十五日開講, 便即入文. 至十二月十二日晚上, 講至華藏世界海震動之文, 其講堂中及寺院中, 忽然震動. 于時聽眾道俗, 有數千人, 共睹斯徵, 歎未曾有. 時三藏法師實叉難陀, 及寺大德明詮律師, 德感法師等, 述茲靈應, 具狀以聞. 都維那慧表署狀為首, 即以聖曆三年臘月十九日進. 則天聖皇后親運神筆批狀報云: “省狀具之. 昨因敷演微言, 弘揚祕蹟. 初譯之日, 夢甘露以呈祥; 開講之辰, 感地動而標異. 斯乃如來降跡, 用符九會之文; 豈朕庸虛, 敢當六種之應? 披覽來狀, 欣暢盈懷.” 此批並狀俱如別錄.</td></tr>
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[22] *Huayan zuanling ji*, 52.

[23] *Huayan fa putixin zhang*, *T* 45: 651a18-19.

[24] *Huayan zuanling ji*, 52-53.

[25] Ch’oe Yŏngsŏng (*Yŏkchu Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn chŏnjip*, 322-23) has thus punctuated these sentences: 景候稍炎, 師道體清? 適屬長絲之令節, 承命縷之嘉辰.

[26] *Huayan zuanling ji*, 53. Cf. *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao*, *T* 36: 15.116b6-7.

[27] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 花 as 華.

[28] Ch’oe Yŏngsŏng (*Yŏkchu Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn chŏnjip*, 323) has thus punctuated these sentences: 下元日序題入文, 洎獵月望前三日晚講, 至華藏海震動之說.

[29] Fang Litian (*Huayan jin shizi zhang jiaoshi*, 176) suggests that 之 is an error for 云. This is not supported by *Xu Huayan jing lüeshu kanding ji*, which has it as 之.

[30] Dōchū (*Shinkan Genju hiden shōgo, T* 50: 287b8-9) reports that the Song edition here has 頤, which he suggests was an error for 賾 (in the *Taishō* edition of *Shinkan Genju hiden shōgo*, the character 賾 is presented in such a way that it looks like 頤 too). If this is true, we then can assume that Miyoshi has made the correction by following Dōchū’s suggestion. Fang Litian also makes the same suggestion on the grounds that *Xu Huayan jing lüeshu kanding ji* has it as 賾, which is not true given that the latter has it as 蹟.

[31] *Xu Huayan jing lüeshu kanding ji*, *XZJ* 5: 1.25b-c; reproduced almost verbatim in *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao*, *T* 36: 15.113c26-114a20.

	華嚴纂靈記[32]: 聖歷中, 敕于東都佛授記寺講華嚴經. 時佛殿忽然震動, 天子嘉獎之, 命編國史.
4.4 (281c11-16): 大帝永隆年中, 雍州長安縣人郭神亮者, 修淨行. 暴終, 諸天引詣知足天宮, 禮敬慈氏. 有一菩薩讓之云, "何不受持花[33]嚴?"亮以無人講為辭. 曰, "有人見講, 胡得言無?"及甦委說. 眾驗藏之弘轉妙輪, 人天咸慶矣.	華嚴經傳記[34]: 近永隆年中, 雍洲長安縣人廓神亮, 梵行清淨, 因忽患暴終. 諸天引至兜率天宮, 禮敬彌勒. 有一菩薩語亮云, "何不受持華嚴?" 對曰, "為無人講." 菩薩曰, "有人見講, 何以言無?" 亮後再蘇, 具向薄塵法師論敘其事. 以此而詳, 首之弘轉法輪, 亞跡參微矣.
4.4.2 (281c16-19): 故演義鈔顯證云, "講得五雲凝空, 六種震地." 向非入慈悲之室, 著和忍之衣, 昇空觀之座, 而能融智海, 播辯河者, 孰能與於是乎?[35]	演義鈔[36]: 謂晉譯微言, 幽旨包博. 玄義全盛, 賢首方周. 故講得五雲凝空, 六種震地.
4.5 (281c19-20): 此之謂講演因緣. 豈非以牢固心, 設逢極苦樂, 受深觀心, 不捨離乎?[37]	華嚴發菩提心章[38]: 四者堅固心, 謂設逢極苦樂受此觀心不捨離故;
5.1.1 (281c21-23): 第五科曰: 夫華嚴大不思議經者, 乃常寂光如來於寂場中, 覺樹下, 與十方諸佛, 召塵沙菩薩而所說也. 龍勝誦傳下本, 滿十萬偈.	華嚴經傳記[39]: 案此經是毘盧遮那佛法界身雲在蓮華藏莊嚴世界海, 於海印三昧內, 與普賢等海會聖眾, 為大菩薩之所說也. ...又如真諦三藏云: "西域傳記說: '龍樹菩薩往龍宮, 見此華嚴大不思議解脫經有三本: 上本有十三千大千世界微塵數偈, 四天下微塵數品; 中本有四十九萬八千八百偈, 一千二百品; 下本有十萬偈, 四十八品. 其上中二本及普眼等, 並非凡力所持, 隱而不傳. 下本見流天竺.'"
5.1.2.1 (281c23-26): 東晉廬山釋慧遠以經流江東, 多有未備. 乃令弟子法淨, 法領等, 踰越沙雪, 遠尋眾經. 法領遂至遮拘槃國, 求得前分三萬六千偈來歸.	華嚴經傳記[40]: 有東晉沙門支法領者, 風範慷慨. 邈然懷拔萃之志, 好樂大乘, 忘寢與食. 乃裹糧杖策, 殉玆形命, 於彼[遮拘槃國]精求, 得華嚴前分三萬六千偈, 賫來至此.
5.1.2.2 (281c26-28): 時有佛賢三藏, 為偽秦所擯, 投趾東林. 遠善視之, 馳使飛書, 解其擯事.	出三藏記集[41]: 先是廬山釋慧遠, 久服其風. 乃遣使入關, 致書祈請. 後聞其被斥, 乃書與姚主解其擯事.

[32] *Huayan zuanling ji*, 53.

[33] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 花 as 華.

[34] *HJZ*, *T* 51: 3.164a. Cf. *GYZ*, *T* 51: 175c12-29.

[35] Fang Litian (*Huayan jin shizi zhang jiaoshi*, 176) takes this whole passage (from 講得五雲凝空 to 孰能與於是乎) as a quotation from *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao*. As a matter of fact, only the first two sentences (故講得五雲凝空, 六種震地) were quoted.

[36] *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao*, *T* 36: 3.17a21-23.

[37] Punctuation of these sentences is given by Ch'oe Yŏngsŏng, *Yŏkchu Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn chŏnjip*, 325. Fang Litian (*Huayan jin shizi zhang jiaoshi*, 176) provides different punctuation: 豈非以牢固心, 設逢極苦樂受, 深觀心不捨離乎? Ch'oe Yŏngsŏng's punctuation is preferable given that Fazang's relevant passage has 受此觀心, which Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn has changed to 受深觀心. See Chapter 2, note 14.

[38] *Huayan fa putixin zhang*, *T* 45: 651a19-20.

[39] *HJZ*, *T* 51: 1.153a15-b4.

[40] *HJZ*, *T* 51: 1.153c5-8.

[41] *Chu sanzang ji ji* (*T* 55:14.103c29-104a2); cf. *GSZ* (*T* 50: 2. 335b12-15).

5.1.2.3 (281c28-282a4): 賢後至建業,[42] 於道場寺譯出領所獲偈. 南林寺法業筆受, 成五十卷. 則知西天應北天之運, 契期金水之年;東林助南林之緣, 發光木火之用. 共成大事, 益耀中華. 東安寺慧嚴, 道場寺慧觀, 及學士謝靈運等, 潤文分成六十卷.	華嚴經傳記[43]: 到義熙十四年, 吳郡內史孟顗, 右衛將軍褚叔度, 則請賢出此經. 乃手執梵文, 共沙門法業慧嚴等百有餘人, 於道場寺譯出.
5.1.3 (282a4-6): 然於入法界品內, 有兩處文脫 (一從 "摩耶夫人"後至"彌勒菩薩"前, 中間[脫][44] "天主光等十善知識". 二從"彌勒"後至"普賢"前, 中間脫"文殊申手案善財頂"等半紙餘文).	續華嚴經略疏刊定記[45]: 入法界品內, 有兩處脫文. 一從摩耶夫人後至彌勒菩薩前, 中間[脫]天主光等十善知識. 二從彌勒[菩薩]後至普賢前, 中間脫文殊[師利]申手[過百一由旬]案善財頂等半紙餘文.
5.1.4 (282a6-10): 歷年僅乎四百, 製疏餘乎五三. 經來未盡之言, 猶如射地; 義有不安之處, 頗類窺天. 莫究闕遺, 強成箋釋. 唯藏每慨百城之說, 多虧一道之文. 捧香軸以徒悲, 擁疑襟而莫決. 引領西望, 日庶幾乎?	
5.1.5 (282a10-14): 果至聖唐調露之際, 有中天竺三藏地婆訶國[46] (此云日炤[47]), 齎此梵本來屆. 藏乃親共讎校, 顯驗缺如, 聲聞于天. 尋奉綸旨, 與成, 塵, 基師等譯出補之. 復禮潤文, 慧智度語, 依六帙本為定.	探玄記[48]: 今大唐永隆元年三月內, 有天竺三藏地婆訶羅, 唐言日照, 有此一品梵本. 法藏親共校勘, 至此闕文. 奉敕與沙門道成, 復禮等譯出補之.
5.1.6.1 (282a14-22): 暨女皇革命, 變唐為周, 遣使往于闐國求索梵本. 仍迎三藏實	康藏法師之碑[49]: 證聖年中, 奉敕與于闐國三藏實叉難陀譯華嚴經.

[42] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 業 as 康.
[43] *HJZ*, *T* 51: 1.154c1-4.
[44] This character is added by Fang Litian (*Huayan jin shizi zhang jiaoshi*, 177).
[45] *Xu Huayan jing lüeshu kanding ji*, *XZJ* 5: 24d9-12; cf. Chengguan, *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing shu*, *T* 36: 3.524a1-9.
[46] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 國 as 羅, which, according to Dōchū (*Shinkan Genju hiden shōgo, T* 50: 287 b16-20), is the only correct emendation Sōshun has made on the Song edition.
[47] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 炤 as 昭.
[48] *Tanxuan ji*, *T* 35: 1.123c24-27; *Xu Huayan jing lüeshu kanding ji*, *XZJ* 5: 1.24d12-13; *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing shu*, *T* 35: 3.524a1-9.
[49] *PHC* 280b17-18.

<table>
<tr><td>叉難陀 (此言喜學), 譯在神都. 作起乎證聖䑋年, 功成乎聖歷狶歲, 計益九千偈, 勒成八十卷 (通舊翻, 合四萬五千偈). 命藏筆受, 復禮綴文, 梵僧戰陀, 提婆二人譯語. 仍詔唐三藏義淨, 海東法將圓測, 江陵禪師弘景, 及諸大德神英法寶而下, 審覆證義. 於譯堂前陸地, 開百葉蓮華. 眾睹禎祥, 競加精練.</td><td>大方廣佛華嚴經感應傳[50]: 聖歷元年, 則天太后詔請于闐三藏實叉難陀, 與大德十餘人, 於東都佛授記寺, 翻譯華嚴. 僧復禮綴文, 藏公筆授. 沙門戰陀, 提婆等譯語. 僧法寶, 弘置, 波崙, 惠儼, 去塵等審覆證義. 太史, 太子中舍膺福, 衛事參軍于師逸等, 同共翻譯. 則天與三藏大德等, 於內遍空寺, 親御法筵, 製序刊定. 其夜, 則天夢見天雨甘露. 比至五更, 果有微雨. 香水之雨, 又於內苑涟沼中, 生一莖百葉蓮華, 綠枝紅葩, 香艷超倫. 蓮花有三種: 一人間華, 有十葉; 二天上華, 有百葉; 三淨土華, 有千葉. 今內苑生百葉者, 明是天華也. 則天嘉此翻譯瑞應, 詔出花樣, 使中官送向佛授記寺翻譯之所. 舉寺僧眾, 及懷洲大雲寺什法師在, 悉同觀睹, 敬歎希奇. 至聖歷二年十月八日, 譯新經訖. 詔請藏公於佛授記寺, 講此新經.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">5.1.7 (282a22-27): 然攻木後其節目, 致貫華眩彼文心. 雖益數品新言, 反脫日照所補. 文既乖緒, 讀[51]者懵焉. 藏以宋唐兩翻, 對勘梵本. 經資線義, 雅協結鬘. 持日照之補文, 綴喜學之漏處. 遂得泉始細而增廣, 月暫虧而還圓. 今之所傳, 第四本是.</td></tr>
<tr><td>5.1.8 (282a27-b1): 清涼山鎮國沙門澄觀疏玄義云, “其第三本, 先已流行. 故今代上[52]之經, 猶多脫者. 願諸達識見闕而續之.”則觀之累詞悃愊, 後進宜勿忘焉.</td><td>大方廣佛華嚴經疏[53]: 其第三本, 先已流傳. 故今世上之經, 猶多脫者, 即第三本. 願諸達識見闕而續之.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">5.2 (282b1-6): 久視年中, 又奉詔翻大乘入楞伽經七卷進內. 璽書褒之曰, “得所譯楞伽經, 補求那之闕文, 翦流支之繁句. 鉤深致遠, 文要義該. 唯識論宗, 於茲顯矣.”凡與日照譯密嚴等經論, 十有餘部, 合二十四卷. 並則天制序, 深加讚述.</td></tr>
<tr><td>5.3 (282b6-8): 復至神龍年中, 與喜學奉詔於林光殿, 譯大寶積經文殊師利授記會三卷.</td><td>康藏法師之碑[54]: 神龍年中, 又與于闐三藏於林光殿譯大寶積經. 惟聖之所歸依, 惟皇之所迴向.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">5.4 (282b8-11): 藏本資西胤, 雅善梵言; 生寓東華, 精詳漢字. 故初承日照, 則高山擅價; 後從喜學, 則至海騰功. 得以備詢西宗, 增衍東美. 拔乎十德之萃, 擷其九會之芳.</td></tr>
<tr><td>5.5 (282b11-13): 此之謂傳譯因緣. 豈非以無間心, 觀其真理, 盡未來際, 不覺其久乎?</td><td>華嚴發菩提心章[55]: 五者無間心, 謂觀此真如理盡未來際不覺其久故;</td></tr>
</table>

50 *GYZ*, *T* 51: 176b4-19.

51 The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 讀 as 續.

52 Dōchū (*Shinkan Genju hiden shōgo, T* 50: 287b21-22) suggests that 上 might be an error of 土 and that *daitu* means 代州 (a part of present-day Shanxi). This correction is not supported by Chengguan's *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing shu*, which has it as 世上. 世上 was written as 代上 probably as an observance of the tabooed character *shi* 世, which is a part of Li Shimin's 李世民 (599-649) personal name.

53 *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing shu*, *T* 35: 3.524a19-20.

54 *PHC* 280b18-19.

55 *Huayan fa putixin zhang*, *T* 45: 651a20-21; cf. *HJZ*, *T* 51: 1.154c5-10.

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2">第六科曰:
6.1.1 (282b14-26): 初至相儼和尚, 每嗟大教久阻, 中興會驅. 光統椎輪益仰, 聖尊大輅路[56]因躡. 扶纖指於慧表, 緝妙宗於毫端. [57] 成華嚴經中搜玄義鈔五卷. 其文也玉寡, 其理也金相. 追琢為難, 鎔裁有待. 藏以親窺室奧, 獨擅國工. 善巧逞能, 其器甚利. 乃效同恥者之述, 撰探玄記二十通. 俾璞玉耀嚴身之華, 渾金成刮膜之具. 既玉無泣者, 或金可懸乎? 抑且味搜探之二言, 品先後於一字. 先搜則艱矣 (搜者: 索, 求, 具, 擇, 閱, 眾, 聚, 七訓) , 後探則便焉 (探者: 取, 試, 楯[58], 引, 候, 五訓). 其難也, 擇而聚之之勞; 其易也, 引而取之之速. 蓋師列十門而搜已, 資尋一經而探之. 然或沿淺就深, 陟遐自邇.[59] 聊憑俗諦, 試較真談.</td></tr>
<tr><td>6.1.2.1 (282b26-29): 則周禮夏官條職名中, 有搜人焉, 有探人焉. 搜人掌十二閑務, 審行九政, 以導悟昏蒙. 其猶儼之搜玄, 統十二分教, 宗舉九部, 以開示知見耶?</td><td>周禮夏官: 廋人掌十有二閑之政教, 以阜馬, 佚特, 教駣, 攻駒, 及祭馬祖, 祭閑之先牧, 及執駒, 散馬耳, 圉馬. 正校人員選. 馬八尺以上為龍, 七尺以上為騋, 六尺以上為馬.</td></tr>
<tr><td>6.1.2.2 (282b29-c4): 探人掌誦敘王志, 道國政事, 以巡天下, 而喻說諸侯候[60], 使不迷惑, 曉萬民之心, 正向王化. 亦猶藏之探玄, 傳通佛意, 演法宗趣, 以喻世間, 而掩映眾說, 使不混淆, 開群生之目, 深感佛恩耶?</td><td>周禮夏官: 撢人掌誦王志, 道國之政事, 以巡天下之邦國而語之, 使萬民和說而正王面.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">6.1.3 (282c4-14): 窮一化之始終, 資二玄之廣略. 可謂立之斯立, 正是玄之又玄. 向若二帙不倚五編, 則撫持也儻然靡據; 五編不憑二帙, 則咀嚼也澹乎無味.[61] 野諺云, “師明弟子哲.” 豈前後相成之謂乎?舉要言之: 搜玄者, 索隱之離辭; 探玄者, 鉤深之異語. 隱能心索, 十玄之妙旨霞張; 深可力鉤, 十義之圓科月滿 (儼公搜玄分齊者, 豈謂大經玄旨, 有分齊而可搜乎? 但自立 “十玄義門,” 以通經旨. 俾通智境, 應指言搜十玄義之分齊耳. 冒陳[62]瞽言, 幸詳其致). 遂使包羞者前哲, 受賜者後生. 儼藏連稱, 提孩具審. 古所謂“死且不朽, 久而彌芳”者歟?</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">6.2 (282c14-19): 自餘鐘虛而有問必酬, 劍利而無疑不剖. 涉花[63]嚴之縕者, 撮機要而補之. 其名數曰教分記三卷, 指歸一卷, 綱目一卷, 玄義章一卷, 策林一卷. 就是示歸路之十科也. 各標十義, 通顯百門. 移海影於目前, 簇蓮界於掌上.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">6.3 (282c19-22): 復以行願所極, 止觀方成, 乃擬天台法花[64], 著花[65]嚴三昧觀, 花[66]藏世界觀, 妄盡還源觀各一通. 可令有目得珠, 孰曰我心匪鑑? 蔚傳盛觀, 雅契沖宗.</td></tr>
</table>

[56] Emend 路 as 輅 in accordance with Dōchū’s comment (*T* 50: 287b23-28), as is also followed by both Fang Litian (*Huayan jin shizi zhang jiaoshi*, 178) and Ch’oe Yŏngsŏng (*Yŏkchu Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn chŏnjip*, 330).

[57] Fang Litian (*Huayan jin shizi zhang jiaoshi*, 178) punctuates these sentences as: 初至相儼和尚, 每嗟大教, 久阻中興, 會驅光統椎輪, 益仰聖尊大路. 因躡扶纖指於慧表, 緝妙宗於毫端.

[58] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 楯 as 循.

[59] Ch’oe Yŏngsŏng (*Yŏkchu Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn chŏnjip*, 330) punctuates these sentences as: 蓋師列十門而搜已, 資尋一經而探之然. 或沿淺就深, 陟遐自邇.

[60] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 侯 as 候.

[61] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has these sentences as: 若向二帙, 不倚五編, 則撫持也儻然靡暢; 或據五編, 不憑二帙, 則咀嚼也澹乎無味 (punctuation by Fang Litian, *Huayan jin shizi zhang jiaoshi*, 179). Ch’oe Yŏngsŏng (*Yŏkchu Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn chŏnjip*, 331) has reconstructed these sentences in accordance with Dōchū’s report, which accords with the Miyoshi copy.

[62] Ch’oe Yŏngsŏng (*Yŏkchu Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn chŏnjip*, 331) has 陳 as 進.

[63] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 花 as 華.

<table>
<tr><td>6.4.1 (282c22-24): 又顧象教誕敷, 龍經寖盛 (大經結集之後, 龍王收入其宮. 樹誦傳下本, 亦是大龍菩薩所導化焉. 況初譯經時, 龍變青衣童子, 躬自給侍.</td><td>探玄記[67]: [佛馱跋陀]以晉義熙十四年歲次鶉火三月十日, 於揚州謝司空寺別造護淨法堂, 於中譯出此經. 時堂前有一蓮華池, 每日有二青衣童子. 自池之出堂, 灑掃供養, 暮還歸池. 相傳釋云, 以此經久在龍宮, 龍王慶此傳通, 躬自給侍.</td></tr>
<tr><td>6.4.2 (282c24-25): 道英講脫,[68] 海神來聽, 致雨救旱, 亦是二龍[69], 故輒號曰"龍經." 亦猶儒教春秋, 感麟而作, 目為麟史, 或稱 "麟經." 四靈[70]標題, 義亦無爽.)[71]</td><td>華嚴經傳記[72]: 又曾亢旱, [道英]遂講華嚴, 以祈甘澤. 有二老翁, 稍異常人, 各二童侍, 恒來在聽, 英每異之. 後因訊問由緒, 答曰: "弟子是海神, 愛此經, 故來聽." 英曰: "今既為檀越講經, 請下微雨." 神敕二童, 二童便從窗出. 須臾滂沛, 遠近咸賴焉. 二翁拜謝, 倏忽而退.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">6.4.3 (282c25-283a1): 讀誦者竹葦, 聲訓為箄檇. 而況天語土音, 燕肝越膽. 苟非會釋, 焉可辯[73]通? 遂別鈔解晉經中梵語為一編, 新經梵語華言, 共成音義一卷. 自敘云, "讀經之士, 實所要焉." (新經音義, 不見東流. 唯有弟子慧苑音義兩卷. 或者向秀之注南華, 後傳郭象之名乎? 或應潤色耳.)[74] 實顯驗言題, 誨人不倦. [75]</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">6.5 (283a1-3): 古有花[76]嚴經內"佛名"二卷, "菩薩名"一卷, 莫知集者而鳩聚闕如. 藏乃閱載其名, 略無遺漏, 添成五軸. 為世所珍.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">6.6 (283a3-9): 經出虬宮已來, 西東靈驗繁蔚. 而或斑斑[77]僧史, 或聒聒俚談. 義學之徒, 心均惕[78]日, 耳功是競, 躬覽者稀. 由是簡二傳而聚異聞, 考百祥而賸近說. 緝花[79]嚴傳五卷, 或名纂靈記 (此記未畢而逝, 門人慧苑慧英等續之, 別加論贊. 文極省約, 所益無幾). 使千古如面, 知祖習之無妄焉.</td></tr>
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[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid.
[67] *Tanxuan ji*, *T* 35: 1.122c13-18.
[68] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 講脱 as 說. The correct words here should be 講說, as is given by Fang Litian, *Huayan jin shizi zhang jiaoshi*, 179.
[69] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 龍 as 韻. According to the corresponding passage in *HJZ*, 龍 is the correct word here.
[70] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 靈 as 聖. Dōchū (*Shinkan Genju hiden shōgo, T* 50: 287c20-23) criticized this as a groundless correction, believing as he does that *siling* 四靈 refers to four "numinous" creatures including unicorn (麟), phoenix (鳳), tortoise (龜), and dragon (龍).
[71] Ch'oe Yŏngsŏng (*Yŏkchu Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn chŏnjip*, 333) omits these interlinear notes.
[72] *HJZ*, *T* 51: 3.162b3-14.
[73] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 辯 as 辨.
[74] Ibid.
[75] This punctuation is suggested by Fang Litian (*Huayan jin shizi zhang jiaoshi*, 180). Ch'oe Yŏngsŏng has punctuated it differently: 實顯驗言, 題誨人不倦.
[76] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 花 as 華.
[77] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 斑斑 as 班班.
[78] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 惕 as 暢. By referring to *Zuozhuan* 左傳, Dōchū (*Shinkan Genju hiden shōgo, T* 50: 287c25-28) criticized Sōshun for mistakenly changing 惕 to 暢.
[79] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 花 as 華.

6.7 (283a9-17): 楞伽實難於往入, 密嚴非易得鉤深. 梵網真詮, 法門嚴憲. 三界無怙, 唯戒可恃. 皆成義疏, 備舉源流 (楞伽密嚴疏, 未詳卷數. 梵網經疏三卷, 見行於世). 加且發蒙即山下出泉, 升進乃地中生木. 三根雖異, 十信是資. 蓋導義流, 俾歸教寝. 於是製起信論疏兩卷, 別記一卷 (疏或分為上中下三), 十二門論, 法界無差別論, 亦編正義. 如別流行. 多心雖小不輕, 疏出塵中經義. 法花[80]或云有疏, 餘光未照扶桑.	
6.8 (283a17-24): 媧皇之代太皞也, 玉鏡披圖, 金輪耀德. 顧貝葉之書甚博, 祈悉檀之訣稍頻. 迺貢金師子章一篇而仰悟之. 此作也, 搜奇麗水之珍, 演妙祇林之定[81]. 數幅該義, 十音成章. 疑觀奮吼於狻猊, 勝獲賚睬於鵝雁. 雖云遠取諸物, 寔[82]乃近取諸身. 以頷下之光, 為掌中之寶. 則彼玉龍子之實玩, 豈如金師子之虛求? (玉龍子之靈異, 具如明皇雜錄). 啟沃有餘, 古今無比.	華嚴經行願品疏鈔[83]: 華嚴三祖康藏法師, 為則天皇帝指金師子說六相圓融, 如彼金師子章也.
6.9 (283a24-27): 復念妙度餘六, 真歸在三. 般若母於勃陀, 引無極也; 僧伽孫於曇摩, 續莫大焉. 故製三寶別行記一卷, 均曉盲聾故也.	
6.10 (283a27-b3): 晚以新經既加一會, 舊疏或涉三思. 爰隨補袞之文, 聊括提綱之義. 重述略疏, 始"妙嚴品"至"第六行", 迎知報盡. 因越次析十定微言. 僅了九定, 未絕筆而長逝. 料簡有十二卷 (演義鈔云, "聖后所翻, 文詞富博. 賢首將解, 大願不終. 方至第十九經, 奄歸寂滅." 遺恨何極!).	演義鈔[84]: 以斯經乃諸佛所證, 根本法輪, 諸教標準. 此方西域, 無不仰遵. 而聖后所翻, 文詞富博. 賢首將解, 大願不終. 方至第十九經, 奄然歸寂.
6.11 (283b3-7): 門人宗一, 慧苑兩續遺稿. 一師足二十軸, 頗近從蠅; 苑上[85]成十六編, 或譏繼組. 是惟尺有所短, 詎得寸無所遺? (演義鈔云, "苑公言續而前疏亦刊. 筆格文詞, 不繫先古. 致令後學, 輕夫大經. 使遮那心源, 道流莫挹; 普賢行海, 後進望涯.[86] 將欲弘揚, 遂發慨然之歎."故製疏十意中第三扶昔大義者, 皆顯藏公之述).	演義鈔[87]:苑公言續於前疏,亦刊削之. 筆格文詞不繼先古,致令後學輕夫大經. 使遮那心源道流莫挹,普賢行海後進望涯. 將欲弘揚,遂發慨然之歎. 若有過不說,是非渾和. 豈唯掩傳者之明,實乃擁學人之路. 若指其瑕纇,出彼乖差. 豈唯益是非之情,實乃黷心智之境. 余故撫心五頂,仰託三尊. 不獲已而為之也. 以斯別意,略有十焉: 一聖旨深遠,各申見解故. 二顯乎心觀,不俟參禪故. 三扶昔大義,不欲掩人故. 四剪截浮詞,直論至理故. 五善自他宗,不妄破斥故. 六辨析今古,新舊義殊故. 七明示法相,顯經包含故. 八廣演玄言,令悟心要故. 九泯絕是非,不妄破斥故. 十均融始末,首尾可觀者.
6.12 (283b7-9): 此之謂著述因緣. 豈非以折伏心, 或若失念, 煩惱暫起, 即便觀察折伏, 使觀心相續乎?	華嚴發菩提心章[88]: 六者折伏心, 謂若失念煩惱暫起, 即覺察折伏令盡使觀心相續故;

[80] Ibid.
[81] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 定 as 寶.
[82] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 寔 as 實.
[83] *Huayan jing xingyuan pin shuchao*, *XZJ* 7: 7.487a7-8.
[84] *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao*, *T* 36: 2.16b12-15.
[85] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 上 as 公.
[86] Ch'oe Yŏngsŏng (*Yŏkchu Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn chŏnjip*, 337) has 挹 as 把. He further punctuates these lines as: 使遮那心源道流, 莫把普賢行海, 後進望涯.
[87] *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao*, *T* 36: 2.16b16-29.
[88] *Huayan fa putixin zhang*, *T* 45: 651a21-22.

<table>
<tr><td>第七科曰:
7.1.1 (283b10-11): 藏年十六, 鍊一指於阿育王舍利塔前, 以申法供. 越翌載, 因入山學道.</td><td>康藏法師之碑[89]: 年甫十六, 煉一指於阿育王舍利塔前, 以伸供養. 此後更遊太白, 雅挹重玄.</td></tr>
<tr><td>7.1.2 (283b11-12): 屬慈親不悆, 歸奉庭闈. 綿歷歲時, 能竭其力.</td><td>華嚴纂靈記[90]: 後慈親不愈, 歸奉庭闈. 綿歷歲時, 能竭其力.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">7.2 (283b12-17): 總章初, 藏猶為居士. 就婆羅門長年, 請授菩薩戒. 或謂西僧曰, “是行者誦花[91]嚴, 兼善講梵網.” 叟愕且啃曰, “但持花[92]嚴, 功用難測, 矧解義耶? 若有人誦百四十願已, 為得大士具足戒者. 無煩別授.”</td><td>華嚴經傳記[93]: 師子國長季沙門釋迦彌多羅者, 第三果人也, 此土云能友. 麟德之初, 來儀震旦. 高宗天皇, 甚所尊重, 請在蓬萊宮, 與長年真人懷化大將軍, 同處禁中. 歲餘供養, 多羅請尋聖跡, 遍歷名山, 乃求往代州清涼山, 禮敬文殊師利. 嘗至京師西太原寺. 時屬諸僧將轉讀華嚴妙典, 乃命譯語問云, “此是何經?”答, “是華嚴.” 多羅肅然改容, 曰, “不知此處, 亦有是經耶.” 合掌歡喜, 讚歎久之而言曰, “此大方廣功德難思. 西國相傳, 有人以水盥掌, 將讀此經, 水之所霑, 灑及虫蟻, 因此捨命, 後得生天. 何況受持讀誦? 蓋不思之福也.”</td></tr>
<tr><td>大方廣佛華嚴經感應傳[94]: 總章元年. 西域有三藏梵僧. 來至京洛. 高宗師事. 道俗歸敬. 華嚴藏公, 猶為童子. 頂禮三藏. 請受菩薩戒. 時眾白三藏言, “此童子誦得華嚴大經, 兼解其義.” 三藏驚歎曰, “華嚴一乘是諸佛祕藏., 難可遭遇, 況通其義? 若有人誦得華嚴淨行一品, 其人已得菩薩淨戒具足, 不復更受菩薩戒. 西域傳記中說, ‘有人轉華嚴經, 以洗手水, 滴著一蟻子. 其蟻命終, 生忉利天.’ 而況有人能得受持? 當知此童子, 於後必當廣大饒益,能施群生無生甘露.”</td></tr>
<tr><td>7.3 (283b17-18): 後及曆, 號天授, 師名日隆. 元年, [95] 覲親于夏州, 道次, 郡牧邑宰, 靡不郊迎, 緇侶為榮.</td><td>大方廣佛華嚴經感應傳[96]: 天授元年, 華嚴藏公歸覲祖母, 到曾洲, 牧宰香花郊迎.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">7.4 (283b18-c5): 屬神龍初, 張易[97]之叛逆, 藏乃內弘法力, 外贊皇猷. 妖孽既殲, 策勳斯及, 賞以三品, 固辭固授. 遂請迴與弟, 俾諧榮養. 至二年, 降敕曰, “朝議郎行統萬監副監康寶藏, 頗著行能, 早從班秩. 其兄法藏, 夙參梵侶, 深入妙門. 傳無盡之燈, 光照暗境; 揮智慧之</td></tr>
</table>

89 *PHC* 280b11-12.

90 Cf. *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao*, *T* 36: 15.116b1-2.

91 The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 花 as 華.

92 Ibid.

93 *HJZ*, *T* 51: 4.169c23-170a5.

94 *GYZ*, *T* 51: 175a5-14.

95 Instead of 無煩別授後及曆號天授師名日隆元年, the Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 無煩別授號天授師及後曆曰永隆元年. For the complex textual problems involved in these sentences, see Chapter 2.3. Ch'oe Yŏngsŏng (*Yŏkchu Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn chŏnjip*, 337-38) has followed the wordings of the Song edition as reported by Dōchū, while Fang Litian (*Huayan jin shizi zhang jiaoshi*, 181) doesn't.

96 *GYZ*, *T* 51: 176a15-16.

97 The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 易 as 柬. The complicated implications derived from the difference in these two characters are discussed in Appendix K.

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2">劍, 降伏魔怨. 兇徒叛逆, 預識機兆. 誠懇自衷, 每有陳奏. 姦回既殄, 功效居多. 雖攝化無著, 理絕於酬賞; 而宅生有緣, 道存於眷顧. 復言就養, 寔[98]寄天倫; 宜加榮祿, 用申朝獎.[99] 寶藏可游擊將軍, 行威衛隆平府左果毅都尉, 兼令侍母, 不須差使. 主者施行." 斯惟智鏡如磨, 戒珠無纇. 進度協忠貞之節, 慈光融孝友之規. 故得神人無功, 匪伐其善; 君子不械, 能尊厥親. 曾子所言, "國人稱願然, 曰: '幸哉! 有子如此, 所謂孝也已'"者, 法師其人也.</td></tr>
<tr><td>7.5 (283c5-6): 此之謂修身因緣. 豈非以善巧心, 靜觀真理, 不礙隨事, 巧修萬行乎?</td><td>華嚴發菩提心章[100]: 七者善巧心, 謂觀真理, 不礙隨事, 巧修萬行故;</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">第八科曰:
8.1 (283c7-9): 垂拱三載, 雲漢之詩作矣, 詔藏於西明寺立壇祈之. 長安邑尹張魯客為請主. 每夕齋戒, 未七日雨沾洽.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">8.2 (283c9-11): 天冊萬歲中, 雍州長史[101]建安王綰留務, 值愆陽. 亦求藏致之, 應如響答.</td></tr>
<tr><td>8.3 (283c11-16): 嘗於曹州講場, 適辯[102]教宗邪正. 有道士謂呰玄元,[103] 含怒問曰, "諸法為平等以不?"答, "平等, 不平等."又問, "何有二耶?"答, "真俗異故, 非一概." 黃冠益嬰, 大詬三寶. 翌旦頮面, 欻見鬚眉, 隨手墮落, 遍體瘡皰.[104] 遽來懺過, 願轉花嚴百遍. 讀經未半, 形質復舊.</td><td>大方廣佛華嚴經感應傳[105]: 至二年, 請講華嚴. 說法之次, 議及邪正. 時有少道士在側, 歸報弘道觀王, "北寺講師, 誹謗道尊." 觀主聞之其怒. 明晨, 領諸道士三十餘人, 來至講所. 面興慍色, 口發麤言, 謂藏公曰, "但自講經, 何故論道門事?"藏公曰, "貧道自講華嚴, 無他論毀." 觀主問曰, "一切諸法, 悉皆平等耶?"藏公對曰, "諸法亦平等, 亦不平等." 觀主又問, "何法平等? 何法不平等?" 答曰, "一切法不出二種: 一者真諦, 二者俗諦. 若約真諦, 無此無彼, 無自無他, 非淨非穢, 一切皆離, 故平等也. 若約俗諦, 有善有惡, 有尊有卑, 有邪有正, 豈得平等耶?" 道士詞窮無對, 猶嗔不解. 於如來所, 生毒害言. 歸觀, 經一宿, 明朝, 洗面手, 忽眉髮一時俱落. 通身瘡皰, 方生悔心, 歸敬三寶. 求哀藏公, 誓願受持華嚴經一百遍. 轉誦向二年, 猶有十遍未畢, 忽感眉髮重生, 身瘡皆愈. 曾洲道俗, 無不見聞.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">8.4 (283c16-25): 神功元年, 契丹拒命, 出師討之. 特詔藏依經教, 遏寇虐. 乃奏曰, "若令摧伏怨敵, 請約左道諸法." 詔從之. 法師釁[106]浴更衣, 建立十一面道場, 置光音像行道. 始數</td></tr>
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[98] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 寔 as 實.

[99] Ch'oe Yŏngsŏng (*Yŏkchu Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn chŏnjip*, 338) has thus punctuated these two lines: 復言, "就養實寄天倫, 宜加榮祿, 用申朝獎." Fang Litian's (*Huayan jin shizi zhang jiaoshi*, 182) punctuation differs: 復言就養, 實寄天倫, 宜加榮祿, 用申朝獎. Neither of them notes the paralleling between "復言就養, 實寄天倫" and "宜加榮祿, 用申朝獎."

[100] *Huayan fa putixin zhang*, *T* 45: 651a23-24.

[101] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 史 as 吏.

[102] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 辯 as 辨.

[103] Fang Litian (*Huayan jin shizi zhang jiaoshi*, 176) takes 呰玄元 as the name of this Daoist priest, which is not allowed by the context. The whole sentence 有道士謂呰玄元 means "there was a Daoist priest who alleged that [Fazang] was disparaging the 'Mysterious Primordial' (*xuanyuan* 玄元; viz., Daoism)."

[104] Ch'oe Yŏngsŏng (*Yŏkchu Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn chŏnjip*, 340) has thus punctuated these two lines: 翌旦頮面, 欻見鬚眉隨手墮落, 遍體瘡皰.

[105] *GYZ*, *T* 51: 176a16-b3.

[106] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 釁 as 盥.

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2">日, 羯虜睹王師無數, 神王之眾. 或矚觀音之像, 浮空而至; 犬羊之群, 相次逗撓. 月捷以聞. 天后優詔勞之, 曰, “蒯城之外, 兵士聞天鼓之聲; 良鄉縣中, 賊眾睹觀音之像. 醴酒流甘於陣[107]塞, 仙駕引纛於軍前. 此神兵之掃除, 蓋慈力之加被!”</td></tr>
<tr><td>8.5.1 (283c25-284a6): 長安四年冬杪, 於內道場因對揚, 言及岐州舍利,[108] 是阿育王靈跡. 即魏冊所載扶風塔是. 則天特命鳳閣侍郎博陵崔玄暐, 與藏偕往法門寺迎之. 時藏為大崇福寺主, 遂與應大德, 綱律師等十人俱至塔所, 行道七晝夜. 然後啟之, 神輝煜爚. 藏以昔嘗錬指, 今更隳肝, 乃手擎興願, 顯示道俗. 舍利於掌上騰光, 洞照遐邇. 隨其福力, 感見天殊. 或睹銑鋈晬容, 或觀纓毳奇像.瑰姿瑋質, 乍大乍小: 大或數尺, 小或數寸. 於是頂釭指炬者爭先, 捨寶投財者恥後.</td><td>華嚴纂靈記[109]: 長安中, 于內道場因從容言及歧州舍利是阿育王靈跡, 則天皇后乃命鳳閣侍郎博陵崔玄暐, 與賢同使于法門寺迎之. 舍利一開, 神光散發. 非煙非霧. 若佳氣之流空; 白色白光, 似景星之出漢. 如來滅後, 更承豪相之輝; 阿育塔前, 再睹真如之相.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">8.5.2 (284a6-18): 歲除日, 至西京崇福寺. 是日也, 留守會稽王率官屬及五部眾, 投身道左, 競施異供. 香華鼓樂之妙, 矇瞶亦可睹聞. 洎新年端月孟旬有一日, 入神都. 敕今[110]王公已降, 洛城近事之眾. 精事幡華幢蓋. 仍命太常具樂奉[111]迎, 置於明堂.[112] 觀燈日, 則天身心護淨, 頭面盡虔. 請藏捧持, 普為善禱. 其真身也, 始自開塔戒道, 達于洛下.[113] 凡擒瑞光者七, 日抱戴者再. (初發匣日, 一也; 行至武功縣界, 其光傍亙法門寺, 二也; 宿崇福寺, 置皇堂內, 光如火焰, 又似星流, 三也; 行次崇仁坊門, 因光高舉, 且抱且戴, 四也; 宿渭南縣興法寺, 夜如晝, 五也; 行至壽安縣界, 光既衝天, 日又抱戴, 六也; 安置于明堂, 以兜羅綿襯, 天后及儲君頂戴時, 七也.[114] 崔致遠曰: 愚於咸通十五年甲午春, 在西京. 于時懿宗皇帝命使迎奉真身, 來自鳳翔, 目睹瑞應, 多是類焉. 至有牛駕香車, 而禮拜者三; 鶴當寶輿, 而佪翔者四. 諸坊竪塔, 多致動搖.)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">8.6 (284a18-28): 中宗復位, 神龍元年冬, 敕令寫藏真儀. 御製讚四章, 曰: 宿植明因, 專求正真. 菴園晦跡, 蓮界分身. 闡揚釋教, 拯濟迷津. 常流一雨, 恒淨六塵. (其一) 辯囿方開, 言泉廣濬. 護持忍辱, 勤修精進. 講集天華, 徵符地震. 運斯法力, 殄茲魔陣. (其二) 爰標十觀, 用契四禪. 普斷煩惱, 遐祛蓋纏. 心源鑒徹, 法鏡澄懸. 慧筏周運, 慈燈永傳. (其三) 名簡紫震, 聲流紺域. 梵眾綱紀, 僧徒楷則. 鎮洽四生, 曾無懈息. 播美三千, 傳芳百億. (其四) 三十二句百廿 (音入)八言. 雖文表虛宗, 而事皆實錄.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">8.7 (284a28-b5): 景龍二年中夏, 憫雨. 命藏集百法師於薦福寺以法禱之. 近七朝, 遽致滂沱; 過十夜, 皆言浹洽. 狀告. 詔批曰, “法王垂[115]範, 調御流慈. 敷百座以祈恩, 未一旬而獲應. 師等精誠講說, 當致疲勞. 省表循環, 再三欣悅.”</td></tr>
</table>

107 The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 陣 as 陳.

108 Ch’oe Yŏngsŏng (*Yŏkchu Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn chŏnjip*, 341) has thus punctuated these two lines: 於內道場, 因對揚言, 及岐州舍利.

109 *Huayan zuanling ji*, 53.

110 An error for 令.

111 The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 奏 as 奉.

112 Ch’oe Yŏngsŏng (*Yŏkchu Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn chŏnjip*, 342) has 迎 as 近 and has thus punctuated these lines: 仍命太常, 具樂奏, 近置於明堂.

113 Ch’oe Yŏngsŏng (*Yŏkchu Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn chŏnjip*, 343) has thus punctuated these lines: 其真身也, 始自開塔, 戒道達于洛下.

114 Ch’oe Yŏngsŏng (*Yŏkchu Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn chŏnjip*, 343) has thus punctuated these lines: 安置于明堂, 以兜羅綿, 襯天后及儲君頂戴時, 七也.

115 The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition have 垂 as 乖.

8.8 (284b5-9): 後踰再朏, 敕嘆如初. 敕曰, “三寶熏修 (一本云重修. 或謂再設百座講乎?), 一旬流液. 慈雲演蔭, 法雨含滋. 師等精誠, 遽蒙昭感.” 由是, 中宗睿宗, 皆請為菩薩戒師, 崆峒之遺美是追. 萬乘歸心, 八紘延首. 無機見阻, 有苦待除.	康藏法師之碑[116]: 爰降綸旨, 為菩薩戒師.
8.9 (284b9-16): 藏顧新經化大行焉, 知真丹根遍熟矣. 因奏於兩都, 及吳越, 清涼山, 五處起寺. 均牓花嚴之號. 仍寫摩訶衍三藏并諸家章疏貯之. 善願天從, 功倖踊出. 尋復請許. 雍洛閭閻, 爭趨梵筵, 普締香社. 於是乎像圖七處, 數越萬家. 南齊王之精修, 西蜀宏之善誘. 重興茲日, 敻掩前朝. 故人皆不名, 而稱花嚴和尚焉.	華嚴經傳記[117]: 右竟陵文宣王撰. 自齊梁已來, 每多方廣齋集. 皆依此修行也. 今益州宏法師, 亦以華嚴為志. 勸其士俗清信等或五十人或六十人, 同為福社, 人各誦華嚴一卷. 以同經部, 每十五日, 一家設齋. 嚴道場高座, 供主昇座. 餘徒復位, 各誦其經畢而方散, 斯亦齋集之流也.
8.10 (284b16-29): 景雲再春, 時雨罕潤. 冬又不雪, 人皆籲天. 君命召藏禁中, 懇訊救農之術. 乃啟沃曰, “有經名 ‘隨求則得大自在陀羅尼.’ 若結壇淨寫是總持語, 投於龍湫, 應時必獲.” 詔可其請. 遽往藍田山悟真寺龍池所作法, 未旬大雪. 表聞. 制報, 曰, “敕花嚴師: 比屬愆陽, 憂纏寢食. 故令潭所, 啟請祈恩. 遽得三寶流慈, 兩度降雪. 師等精誠上感, 遂乃盈尺呈祥. 欣稔歲之有期, 喜豐年之可望. 慮不周洽, 且未須出山. 屈師重更用心, 待後進止.” 及六出, 遍四方, 復降詔曰, “敕花嚴師: 寒光稍切, 不委法體何如?[118] 昨者使還, 云師燒香纔畢, 旋降甘雪. 雖則如來演貺, 實由啟懇虔誠. 預喜豐年, 略茲示意.”	
8.11 (284ab29-c9): 至先天元年十一月二日. 太上皇以藏誕辰, 賜衣財暨食味. 誥曰, “敕花嚴師: 黃鐘應律, 玄序登司. 欣承載誕之祥, 喜遇高禖[119]之慶. 乘茲令日, 用表單心. 故奉法衣, 兼長命索餅, 既薦四禪之味, 爰助三衣之資. 願壽等恒沙, 年同劫石. 霜景微冷, 法體安和. 近阻音符, 每增翹仰. 因書代敘, 筆不宣心.” 橋陵脫屣褰衣, 忘機養德. 以藏乃心王室, 每著精勤. 悟道有因, 嚴師無怠. 別賜絹二千匹, 俾贍興福所須.	康藏法師之碑[120]: 太上皇脫屣萬機, 褰衣四海, 亦受菩薩戒, 因行菩薩心.
8.12.1 (284c9-10): 至如井中騰素呾纜之光, 耳餐奇說;	華嚴經傳記[121]: 文明元年, 天竺梵僧三藏法師日照, 在京師西太原寺翻經之次, 云: “至南天竺國, 近占波城, 有一僧伽藍, 名毘瑟奴 (人名也). 於中有諸頭陀僧等, 並小乘學. 後忽有一大乘法師, 持華嚴經一帙, 來至其處. 小乘諸師, 既不相敬. 彼大乘師, 乃留帙而去, 不知所適. 諸小乘學者, 情盡不信, 遂持此經帙, 投之井內. 後數見井中, 光輝煥赫, 上衝於外, 有同烈火. 以物鉤漉, 果得華嚴. 雖久在水中, 都不霑濕. 小乘學等, 便信此經是佛

[116] *PHC* 280b20.

[117] *HJZ*, *T* 51: 5.172a24-b1.

[118] Ch’oe Yŏngsŏng (*Yŏkchu Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn chŏnjip*, 346) has thus punctuated these lines: 寒光稍切不委, 法體何如?

[119] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition have 禖 as 禖.

[120] *PHC* 280b20-22.

[121] *HJZ, T* 51: 4.170a12-28. Cf. *GYZ*, T 51: 176c25-177a9.

	所說. 猶將不及小乘, 遂置在小乘經律之下. 及至明旦, 輒見在上. 乃訶諸群小, 誰復輒移? 對云元無人動. 乃還置下. 明又如初, 復在其上. 若此者數焉. 小乘諸德, 咸大驚嗟. 方知此經過於己學, 以身投於地, 宛轉號泣, 懺謝迴心, 專共授持. 華嚴一經, 盛于此國. 諸小乘輩, 舉宗歸敬, 同深信焉."
8.12.2 (284c10): 氷內現窣睹波之影, 目驗嘉祥.	華嚴經傳記[122]: 當時有司藏冰, 獲瑞冰一段, 中有雙浮圖, 現於冰內. 高一尺餘, 層級自成, 如白銀色, 形相具足, 映徹分明. 敕以示諸僧等, 大眾驚嗟, 悲忻頂禮. 咸稱聖德所感, 實為希有瑞矣.
8.12.3 (284c10-11): 偈排地獄之災, 二十字俾知心佛;	華嚴經傳記[123]: 文明元年, 京師人, 姓王, 失其名. 既無戒行, 曾不修善. 因患致死, 被二人引至地獄門前. 見有一僧, 云是地藏菩薩. 乃教王氏, 誦一行偈. 其文曰, "若人欲求知, 三世一切佛, 應當如是觀, 心造諸如來." 菩薩既授經文, 謂之曰, "誦得此偈, 能排地獄." 王氏盡誦, 遂入見閻羅王. 王問, "此人有何功德?" 答云, "唯受持一四句偈." 具如上說. 王遂放免. 當誦此偈時, 聲所及處, 受苦人皆得解脫. 王氏三日始蘇, 憶持此偈, 向諸沙門說之. 參驗偈文, 方知是華嚴經第十二卷夜摩天宮無量諸菩薩雲集說法品. 王氏自向空觀寺僧定法師說云然也.
8.12.4 (284c11-12): 經拔鑊湯之苦, 七百人來跪群僧.	華嚴經傳記[124]: 雍州萬年縣人康阿祿山, 以調露二年五月一日染患遂亡. 至五日, 將殯, 載至墓所. 未及下車, 聞棺中有聲. 親里疑其重活, 剖棺視之. 祿山果蘇, 起載至家中. 自說被冥道誤追, 在閻羅王前, 總有三十五人, 共作一行. 其中有新豐果毅并祿山等十五人, 先有戒行. 同於王所, 披訴得還. 嘗時見東市藥行人阿容師, 師去調露元年患死. 為生時煮雞子, 與七百人, 入鑊湯地獄. 先識祿山, 遂憑屬曰, "吾第四子行證, 稍有仁慈. 君為我語之, 令寫華嚴經一部, 餘不相當. 若得為寫, 此七百人皆得解脫矣." 山後林健, 往新豐. 尋覓果毅, 相見悲喜, 猶若故交. 各說所由, 暗相符會. 又往東市賣藥阿家, 以容師之言, 具告行證, 證大悲感. 遂於西大原寺法藏師處, 請華嚴經, 令人書寫. 初自容師亡後, 家人寂無夢想. 至初寫經之夕, 合家同夢其父來, 喜暢無已. 到永隆元年八月, 莊嚴周畢, 請大德沙門慶經設供. 祿山爾日亦在會中, 乃見容師等七百鬼徒, 并來齋處, 禮敬三寶. 同跪僧前, 懺悔受戒, 事畢而去. 山既備矚冥司, 深

[122] *HJZ*, *T* 51: 3.164a26-29.
[123] *HJZ*, *T* 51: 4.167a18-29.
[124] *HJZ*, *T* 51: 5.171c20-a13.

	信罪業, 遂屏絕人事, 永棄俗緣. 入太白終南, 專務栖隱. 後不知所終.
8.12.5 (284c12-14): 藏乃或辯[125]彼金言所從, 或假其玉軸令寫 (具如花嚴傳內所述王氏及何容師之事). 莫不惰學者起懸頭之志, 阽危者荷援手之慈.	
8.13 (284c14-16): 此之謂濟俗因緣. 豈非以不二心, 隨事萬行, 與一味真理, 融無二乎?	華嚴發菩提心章[126]: 八者不二心, 謂隨事萬行與一味真理融無二故;
第九科曰: 9.1 (284c17-21): 世寡尚賢, 皆慚下問. 人多自聖, 莫悟大迷. 加復語異華戎, 教分權實, 而唯尋末派, 罕究本源. 信若飛蓬, 窺同側管. 致使席[127]上之義多臆斷, 釁中之言或面從. 縱有梵旅來儀, 伽譚委悉. 翻加擯黜之辱, 懶致諮諏之勤.	
9.2 (284c22-29): 藏也蓄銳俟時, 解紛為念. 既遇日照三藏, 乃問, "西域古德, 其或判一代聖教之昇降乎?" 答曰, "近代天竺, 有二大論師: 一名戒賢, 二稱智光. 賢則遠承慈氏無著, 近踵護法難陀, 立法相宗 (以一乘為權, 三乘為實. 唐三藏奘之所師宗). 光即遠體曼殊龍勝, 近稟青目清辯, 立法性宗 (以三乘為權, 一乘為實. 青目, 本[128]云提婆)." 由是華梵兩融, 空色雙泯. 風除惑靄, 日釋疑冰 (具如探玄所釋).	探玄記[129]: 又法藏於文明元年中, 幸遇中天竺三藏法師地婆訶羅, 唐言日照, 於京西太原寺翻譯經論. 余親于時乃問, "西域諸德於一代聖教, 頗有分判權實以不?" 三藏說云, "近代天竺那爛陀寺, 同時有二大德論師: 一名戒賢, 二稱智光. 並神解超倫, 聲高五印. 群邪稽顙, 異部歸誠. 大乘學人, 仰之如日月. 獨步天竺, 各一人而已. 以所承宗別, 立教不同. 謂戒賢, 即遠承彌勒無著, 近踵護法難陀, 依深密等經, 瑜伽等論, 立三種教 .... 第二智光論師遠承文殊龍樹. 近稟提婆清辯. 依般若等經中觀等論亦立三教."
9.3 (284c29-285a9): 外訓有言: "醫不三世, 不服其藥." 矧於聖典, 叵謬憲章? 以梁陳間有慧文禪師, 學龍樹法, 授衡岳思. 思傳智顗, 顗付灌頂. 三葉騰芳, 宛若前朝佛澄安遠. 聽憶靈山之會, 夢聆台嶺之居. 說通判四教之歸, 圓悟顯一乘之極. 藏以寢處定慧, 異代同心. 隨決教宗, 加頓為五. 其一曰小乘教, 其二曰始教, 其三曰終教, 其四曰頓教, 其五曰圓教. 就是或開或合, 有別有同. 融正覺之圓心, 變方來之邪見. 永標龜鏡, 實淬牛刀.	
9.4 (285a9-15): 從學如雲, 莫能悉數. 其錚錚者, 略舉六人: 釋宏觀, 釋文超, 東都花嚴寺智光, 荷恩寺宗一, 靜法寺慧苑, 經行寺慧英. 並名雷於時, 跡露於後. 至比丘尼衆, 從問道者, 多誦晉經. 大都稟教僧尼, 僉以護律栖禪為恒務. 即知花嚴本祖, 自阿難海, 而來龍猛佛賢, 禪風靡墜. 觀行雙翼, 可缺一乎?	

[125] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 辯 as 辨.
[126] *Huayan fa putixin zhang*, *T* 45: 651a24-25.
[127] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 席 as 廗.
[128] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 本 as 有本.
[129] *Tanxuan ji*, *T* 35: 1.111c9-112a3. Cf. *Shiermen zongzhi yiji*, *T* 42: 1.213a4ff.

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2">9.5 (285a15-b4): 初藏與海東義想法師同學, 其後藏印師說, 演述義科, 寄示於想. 仍寓書曰: “夙世同因, 今生同業, 得於此報, 俱沐大經. 特蒙先師, 授茲奧典, 希傍此業, 用結來因. 但以和上章疏, 義豐文簡, 致令後人, 多難趣入. 是以具錄微言妙旨, 勒成義記. 傳之彼土, 幸示箴誨.” 想乃目[130]閱藏文, 如耳聆儼訓. 掩室探討, 涉旬方出. 召門弟子可器瀉者四英 (真定. 相圓. 亮元. 表訓), 俾分講探玄, 人各五卷. 告之曰, “博我者藏公, 起予者爾輩. 因楇出楇, 執柯伐柯. 各宜勉旃, 無自欺也.”且海表覺母, 想為始祖. 然初至止, 若東家丘. 及法信遐傳, 得群迷遍曉. 斯實闓[131]燭龍之眼, 頓放光明; 開織火鼠之毛, 益彰奇特. 誘令一國, 學遍十山 (海東華嚴大學之所, 有十山焉: 中岳公山美理寺, 南岳知異山華嚴寺, 北岳浮石寺, 康州迦耶山海印寺, 普光寺, 熊州迦耶峽普願寺, 雞龍山岬[132]寺. 括地志所云雞藍山是. 朔州華山寺. 良州金井山梵語寺, 毘瑟山玉泉寺, 全州母山國神寺. 更有如漢州負兒山青潭寺也. 此十餘所). 雜華盛耀蟠桃. 蓋亦藏之力爾. 日出月走, 俱在於東. 頓漸兩圓, 文義雙美.</td></tr>
<tr><td>9.6 (285b4-6): 此之謂垂訓因緣, 豈非以無礙心, 理事既全融不二, 還令全理之事互相即入乎?</td><td>華嚴發菩提心章[133]: 九者無礙心, 謂理事既全融不二, 還令全理之事互相即入故;</td></tr>
<tr><td>第十科曰:
10.1 (285b7-13): 先天元年, 龍集壬子, 周正月月幾望, 右脅于西京大薦福寺. 享年七十, 僧夏未悉. 誕以辜月, 歿亦如之. 則李巡有任養之評, 孫炎有蟄伏之解. 應茲兩釋, 終彼浮生. 矧乃其來也居朔後, 其去也在望前. 是表漸圓, 先標等覺. 豈非菩薩清涼月遊於畢竟空者哉?</td><td>康藏法師之碑[134]: 先天元年歲次壬子, 十一月十四日, 終於西京大薦福寺, 春秋七十.</td></tr>
<tr><td>10.2 (285b13-18): 越五日, 太上皇賜誥賻贈曰, “中使: 故僧法藏德業天資, 虛明契理. 辯才韞識, 了覺融心. 廣開喻筏之門, 備闡傳燈之教. 隨緣示應, 乘化斯盡, 法真歸寂. 雖證無生之空, 朝序飾終. 宜有褒賢之命. 可贈鴻臚卿, 賻絹一千二百匹. 葬事準僧例, 官供.”</td><td>康藏法師之碑[135]: 誥曰, “中使: 故僧法藏, 德業自資, 虛明契理. 辨才韞識, 了覺融心. 廣開喻筏之門, 備闡傳燈之教. 隨緣示應, 乘化斯盡, 法真歸寂. 雖證無生之空, 朝序飾終. 宜有褒賢之命, 可贈鴻臚卿, 贈絹一千二百疋. 葬事准僧例. 餘皆官供.”</td></tr>
<tr><td>10.3.1 (285b18-21): 唐制,[136] 文武官薨卒, 一品賻物二百端. 粟二百碩. 降及九品, 限止十端. 今茲厚禮, 可驗皇恩. 有司給營墓夫卒人功十日. 諸王公降及士庶, 禮懺施捨, 亘歷數焉.</td><td>康藏法師之碑[137]: 妃主公主等禮懺展轉, 施捨勤祈, 所有墳塔飾終. 威儀導引, 莫不備具.</td></tr>
<tr><td>10.3.2 (285b21-25): 以其月二十四日, 葬於神禾原花嚴寺南. 送葬之儀, 皆用追寵典, 屬國三品格式, 禮也. 門人請祕書少監閻朝隱撰碑文, 概表行跡. 翌載中春, 建于塔所. 古所謂其生也榮, 其死也哀[138].</td><td>康藏法師之碑[139]: 其年十一月二十四日, 葬於神和原華嚴寺南.</td></tr>
</table>

[130] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 目 as 自, which works better in the context.

[131] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 闓 as 闇.

[132] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 岬 as 岫.

[133] *Huayan fa putixin zhang*, *T* 45: 651a25-26.

[134] *PHC* 280c3-4.

[135] *PHC* 280c6-11.

[136] Ch’oe Yŏngsŏng (*Yŏkchu Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn chŏnjip*, 354) has thus punctuated these lines: 葬事準僧例, 官供唐制.

[137] *PHC* 280c11-12.

[138] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 哀 as 衰.

[139] *PHC* 280c4-5.

<table>
<tr><td>10.4 (285b26-27): 此之謂示滅因緣. 豈非以圓明心, 頓觀法界, 無障無礙乎?</td><td>華嚴發菩提心章[140]: 十者圓明心, 謂頓觀法界全一全多同時顯現, 無障無礙故.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">麟史稱歿有令名者三立焉. 則法師之遊學, 削染, 示滅, 三立德也; 講演, 傳譯, 著述, 三立言也; 修身, 濟俗, 垂訓, 三立功也. 演一乘圓旨, 憑十節妙緣. 廣記備言, 庶或有中.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">傍詆訶者, 引文心云, “舊史所無, 我書則博. 欲偉其事, 此訛濫之本源, 述遠之巨蠹也. 子無近之乎? 雖多奚為, 以少是貴.” 愚睎焉曰, “敬佩良箴. 然立定哀之時, 書隱元之事. 信以傳信, 疑以傳疑. 自古常規, 非今妄作. 況此皆憑舊說, 豈衒新聞?”且記藏公之才之美也, 寔得面無怍色, 口無媿辭. 顧起信多小之詮, 譔成行廣略之錄, 一傳一碑. 又史者使也, 執筆左右, 使之記也. 傳者轉也, 轉授經旨. 傳廣碑略, 使授於後.
恭以師兄大德玄準為名, 仍以大乘遠為別號. 體葉偈之旅, 首花嚴之座. 嗣仍孫於想德, 欽益友於藏公. 且曰, “古賢以取其言而棄其身, 心為盜也;今學則稟其訓而昧其跡, 顏實靦焉. 況有小鳴之徒, 或陳大嚼之說. 玷污前哲, 眩惑後生. 雖復閻朝隱有碑, 釋光嚴有傳, 惰於披閱, 勇在矯誣矣. 至有譏史學為魔宗, 黜僧譜為廢物. 及談疏主緣起, 或作化人笑端. 是謂‘譏朋不無忝祖, 可掩耳而走.’ 豈俾躬處休?” 以致遠嘗宧玉京, 濫名金牓. 聊翻駃語, 或類象胥[141]. 遂命直書, 難從曲讓. 有乖即正, 無異不編. 猶恨目瞶寶洲, 耳驚金奏. 仙枰一遇, 因路盡而坐忘; 帝樂九成, 俄曲終而夢覺. 罪知相半, 用捨在緣. 緬徵關右之評, 覬顗[142]續遼東之本. 後博贍者, 幸刪補焉.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">于時天復四春, 枝幹俱首, 於尸羅國迦耶山海印寺花嚴院, 避寇養痾, 兩偷其便. 雖生下界, 幸據高齋. 平揖群峰, 敻抛世路. 而所居丈室, 密邇蒙泉. 韶光煦然, 潤氣蒸兵. 衣如遊霧露, 座若近陂池. 加復病躬, 目勞燒炙, 是使棲闃華水, 窗霏艾煙. 厭生而或欲梵軀, [143]問疾者多皆掩鼻. 有誰逐臭, 空慚海畔一蕕; 無所竊香, 莫遂山中三嗅. 及修斯傳, 自責增懷, 傷手是[144]虞, 含毫不快. 欻聞香氣, 郁烈有餘, 斷續再三, 尋無來所. 誰料嬴君歸載, 變成荀令坐筵. 時有客僧持盈, 亦言, “異香撲鼻, 春寒劓噓, 因爾豁然.” 僕既勇於操觚, 僧亦忻於闢鼉. 斯豈掇古人芳跡, 播開士德馨之顯應乎? 傳草既成, 又獲思夢, 睹一緇叟執一卷書, 而曉愚曰, “永徽是永粲元年也.” 劃爾形開, 試自解曰, “此或謂所撰錄, 永振徽音, 長明事跡. 始於今日, 故舉元年者耶? 然而深恧謏聞, 莫排疑網. 適得藏大德遺像供養, 因削二短簡, 書是非二字, 為筊擲影前, 取裁再三, 是字獨見. 心香所感, 口訣如聞. 古德既陰許非非, 今愚乃陽增病病. 不為無益, 聊以自寬. 或人不止囅然, 且攎胡曰, “子所標證, 說春夢可乎哉?” 愚徐應曰, “是身非夢歟?” 曰, “是.” 然則在夢而欲黜夢, 其猶踐雪求無跡, 入水願不濡者焉? 書不云乎, “有大夢然後有大覺.” 如睡夢覺, 故名佛也. 抑且王者以乾坤謫見, 每慎方來; 庶人以晝夜魂交, 能防未兆. 譬形端影直, 豈心正夢邪?人或不恒, 巫醫拱手. 苟冥應悉為虛妄, 念大亦涉徒勞耶? 聞昔尼父見周公, 高宗得傅[145]說, 信相金鼓, 普眼山神, 皆託靈遊, 能融妙理. 故兩朝僧史, 亦一分夢書. 況聖教東流, 本因睡感. 從昏至曉, 出假入真. 今也出則窘步樵原, 入則酣眠煨室. 暫息棲棲[146]之歎, 宜從栩栩之遊. 客既溺客之笑容, 予乃宰予之睡興. 因憶得吳中詩叟陸龜蒙斷章云, “思量浮世何如夢, 試就南窗一 寐看.” 於是乎擲握筆, 引幽枕. 遠尋宰予我, 近訪邊孝先. 瞥遇二賢, 各吟五字曰, “糞牆師有誡, 經笥我無慚.” 僕於恍惚中, 續其尾云, “亂世成何事, 唯添七不堪.” [147]</td></tr>
</table>

[140] *Huayan fa putixin zhang*, *T* 45: 651a27-b1.
[141] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 胥 as 骨.
[142] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 覬 as 顗.
[143] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 志 before 問.
[144] While the Miyoshi copy seems to have this character as 是, the Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has it as 足.
[145] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 傅 as 傳.
[146] The Sōshun-*Taishō* edition has 棲棲 as 凄凄.
[147] This postscript was written in small size in the Miyoshi copy.

APPENDIX B

SHIDADE 十大德

In Chapter Four, I bring attention to a detail concerning the "Ordination Episode"—the "Ten Buddhist monks of Great Virtue" (*shidade* 十大德), the men who were said to have administered Fazang's full ordination. This aspect of the "Ordination Episode" raises a large issue. Because they supposedly granted Fazang's full ordination, they must have been appropriately qualified preceptors (*shoujieshi* 授戒師). This would imply that in 696, when Fazang is thought to have gained full ordination, there existed such a group—not only "Great Virtues" (*dade* 大德), but also preceptors. Is there any historical evident for this?

The *shidade* as a monastic institution was first instituted by Sui Wendi (r. 581-604) in 592 as a committee in charge of reviewing and verifying Buddhist translations, which were at the time prepared under the direction of two Indian monks Jñānagupta (Ch. She'najueduo 闍那崛多, 523?-600?) and Dharmagupta (Ch. Damojiduo 達磨笈多, ?-619). It is not clear as to how long this system was maintained under the Sui, although it seems likely that the committee ceased to function after the abolishment of their translation office, which might have happened when Jñānagupta died, around 600.[1] At the very beginning of the Tang dynasty (618), Gaozu restored the review system but for a very different purpose—to regulate the saṃgha, nominally throughout the whole empire but in fact probably only the capital area. It is interesting to note that the ten-*bhadanta* committee was elected by a monastic congregation (*daji* 大集) and was not appointed by the emperor, in contrast to previous periods when the secular rulers decided the selection of these monastic leaders. Under the reign of Gaozu at least, it can be said that the ten *bhadanta*-monks constituted a kind of national monastic leadership committee. We do not know for certain for how long the system

[1] Chen Jinhua, "A Holy Alliance." The date of Jñānagupta's death had already become a controversial issue by the time of Zhisheng, who notes in one of his Buddhist catalogues (*KSL*, *T* 55: 9.550b16ff) that Daoxuan contradicted himself by dating Jñānagupta's death to Kaihuang 20 (January 20, 600-February 6, 601) in *XGSZ* while stating that Jñānagupta was still alive four years later (at the end of the Renshou era [601-604]) in his *Da Tang neidian lu*. The two passages in two of Daoxuan's works to which Zhisheng here refers are located at *T* 50: 2.434c4-5 and *T* 55: 5.280a16-17, respectively.

existed in this capacity under the Tang, although we have reason to believe that it still functioned as late as February 4, 634.[2] Furthermore, the funeral epitaph for the vinaya master Siheng 思恆 (653-726) clearly indicates the existence of a ten-member committee of the same nature and function under the reign of Zhongzong:

> Before, under the reign of Hedi 和帝 (i.e., Zhongzong),[3] [Siheng] was summoned to the palace chapel and was appointed as the preceptor of bodhisattva-precepts. He was appointed to the committee of *shidade*, generally attending to the Law of the Buddha and the monastic affairs under Heaven (that is, throughout the empire). 初和帝代, 召入內道場, 命爲菩薩戒師, 充十大德, 統知天下佛法僧事.[4]

The expression "generally attending to the Law of the Buddha and the monastic affairs under Heaven" proves that this was a national monastic leadership committee. I am unable to determine whether or not it was in continuous operation from the reigns of Taizong, Gaozong and Empress Wu to that of Zhongzong, or whether it had been terminated sometime after 634, and then reinstituted under Zhongzong. Given Empress Wu's and her husband Gaozong's positive attitude towards Buddhism, it seems plausible to assume that Zhongzong here might have just carried on, rather than restoring, the system. In other words, it was likely that under the reign of Empress Wu such a ten-*bhadanta* system continued to exist. As a matter of fact, evidence shows that starting around 685, ten *bhadanta*s headed by Huaiyi regularly gathered at a palace chapel in Luoyang. Not only were these ten *bhadanta*s responsible for the composition of the commentary on *Dayun jing* 大雲經 (Skt. *Mahāmegha sūtra* [Sūtra of Great Cloud], *T* no. 387), a document with so much importance for Empress Wu's political propaganda, but they also apparently constituted a committee in charge of national monastic affairs.[5]

Although we have no decisive evidence for the existence of the *shidade* in the capacity of a national monastic leadership committee under the reigns of Gaozong and Empress Wu, we do know that a *shidade* group, whose members were ten *bhadanta*-translators, did exist

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[2] Forte, "Daitoku." The evidence for the existence of the *shidade* in Zhenguan 8 (February 4, 634-January 23, 635) is provided in *THY* 47.836.

[3] Hedi is an abbreviation of Xiaohe Huangdi 孝和皇帝, Zhongzong's posthumous title proposed by court officials on October 16, 710 (Jingyun 1.9.9 [*dingmao*]), about three months after he died on July 3, 710 (Jinglong 4.6.2 [*renwu*]). See *JTS* 7.150, *XTS* 4.112.

[4] "Da Tang gu dade Siheng lüshi muzhiwen," *TMH* 2: 1322.

[5] *JTS* 183.4741; cf. *ZZTJ* 203.6436-37, which puts this under Chuigong 1 (February 9, 685-January 29, 686). The two passages are corrupt in several places, which have been emended by Forte in his *Political Propaganda*, 73ff (1st edition)/94-95 (2nd edition). See also Chen Jinhua, "Tang Buddhist Palace Chapels," 117.

from at least 680 to 688, when Divākara was translating first in Chang-an and later in Luoyang, as is clearly indicated by Yancong 彥悰 (?-688+), Empress Wu, Fazang and Zhisheng.[6] On another occasion, Fazang reported another ten-*bhadanta* committee working with Devendraprajña during the Chuigong era (February 9, 685-January 26, 689), although it was not at Weiguo xisi in Chang'an, but at its counterpart in Luoyang, the Weiguo dongsi.[7] We do not know for certain whether during this period the *shidade* as the national Buddhist leadership committee and the *shidade* as translation committee were two distinct institutions or whether they were just an identical team which performed different functions as required in different situations. A similar ten *bhadanta*-translator committee also existed under the reign of Daizong (r. 762-779), serving in the translation office supervised by Bukong 不空 (Amoghavajra, 705-774), as is indicated by an imperial edict issued on December 2, 771 (Dali 6.10.22).[8]

We have so far only witnessed two types of a *shidade* system, one with more comprehensive functions (in charge of national monastic affairs), and the other with very limited and specialized ones (translation). It was not until May 23, 771, that, according to Zanning, there appeared a third type, the so-called *lintan shidade* 臨壇十大德, or ten *bhadanta*-preceptors whose chief, if not exclusive, responsibility was to administer full ordination to qualified novices:

> On the fifth day of the fourth month of Dali 6 (the cyclic year of *xinhai*) (May 23, 771), a decree [was issued to order] that ten *bhadanta*s for supervising the [precepts-]platform were to be appointed (lit. "set up") for both the male and female saṃgha in the capital. This was to be taken as a constant institution. Whenever a position became vacant [on the committee], it was filled up immediately. This system of supplementing "lintan" 臨壇 (i.e., preceptors) with the two-character [title] *dade* ("Great Virtue") marked the beginning of the custom of officially attaching a "title [associated with] *[da]de* (Great Virtue)" (*dehao* 德號) [to preceptors]. 大歷六年辛亥歲四月五日, 敕京城僧尼臨壇大德各置十人. 以爲常式, 有闕即塡. 此帶臨壇而有大德二字, 乃官補德號之始也.[9]

Here, Zanning seems to suggest that this was the first time in the history of Chinese Buddhism that a preceptor was honored with the title *bhadanta*. If Zanning was correct, then the system of ten *bhadanta*-preceptors was not set up until 771. This system persisted until at least the reigns of Suzong (756-762) and Daizong (762-779), a fact sup-

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[6] Chapter 9.1.1.
[7] Chapter 5.1.2.
[8] *Da Tang Zhenyuan xu Kaiyuan shijiao lu*, *T* 55: 1.750b1-5.
[9] *Da Song sengshi lüe*, *T* 53: 3.249c9-12; this passage is quoted, with some slight variations, in *Shishi yaolan*, *T* 54: 1.260c29-261a3.

ported in Zanning's biography of one such *bhadanta*-preceptor, Yuanzhao 圓照 (727-809).[10] No evidence suggests that at Fazang's time there existed such a group of ten *bhadanta*-preceptors who could have conferred full ordination on him. Therefore, the author of the "Ordination Episode" apparently committed another anachronistic error by claiming that Fazang was ordained by ten *bhadanta*-preceptors as early as 696.

[10] *SGSZ*, *T* 50: 15.805c1-3.

APPENDIX C

BIANKONGSI AND ŚIKṢĀNANDA'S AVATAṂSAKA TRANSLATION BUREAU

The "Ordination Episode" has Fazang entering Great Biankongsi sometime in Wansuitongtian 1 (April 22-November 29, 696). A certain point, however, needs clarification. The author of the episode vaguely states Fazang's purpose in being summoned to the monastery as "to participate in translation activity" (*canyi* 參譯). However, judging by the timeframe of this event (696) and the fact that during this period *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing* (translated under the supervision of Śikṣānanda between 695 and 699) was the only translation related to Great Biankongsi, we know that the author of the episode is indicating that Fazang went to the monastery as a member of Śikṣānanda's *Avataṃsaka* translation team. Now, let us see if such a statement regarding Fazang's role in *Huayan jing* translation and this translation's relationship with Great Biankongsi is compatible with what we know from earlier sources. We will start with Fazang's own record of the process through which the translation was prepared:

> Shicha[nantuo] (Śikṣānanda) and the *sūtra* arrived in the capital together. In the first year (the cyclic year of *yiwei*) of the Zhengsheng era under [the reign of] the Heavenly Empress (November 23, 694-October 21, 695), at Biankongsi in the Great Inner [Palace] (*danei* 大內)[1] in the Eastern Capital (Luoyang), [he started] to translate *Hua-*

[1] *Danei* 大內 (lit. the Great Inner [Palace]) indicated the *gongcheng* 宮城 (Palatine City), the most central part of the capital city. See *THY* 30.529; Xiong, *Sui-Tang Chang'an*, 78. This means that Biankongsi was located within the palatine city. In other words, it was a chapel within Empress Wu's palace complex in Luoyang. In contrast to the expression which Fazang (and Zhisheng, who copied this passage in his catalogues) uses for this monastery, "danei Biankongsi" 大內遍空寺 ("Biankongsi" at the Great Inner [Palaces]), Empress Wu in her preface to *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing* uses "Da Biankongsi" (Great Biankongsi) (see Wu Zhao, "Da Zhou xinyi Da Fangguangfo huayan jing xu," *T* 10: 1b7 [*QTW* 97.7a4]), indicating its status as a Great Monastery (*dasi* 大寺), and therefore probably a clan monastery (for the issue of *dasi*, see Forte, "Daiji"). Different from Empress Wu's preface, Fazang's record suggests that it was merely a palace chapel, without the prefix of *da* 大 ("Great"). It is not clear whether or not Biankongsi was a palace chapel with or without the prefix *da*. The possibility needs to be considered that Da Biankongsi in Empress Wu's preface (as is presented in the *Taishō* edition and *QTW*) might have been a typographical error made by a later copyist, who erred partly due to his misunderstanding that Biankongsi was a "great monastery,"

> *yan jing*. The Heavenly Empress came to the dharma-assembly in person, initiating [the whole translation process] with a preface.[2] Wielding the immortal writing-brush herself, Her Majesty wrote out the titles of the whole *sūtra* and the first *parivarta*.[3] The Southern Indian śramaṇa Bodhiruci and śramaṇa Yijing both intoned the Sanskrit original.[4] Later the *sūtra* was entrusted to the śramaṇas Fuli, Fazang and others to be translated at Foshoujisi. The translation was completed in the second year of the Shengli era (the cyclic year of *yihai*) (November 27, 699-May 27, 700). 實叉與經, 同臻帝闕. 以天后證聖元年乙未, 於東都大內遍空寺, 譯華嚴經. 天后親臨法座, 煥發序文. 自運仙毫, 首題名品. 南印度沙門菩提流志, 沙門義淨, 同宣梵文. 後付沙門復禮, 法藏等, 於佛授記寺譯. 至聖歷二年己亥, 功畢.[5]

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which was, in turn, caused by a misreading of the "Danei Biankongsi" in *HJZ*. If this hypothesis stands, it will present another piece of evidence against the credibility of the "Ordination Episode," which has Biankongsi as Great Biankongsi.

[2] This preface was not the one which has been passed down to us as the preface that the empress wrote for Śikṣānanda's version of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*. The latter was not written until the translation was done four years later.

[3] These sentences (from 親臨法座 to 首題名品) are actually a quotation from a memorial presented to the court by Hongjing, a member of Śikṣānanda's *Avataṃsaka* translation office, which is partly quoted by Chengguan:

> Meditation Master Hongjing submitted a memorial [in connection with the translation]. Note: Empress Wu's preface to the new translation says that she once participated in "condensing" (*bixue* 筆削) the translation at Great Biankongsi. Therefore the memorial says, "Your Majesty came to the dharma-assembly in person, initiating [the whole translation process] with a preface. Wielding the immortal writing-brush herself, Your Majesty wrote out the titles of the whole *sūtra* and the first *parivarta*. The seven stars of the dipper provide the model (for Your Majesty's writing), and the imagery is as beautiful as the 'Three Luminaries' (i.e., sun, moon and stars) themselves. The eight models [literary styles] are all complete in the text, and rays of light illuminate the 'Five Teachings.' The treasures of the dharma have been set forth separately, and then put together elegantly. The pure flowers enter the text, and it becomes brightly embellished. The true explanations set out in the 'nine assemblies' (of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*) completely appear in the phrases, while abstruse meanings of the One Hundred Citadels have been laid clear with characters." 弘景禪師有表. 案經序中, 本於大遍空寺親受筆削. 故表云: "陛下親臨法座, 煥發序文; 自運仙毫, 首題名品. 七曜垂象, 景麗於三明; 八體成文, 光敷於五義. 法寶分行而錯落, 淨華入貫而昭彰. 九會真詮, 詞中悉現; 百城奧旨, 字下皆明." (*Da Fangguangfo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao*, *T* 36: 15.113b26-c2)

The four sentences quoted by Fazang are located at p. 113b27-28. According to Purui (*Huayan xuantanhui xuanji*, *XZJ* 12: 38.300a1-2), this memorial by Hongjing was preserved in the first *juan* of *Xuanzong wenlei* 玄宗文類 (Collection of Works Related to the Mysterious School [Buddhism]?), which I have not been able to identify.

[4] Yijing arrived in Luoyang from India in the fifth month (*zhongxia* 仲夏) of Zhengsheng 1 (June 17-July 16, 695). See *Xu Gujin yijing tuji*, *T* 55: 370a25; *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.568b17; *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*, *T* 55: 13.869a21; *SGSZ*, *T* 50: 1.710b18. *Fozu lidai tongzai* (*T* 49: 12.584b27) specifies the day of *xuchen* in the fifth month as the date of Yijing's arrival. However, there was no *xuchen* day in that month. Therefore, strictly speaking, Yijing could not have participated in the translation project until at least one month after its commencement on May 2, 695.

[5] *HJZ*, *T* 51: 1.155a15-19.

Zhisheng confirms this in two of his Buddhist catalogues, both completed in 730.[6] So does Empress Wu, who wrote a preface to the new translation of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* after it was completed. Further, Zhisheng specifies that the translation was conducted during the period from May 2, 695 (Zhengsheng 1.3.14) to November 5, 699 (Shengli 2.10.8).[7]

This said, Fazang's report appears rather ambiguous. According to him, after the "dharma-assembly," which was attended not only by Śikṣānanda, Bodhiruci, and other monks, but also by Empress Wu herself, the *sūtra* was then entrusted to Fuli and Fazang, who translated it at Foshoujisi. This raises a series of questions. First, does it mean that the *sūtra* was first translated at Biankongsi and then for some unknown reasons the translation office was moved to Foshoujisi? Second, when Fazang says, "Later the *sūtra* was entrusted to the śramaṇa Fuli, Fazang and others to be translated at Foshoujisi," does this mean that Fuli, Fazang and other unnamed monks did not take part in the translation at the beginning but they later took over the translation at Foshoujisi, or that after a draft was completed the translation was entrusted to these monks for review, verification and polishing? Thirdly, did the three monks mentioned initially (Śikṣānanda, Bodhiruci and Yijing), apparently as the three chief members of the translation office, also move to Foshoujisi, or for some reason did they leave the translation office and allow the translation to be continued by Fuli, Fazang and others (understood literally, Fazang's statement might suggest this)? Finally, as a palace chapel, Great Biankongsi could not have been too large in size. Given the tremendous length of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* and the importance that the Great Zhou government attached to it, the translation office must have been crammed with a huge number of translators and their assistants (both Buddhist monks and laymen), not to mention the space occupied by the *sūtra* itself, writing materials, tables, etc. Thus, how is it possible that Biankongsi physically contained such an immense translation office and all the activities associated therewith? We must turn to other sources besides Fazang's account.

One source comes from Huiyuan, who was not only one of the most important disciples of Fazang but also one of the first commentators on Śikṣānanda's new translation of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*.[8] His commen-

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[6] *Xu Gujin yijing tuji*, *T* 55: 369b24-c1; *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.566a17-23, in both of which Zhisheng just reproduces the *HJZ* passage that was quoted and translated above.

[7] "Da Zhou xinyi Da Fangguangfo huayan jing xu," *T* 10: 1b6-13 (*QTW* 97.5b-7b); *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.565c15-16.

[8] Although Zongmi labeled Huiyuan as a "traitor" to Fazang by accusing him of deviating from some fundamental teachings promoted by Fazang, Huiyuan must still be

tary*, Xu Huayan jing lüeshu kanding ji*, states at one point that Śikṣānanda was with Fazang and other monks at Foshoujisi right after the completion of the new *Huayan jing* translation. This suggests that the Khotanese monk was still in charge of the translation office in Foshoujisi (either it was transferred from Biankongsi or it was originally located there).[9] In addition, it supplies us with further clues:

> The third translation [of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*]: in the first year of the Zhengsheng era of the Great Zhou (November 23, 694-October 21, 695), at Foshoujisi in the eastern capital, the Khotanese Trepiṭaka Śikṣānanda (in Chinese called Xixue 喜學[10] ["Pleasure in Learning"]), retranslated the old text and at the same time supplemented what was missing [in the old text], which resulted in nine thousand new verses. Thus, when added to the old version(s), there were forty-five thousand verses which formed the Chinese version of eighty *juan*. The Great Virtue, Trepiṭaka [master] Yijing, Meditation Master Hongjing, Dharma Master Wŏnch'ŭk, Dharma Master Shenying 神英 (?-703+),[11] Dharma Master Baofa 寶法 (an error for Fabao 法寶, ?-703+),[12] Upādhyāya *Avataṃsaka* (i.e., Fazang)[13] and others joined together to [assist Śikṣānanda in] translating [the *sūtra* into Chinese]. Dharma Master Fuli acted as a polisher. 第三本者, 證聖元年, 于闐國三藏實叉難陀, 此云喜學, 於東都佛授記寺, 再譯舊文, 兼補諸闕, 計益九千頌. 通舊, 總翻四萬五千頌. 合成漢本, 八十卷. 大

taken as the most talented and famous disciple of Fazang; see Sakamoto, *Kegon kyōgaku no kenkyū*, Chapters 1-2.

[9] *Xu Huayan jing lüeshu kanding ji*, *XZJ* 5: 1.25b18-c11. Śikṣānanda's long and close relationship with Foshoujisi is also corroborated by the fact that in the biography Fazang wrote for him Fazang identifies him as a śramaṇa belonging to the monastery (*HJZ*, *T* 55: 1.155a10).

[10] Xixue 喜學 is obviously an error for Xuexi 學喜, which was a Chinese translation of Śikṣānanda's name.

[11] Shenying was also a member of the translation offices supervised by Yijing (*Xu Gujin yijing tuji*, *T* 55: 370c26; *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.568c6; *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*, *T* 55: 13.869b9; *SGSZ*, *T* 50: 1.710c3) and Bodhiruci (*Xu Gujin yijing tuji*, *T* 55: 371b16; *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.570a20; *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*, *T* 55: 14. 873a11). *Toiki dentō mukuroku* (*T* 55: 1151c25) records a two-*juan* commentary on the *Vajracchedikā sūtra* by a Ximingsi monk Shenying, and a three-*juan* commentary on the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa sūtra* by a Xingfusi 興福寺 monk by the same name. It is not clear whether or not these two Shenying were one and the same person, nor (if so) whether he was Shenying the translator. For more about Shenying, see Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 71, 80, 119, 148,174 (1st edition); 89, 102, 180-81, 217, 250-51 (2nd edition). Other traces of this monk include: a memorial inscription he wrote for Yonghesi 永和寺. The epitaph was erected on August 15, 699 (Shengli 2.7.15). See *Jinshi lu*, *SKQS* 681: 4.17a; *Baoke congbian*, *SKQS* 682: 8.9a; *Baoke leibian*, *SKQS* 682: 8.23b.

[12] No Buddhist monk of the time is known by the name Baofa, which was obviously an error for Fabao. For Fabao, see Appendix G, note 43.

[13] For the origin of Upādyāya Avatasṃaka (Huayan Heshang 華嚴和尙) as a sobriquet of Fazang, see *PHC* 284b10-16; translated and discussed in Chapter 6.3.2.

德義淨三藏, 弘景禪師, 圓測法師, 神英法師, 寶法法師, 華嚴和尙等同譯. 復禮法師潤文.[14]

This passage sheds light on an important aspect of the 695-699 translation activity by providing the names of the chief monks involved: Śikṣānanda, Yijing, Hongjing, Wŏnch'ŭk, Huiying, Fabao, Fazang and Fuli. In addition, Huiyuan is rather clear that the translation was done at Foshoujisi. This passage stands out, since no mention is made of Biankongsi, leaving one to wonder whether or not the translation was done entirely at Foshoujisi. In contrast, a later source, *Shishi jigu lüe* (completed 1355), presents a different picture of the same event:

> *Huayan jing*: Hearing that there was a Sanskrit original for the large version of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* in Khotan, the Dowager Empress dispatched an envoy to retrieve it. Her Majesty also requested that a person versed in Brahmanic (Indic; actually Buddhist) learning should accompany the *sūtra* [to China]. Therefore, seeing that the Venerable Śikṣānanda (in Chinese called Juexi[15]) wondrously excelled in the *Avataṃsaka* principles, the ruler of the kingdom of Khotan dispatched him to respond to this edict [from Empress Wu]. The Dowager Empress was greatly pleased [by the arrival of Śikṣānanda]. In the third month of this year (Zhengsheng 1) (April 19-May 18, 695), Her Majesty summoned him into Great Biankongsi to do the translation with Dharma Masters Bodhiruci, Fuli and others. Later, they moved to Foshoujisi. The Dowager Empress often visited the monastery, investigated the translation and made some corrections in person, providing [the monks there] with offerings, [including] food. By the tenth month of Shengli 2 (October 29-November 26, 699) the new translation was completed in eighty *juan*. In person the Dowager Empress composed a preface [for it], which she announced and

[14] *Xu Huayan jing lüeshu kanding ji*, *XZJ* 5: 1.24d14-18. This passage is quoted by Chengguan in his *Da huayan jing lüece*, *T* 36: 704a12-19, where Fabao's name is given correctly. In addition, Chengguan notes that Foshoujisi was then known as Jing-aisi. As a matter of fact, Foshoujisi was previously known as Great Jing'aisi 大敬愛寺, which was renamed Foshoujisi sometime in Tianshou 2 (December 6, 690-November 25, 691) (*THY* 48.848; Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 37n115 [1st edition]; 43n143 [2nd edition]). We are not clear as to when its name was switched back to Jing'aisi, although this likely happened sometime after Empress Wu's abdication and subsequent death in 705. Thus, when the translation was undertaken (695-699), the monastery was certainly called Foshoujisi, rather than Jing'aisi as Chengguan claims here. The importance of this monastery for Buddhism at Empress Wu's time is discussed in Forte, *Political Propaganda*, esp. 93-96, 171-74 (1st edition); 122-43, 171-86 (2nd edition).

This quotation from Huiyuan's text, with fewer details, can be found in two more works by Chengguan, *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* (*T* 36: 65.524a9-14) and *Xinyi Huayan jing qichu jiuhui song shizhang* (*T* 36: 710b21-25), in which Chengguan gives Fuli's role as *zhuiwen* 綴文 (composer), which accords with Huiyuan's report but differs from Chengguan's own in *Da huayan jing lüece*, where Fuli is identified as a polisher (*runwen*).

[15] Given the closeness in form between *xue* 學 and *jue* 覺, Juexi 覺喜 was obviously an error for Xuexi 學喜, Śikṣānanda's Chinese name.

> showed in the Taiji Palace to all the court officials. 華嚴經: 太后聞于闐國有梵本華嚴大經, 遣使往求之. 并請善梵學者一人隨經. 於是于闐國主, 以尊者實叉難陀, 此云覺喜, 妙善華嚴宗旨, 遣應旨. 太后大悅. 是年三月, 詔入大遍空寺. 同菩提流志, 復禮法師等翻譯. 次移佛授記寺. 太后時幸其寺, 親究筆削, 施供食饌. 至聖歷二年十月, 譯新經, 成八十卷. 太后親製序文, 御太極殿, 宣示百官.[16]

Juean here clearly states that the translation had been conducted at Biankongsi before it was moved to Foshoujisi.[17] We are then presented with two different views regarding the whole translation process: first, the translation was made in two monasteries, Biankongsi initially and then later at Foshoujisi, both in the eastern capital Luoyang; second, the translation was prepared entirely at Foshoujisi. Which account is more reliable?

At first glance, Huiyuan's view appears to contradict squarely what we learn from Fazang and Empress Wu about the translation. However, given Huiyuan's relationship with Fazang, it would not be wise to reject his view too hastily. At this point, *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying zhuan*, initially compiled by Fazang's major disciple Huiying, comes to our aid:

> In the first year of the Shengli era (December 20, 697-December 7, 698)[18], Empress Wu invited with an edict the Khotanse Trepiṭaka [master] Śikṣānanda and over ten *bhadanta*-monks to translate the *Avataṃsaka [sūtra]* at Foshoujisi in the Eastern capital. The monk Fuli acted as a composer and Master [Fa]zang acted as a scribe. Śramaṇa Zhantuo and Tipo and others acted as translators of the Sanskrit words. The monks Fabao, Hongzhi (Hongjing),[19] Bolun (?-703+),[20] Huiyan (?-699+),[21] Quchen (probably a mistake for Xuandu 玄度)[22] and others acted as proofers of meanings.[23] [Jia] Yingfu [賈]膺

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[16] *Shishi jigu lüe*, *T* 36: 3.820c16-23.

[17] A similar idea is expressed by Xufa in his *Fajiezong wuzu lüeji*, *XZJ* 134: 274a1-5. *Fozu lidai tongzai* (*T* 49: 9.584b27-c2) tells us that shortly after his return to China in the fifth month of Shengli 1 (June 17-July 16, 695), Yijing was summoned to Great Biankongsi to participate in Śikṣānanda's translation office. This also implies that Śikṣānanda's translation office was first based at the palace chapel. That Śikṣānanda's *Avataṃsaka* translation office had been situated at (Great) Biankongsi before it was transferred to Foshoujisi has been almost unanimously accepted by all modern scholars. See, for example, Tang, *Sui Tang fojiao shigao*, 168, 263; Zhang Zunliu, "Sui Tang Wudai fojiao dashi nianbiao," 159; Kaginushi and Kimura, *Hōzō*, 72-73; Fang Litian, *Fazang*, 26; idem, *Fazang pingzhuan*, 15; Wang Bangwei (coll. and annot.), *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan jiaozhu*, 22.

[18] Shengli is obviously a mistake for Zhengsheng. Zhengsheng 1 lasted from November 23, 694 to October 22, 695.

[19] Hongzhi 弘置 is an error for Hongjing 弘景.

[20] For this monk, see Appendix G, note 42.

[21] For this monk, see Appendix G, note 45.

[22] The name of Quchen is not otherwise known. It might have been a mistake for Xuandu, the name of a monk who was a participant of Śikṣānanda's *Avataṃsaka*

福 (?-713),[24] grand astrologer, secretary of the Secretariat of the Heir-Apparent, and Yu Shiyi (?-699+), an adjunct of the Defense Guard Command,[25] and others participated in the translation. Zetian, along with the Trepiṭaka [masters] and *Bhadanta*s, personally participated in the dharma-assembly at the Inner (chapel) Biankongsi. [Her Majesty] wrote a preface to open and set the direction of the translation activities. That night Zetian dreamed that it rained ambrosia from the sky. By the fifth watch, sure enough, there was drizzle. [Sprinkled by] the rain of fragrant water, a stalk of a lotus flower with one hundred petals grew out of the pond within the Inner Park. With a green stalk and red flower, it was exceptional in fragrance and beauty. There are three kinds of lotus flower: first, flowers in the human world with ten petals; second, flowers in heaven with one hundred petals; third, flowers in the Pure-land with one thousands petals. Now, from the Inner Park grew [a flower with] one hundred petals; it was clear that this was a heavenly flower. Zetian appreciated this auspicious response to the translation activities, ordering that a picture be drawn of the flower and then dispatching a palace servant (or eunuch) to send [the picture] to the translation office at Foshoujisi. The whole monastic community at the monastery, along with Dharma Master Shi of Dayunsi in Huaizhou,[26] who was then at the monastery, all gazed [at

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translation office according to a Dunhuang manuscript (*P*. 2314 [reproduced in *DB* 119: 126 and edited in Ikeda, *Shikigo*, 246-47]), which was a "General Catalogue" for the titles of the chapters in *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing*, compiled on November 5, 699, precisely the day when the completion of that translation was announced. This miscopying is understandable given the similarities in form between the two pairs of components of the two names (玄—去, 度—塵).

[23] The original here has it as *shenfu zhengyi* 審覆證義, which I assume is equivalent to *zhengyi* ("proofer of meanings"). See Appendix G, note 12.

[24] For Jia Yingfu, see Appendix G, note 55.

[25] Emend *weishi* 衛事, which is not the name of an office, to *weishuai [fu]* 衛率[府] (Defense Guard Command).

[26] Probably the monk Shixing 什行, the abbot (*sizhu* 寺主) of the Dayunsi in Huaizhou; see Jia Yingfu, "Dayunsi bei," *QTW* 259.5a4-5. Jia Yingfu indicates in the inscription that this Dayunsi was located in Henei 河內 and that it was formerly Changshousi 長壽寺 built by Sui Wendi (r. 581-604) ("Dayunsi bei," *QTW* 259.3a1-2). Henei and Huaizhou indicated the same area (in present-day Qinyang 沁陽, Henan). Furthermore, the Sui dynasty Changshousi was indeed located in Huaizhou; see *XGSZ*, *T* 50: 10.506c1-2; *Guang Hongming ji*, *T* 52: 17.219a10 (Changshousi was chosen in 602 as one of the fifty-one monasteries all over the empire, in which pagodas were built to enshrine the Buddha's relics). For these two reasons, the Dayunsi for which Jia Yingfu wrote this inscription was the Dayunsi in Huaizhou. This is proved by Zhao Mingcheng 趙明誠 (1081-1129), who gives the title of this inscription as "Zhou Huaizhou Dayunsi bei" 周懷州大雲寺碑, and dates it to Dazu 1.5 (June 11-July 9, 701). See *Jinshi lu*, *SKQS* 681: 5.1b. However, on another occasion, the same text (25.6a-b) provides another title: "Zhou Dayunsi bei" 周大雲寺碑. It seems that Jia Yingfu made the acquaintance of Shixing at Foshoujisi, where he was then serving in Śikṣānanda's translation office. Shixing later asked him to write a memorial inscription for his temple. Another reason might have been that Jia Yingfu's father, Jia Dunshi 賈敦實 (590?-682?), once served as the prefect of Huaizhou (and therefore Jia Yingfu

> the picture]. Admiring it with awe, they all regarded it as a rare marvel.[27] Reaching the eighth day of the tenth month of Shengli 2 (November 3, 699), the new translation was completed and [Empress Wu] invited by edict the Honorable [Fa]zang to lecture on the new text at Foshoujisi. 聖歷元年, 則天太后詔請于闐三藏實叉難陀, 與大德十餘人, 於東都佛授記寺, 翻譯華嚴. 僧復禮綴文, 藏公筆授. 沙門戰陀, 提婆等譯語. 僧法寶, 弘置, 波崙, 惠儼, 去塵等審覆證義. 太史, 太子中舍賡福, 衛事參軍于師逸等, 同共翻譯. 則天與三藏大德等, 於內遍空寺, 親御法筵, 製序刊定. 其夜, 則天夢見天雨甘露. 比至五更, 果有微雨. 香水之雨, 又於內苑迸[28]沼中, 生一莖百葉蓮華, 綠枝紅葩, 香艷超倫. 蓮花有三種: 一人間華, 有十葉; 二天上華, 有百葉; 三淨土華, 有千葉. 今內苑生百葉者, 明是天華也. 則天嘉此翻譯瑞應, 詔出花樣, 使中官送向佛授記寺翻譯之所. 舉寺僧眾, 及懷洲大雲寺什法師在, 悉同觀睹, 敬歎希奇. 至聖歷二年十月八日, 譯新經訖. 詔請藏公於佛授記寺, 講此新經.[29]

In addition to the dramatic effects, this account provides a certain historical value, and is meticulous in describing the translation activity from 695 to 699. In particular, the information about the composition of the translation team is so detailed and accurate that I believe that it was very Huiying's own words, rather than added by Hu Youzhen, who was too removed from the time of Fazang to be able to provide such details. Another piece of evidence for the earliness of this passage is the report that a Dharma Master Shi, who was probably the Abbot of Dayunsi in Huaizhou and who was a friend of one translator listed here (Jia Yingfu), was then staying at Foshoujisi. This kind of information is unlikely to have been provided by anybody other than a witness of the event.

However, what intrigues most is the episode of Empress Wu's dream of ambrosia and the subsequent growth of a one-hundred-petal lotus flower (hereafter the "flower-episode"). This passage itself does not tell us when this episode happened. It is only by consulting Empress Wu's preface that we come to know that it happened on the night

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might have spent some time there). See Jia Dunshi's biographies at *JTS* 185A.4785, *XTS* 197.5623.

[27] Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn records a similar episode, in which a one-hundred-petal flower springs up from a plot of land in front of the translation hall (*PHC* 282a21-22). This appears to be a variation of the "flower episode" reported in *GYZ* (given Empress Wu's seemingly insatiable thirst for "propitious signs" [*xiangrui* 祥瑞], this kind of flower must have been widely reported all over the country at the time). I take *GYZ* as the primary source for this kind of episode due to my assumption that the passage containing this episode in this text was probably in the original version, rather than having been added by the later editor Hu Youzhen (my reason for thinking so is indicated in Chapter 1, note 35).

[28] In literary Chinese, this character meant "grass road." See Morohashi (comp.), *Dai kanwa jiten*11: 11629.

[29] *GYZ*, *T* 51: 176b4-19.

before the translation began (May 2, 695).[30] From this, we can solve the puzzle surrounding the location or locations of Śikṣānanda's *Avataṃsaka* translation office. As this episode goes, right after the appearance of the extraordinary lotus flower, Empress Wu ordered someone to draw a picture of it and send it to Foshoujisi, where the translation office was located and the translation members were lodged. It would be credulous to accept without hesitation that the lotus flower was as unusual as the episode would have us believe. However, it is probably true that there was such a picture drawn at the order of Empress Wu and that the picture was indeed delivered to the translation office as evidence of a propitious response from heaven to the translation project then underway. Particular attention should be paid to the fact that according to this episode, the "extraordinary flower" appeared as a result of the "fragrant rains" (*xiangyu* 香雨), which obviously referred to the drizzle (*weiyu* 微雨) that fell at the fifth watch of the same night, when the empress had the auspicious dream of the ambrosia (*ganlu* 甘露). Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that the picture was drawn and displayed at Foshoujisi only days after the celebratory ceremony. Thus, as the "flower-episode" tells us, the translation was based at Foshoujisi and the monks who attended the dharma-assembly celebrating the opening of the translation left the court chapel either on the very day the ceremony was performed there or a few days thereafter. Following this, we can infer that the Biankongsi dharma-assembly was no more than a "ribbon-cutting" ceremony for the commencement of the translation. No evidence shows that the role Biankongsi played in the course of translating the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* between 695 and 699 went beyond this.

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[30] That the ambrosia dream was said to have happened the night before Śikṣānanda's new translation of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* was started is confirmed by Empress Wu in an edict issued sometime after January 14, 700 (Shengli 3.*la*.19), in which she is quoted as saying, "On the day when the translation was commenced, We dreamed of ambrosia, which demonstrated an auspicious sign" (*Xu Huayan jing lüeshu kanding ji*, *XZJ* 5: 1.25c6-9: 初譯之日, 夢甘露以呈詳). This slightly differs from what she says in her preface to *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing*:

> Thereby We were able to obtain an [auspicious] portent with a dream on the *gengshen* night (May 1, 695), in which the ambrosia caused moisture while the "nutritious (literally 'oily' [*gao* 膏]) rain" spread its moisture to the *renxu* day (May 3, 695). 遂得甘露流津, 預夢庚申之夕；膏雨灑潤, 後覃壬戌之辰 ("Da Zhou xinyi Da Fangguangfo huayan jing xu," *T* 10: 1b8-9 [*QTW* 97.7a4-5]) .

According to this, the "ambrosia dream" actually happened on the night of May 1, immediately before the translation was started on May 2, although the rain had continued until the daytime of May 3. Relating this account with that in *GYZ*, we can see that the "ambrosia dream" happened at the night of 1 May and that the dream was "actualized" at the fifth watch (3-5 a.m.) of the night, or on the morning of May 2. This might account for the slight discrepancy in the two accounts with regard to the time of the dream.

Biankongsi's role becomes clearer when we take into account another similar ceremony attended by one of Empress Wu's sons eleven years later. Sometime at the end of 706 or the beginning of 707, on the occasion of starting the translation project for *sūtra*s belonging to the genre of *Mahāratnakūṭa sūtra* (*Da baoji jing* 大寶積經), Zhongzong held a ceremony at one of his palace chapels in Chang'an, Foguangsi 佛光寺. He attended the ceremony and was said to have recorded the "purport of the *sūtra*" in person, an act strongly reminiscent of his mother Empress Wu.[31] It turned out that the ceremony probably lasted for only one day as indicated by Zhisheng, who tells us that the ceremony was held on "the day when the title of the *sūtra* was opened" (*chuangfa ti ri* 創發題日), which symbolized the commencement of the whole translation project. After the ceremony, the translation office was moved to Chongfusi where the huge project was carried out. This is the reason why the emperor Ruizong, in his preface to *Da baoji jing*, tells us that Zhongzong ordered Bodhiruci to translate the texts at Chongfusi.[32]

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[31] *Xu Gujin yijing tuji*, *T* 55: 371b17c1; *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.570b15-28. Zhisheng situates the ceremony at the Foguang 佛光 Hall within the Palatine City, which obviously referred to the palace chapel Foguangsi given that there was not a hall called Foguang within the Palatine City. See Chen Jinhua, "Tang Buddhist Palace Chapels," 120-24.

[32] "Da baoji jing xu," *T* 11: 1b7-8 (*QTW* 19.21a8-9).

APPENDIX D

ŚĀKYAMITRA, THE SINGHALESE MONK FROM WHOM FAZANG REPORTEDLY SOUGHT BODHISATTVA PRECEPTS

Though a significant figure of this period, Śākyamitra was not studied until Forte's recent work on this monk's relationship with Fazang.[1] For the purposes of better understanding Chapter Four, we now investigate details surrounding Śākyamitra's life.

To the best of my knowledge, in addition to Fazang, at least three other contemporary Chinese colleagues left facts about Śākyamitra's activities in China, namely, Daoxuan, Daoshi 道世 (ca. 596-after 668+) and Huixiang 惠詳 (?-667+). Daoxuan first relates his brief but pleasant encounter with the Indian monk in *Guanzhong chuangli jietan tujing bing xu* 關中創立戒壇圖經並序, an illustrated record of a precepts-platform that he built on March 8, 667 (Qianfeng 2.2.8) at the north side of Lihe 澧河 and Fuhe 福河 (at the village of Qingguan 清官, located on the southern outskirts of Chang'an) along with other thirty-nine monks.[2] According to him, it was in the ninth month of Qianfeng 2 (September 23-October 21, 667), after Śākyamitra returned from his pilgrimage to Wutai, that they met on the southern outskirts (*jiaonan* 郊南) of Chang'an, obviously exactly at the location of his new precepts-platform. On that occasion, Śākyamitra described to Daoxuan a "stone precepts-platform" (*shi jietan* 石戒壇) east of the kingdom of Uḍḍyāna, a description that pleased Daoxuan. In the same source, Daoxuan identifies him as a śramaṇa of the Monastery of Great Bodhi (Da Putisi 大菩提寺; i.e., Dajuesi 大覺寺) in Central India, and that he was then ninety-nine *sui* old and a pilgrim to Mount Wutai, due to his devotion to Mañjuśrī. Daoxuan also stated that Śākyamitra had received respect and support from the current Tang emperor. In addition, Daoxuan mentions him in two works, *Lüxiang gantong zhuan* 律相感通傳 (Account of the Stimuli and Responses Related to the Forms of Vinaya) and *Daoxuan lüshi gantong lu* 道宣律師感通錄 (Record of the Stimuli and Responses [Which Happened to] Vinaya Master Daoxuan), both written

[1] Forte, "Fazang and Śākyamitra."

[2] *Guanzhong chuangli jietan tujing bing xu*, *T* 45: 808c26-809a5, 816b-817b.

shortly before his death on October 25, 667 (Qianfeng 2.10.3).[3] The two passages in these two texts are virtually identical and I assume it was copied over.

Daoxuan's source passage is reproduced, almost verbatim, in Daoshi's *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 (Pearl-forest of the Dharma Garden), where he provides details about Śākyamitra's pilgrimage to Wutai that are not found in Huixiang's description in *Gu Qingliang zhuan* 古清涼傳 (Old Account of Qingliang [Wutai]).[4] After this, Daoshi tells us that at the time of writing, Śākyamitra was lodged at Huadusi 化度寺 and that sometimes he was invited to the inner palace to administer the [bodhisattva-]precepts and sometimes he traveled in the mountains.[5] Because *Fayuan zhulin* was completed around 668, it seems that Śākyamitra had already started his affiliation with the Sanjiejiao center sometime between the ninth month of 667, when he returned from Wutai, and sometime in 668. Moreover, it is noteworthy that in that same work Daoshi reports the activity of another Indian "medical specialist" (*changnianshi* 長年師), who might or might not have been Śākyamitra. Sometime in the tenth month of Zhenguan 18 (November 5-December 3, 644),[6] a Buddhist monk from the Monastery of Bodhi (Putisi 菩提寺, i.e., Da Putisi) in Magadha, who was also known for erudition in both Buddhist and non-Buddhist disciplines and especially longevity techniques, arrived in Chang'an. There his advice was sought by the Tang rulers, who were then puzzled over a huge stony meteorite found on the border of Fenzhou 汾州 and Bingzhou 並州 (both in present-day Shanxi). This Indian monk interpreted the meteorite as a "dragon stone" (*longshi* 龍石) resulting from a fight in the sky between two dragons.[7]

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[3] *Lüxiang gantong zhuan*, *T* 45: 876b5-7; *Daoxuan lüshi gantong lu*, *T* 52: 437a12-14.

[4] *Fayuan zhulin*, *T* 53: 14.395a10-26; see below for Huixiang's record of Śākyamitra in *Gu Qingliang zhuan*.

[5] *Fayuan zhulin*, *T* 53: 14.395a26-27: 今現化度安置，或請內受戒，或巡歷諸山.

[6] Daoshi gives the date as Zhenguan 18.10.*bingshen* (*Fayuan zhulin*, *T* 53: 4.295c1). However, there was no *bingshen* day in the ninth month of Zhenguan 18 (only *bingwu* [6], *bingchen* [16] and *bingyin* [26], or *xushen* [8] if we assume that the second character *shen* is correct). It seems that either the day or month is here mispresented if we assume that it is less likely to miscopy the year.

[7] *Fayuan zhulin*, *T* 53: 4.295c1-6. Of the three Indian (South Asian) medical experts active in China during the period (Nārāyaṇasvāmin, Lokāditya and Śākyamitra), Śākyamitra was the only one known to have been affiliated with the Monastery of Bodhi in Magadha (see Huixiang's report to be discussed below). Furthermore, Nārāyaṇasvāmin and Lokāditya did not arrive in China until Zhenguan 20 (January 22, 646-February 9, 647) and Linde 2 (January 22, 665-February 9, 666) respectively. For the date of Nārāyaṇasvāmin's arrival in China, see note 13. As for Lokāditya's, see Wang Bangwei (coll. and annot.), *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan jiaozhu*, 28. It seems that this monk reported by Daoshi could have been Śākyamitra unless we assume that the year given by Daoshi is wrong and that Nārāyaṇasvāmin, like Śākyamitra,

Huixiang was another Chinese monk with personal contact with Śākyamitra, and his report is the most lengthy and detailed of all, although its focus is on the pilgrimage to Wutai in 667 led by Śākyamitra.[8] Regarding the latter's background, Huixiang tells us that he was a native of the Country of Lions (Shizi guo 師子國), and that he left his family at a young age. He was originally a resident of the Monastery of Great Bodhi in Magadha. He became an errant monk (*youfang* 遊方), traveling for the purpose of aiding others. He arrived in China during the Linde era (February 2, 664-February 13, 666). He visited Wutai to pay homage to Mañjuśrī. He claimed to have been ninety-five *sui* old.

According to Huixiang, Śākyamitra appears to have been a strict ascetic (*dhūta*). He walked barefoot, often ate one meal a day—sometimes starving himself for seven days. He sat in the open air, and whenever it was time to eat, he faced the northeast, where Wutai was located, to pay homage to Mañjuśrī. Shortly after his arrival in China, he sent a memorial to the court and made himself noticed by the emperor, who approved his pilgrimage to Wutai and supplied him with transportation and food. An official from the Court of State Ceremonials (Honglusi 鴻臚寺)[9] was dispatched to serve him as an interpreter. Thus, in the sixth month of Qianfeng 2 (June 27-July 26, 667), the pilgrimage party (over fifty people in total, including Śākyamitra, the interpreter, a monk called Zhicai 智才 from Liangzhou 涼州, an official from the local government of the Wutai subprefecture, forty laborers and other religionists and laymen) started up Wutai. We learn that miracles occurred, and rituals and offerings made at the summit. Finally, Huixiang observes that after returning to the capital, Śākyamitra related his experiences at Wutai to Daoxuan, obviously while he visited Daoxuan on the southern outskirts of Chang'an given that the two men are not known to have met on a second occasion, which was highly unlikely given that one of them, Daoxuan, died barely one month after the meeting.

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was also affiliated with the Central Indian monastery, both of which are possible given that the date in question is indeed problematic and that Nārāyaṇasvāmin did come from Central India. On the other hand, we need note that according to Daoxuan and Fazang, Śākyamitra arrived in China in 664 (or early 665) or at the end of 665 (or beginning of 666) (see below). Be that as it may, this Indian physician-monk who had already been in China in 644 could not have been Śākyamitra unless we assume that Śākyamitra was in China twice. Thus, it seems that it was an unknown Indian (South Asian) physician-monk involved here.

[8] *Gu Qingliang zhuan*, *T* 51: 2.1098c18-1099b7.

[9] This was not an office that oversaw court rituals. It was more or less an office that supervised housing and living for notable foreign arrivals waiting to complete their agenda with the court.

In the way of a general deduction based on such sources, first, the passages are unanimous in giving his native place as the Country of Lions. In Classical Chinese texts, both Buddhist and non-Buddhist, this usually refers to Siṃhala (Sengqieluo 僧伽羅).[10] Thus Śākyamitra may be assumed to have been Singhalese. However, according to a Tang source, Śākyamitra's home-country, the so-called "Shizi guo," was not Siṃghala, but Draviḍa,[11] a district on the east coast of Deccan.

The Korean scholar-monk Tonryun 遁倫 (var. Toryun 道倫, dates unknown) records the following different explanations for the name Daluomitu, which was used by Xuanzang and several of his disciples:

> Regarding the various *dhāraṇī*s of Daluomitu:
> [Hui]jing [慧]景 (dates unknown) says, "There is a Country of Lions at the sea-island southeast of South India. It is called Draviḍa. Here (i.e., in China) there is no corresponding term [that can be used to] translate it. For this reason, the Sanskrit pronunciation is preserved."
>
> [Shen]tai 神泰 (?-659+) says, "This is the name of the *dhāraṇī*. Here (i.e., in China) there is not a word which can be used to translate it."
>
> [Kui]ji [窺]基 (632-682) says, "This refers to the country Siṃhala; that is, the Country of Lions, which contains a *dhāraṇī* called Daluomitu (Draviḍa). It is the greatest (most powerful) *dhāraṇī* of all the *dhāraṇī*s and it always has wondrous efficacies. Now it is mentioned here for the first time."
>
> [Wŏn]ch'ŭk says, "Some 'old treatises' (i.e, treatises previously translated) say that this is the language of the Country Tuomi 陀彌. Old commentaries said that this is the 'Country of Ghosts.' The language spoken [in this country] is incomprehensible."
>
> Now, the Trepiṭaka (i.e., Xuanzang) says, "This is the language of the Country of Lions. It does not have order in context and does not follow any writing rule. The pronunciations uttered and the *dhāraṇī*s recited [in the language] are incomprehensible to people (outsiders)."
>
> According to another explanation, [Daluomitu] is [in] South India. Originally it was the name of the person who accomplished immortality. Now, as the place became an [independent] country, it is accordingly named after this immortal. That is, the "brahmin physician" is a native of the country. 達羅弭荼種種明咒者: 景云, "南天竺東南海渚上, 有一師子國,名達羅弭荼. 此間無相當語翻之. 故存梵語." 泰云, "語此是咒名. 此方無名可翻者." 基云, "謂僧佉羅國, 即師子國. 有咒號達羅弭荼, 即咒中之大咒, 恒有神驗.今初舉之." 測云, "舊論云陀彌國語, 舊釋云是鬼國. 所發語言, 不可解了." 今三藏云, "是師子國人語. 無有上下次第文章, 出語音誦咒, 令人不解." 又解, "是南天竺本造仙人名. 今現成國, 皆從仙人立名. 即是長年婆羅門, 是彼國人也."[12]

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[10] For Sengqieluo, see *Da Tang Xiyu ji*, *T* 51: 11.932b16ff.

[11] For Draviḍa (Ch. Daluomitu 達羅弭荼), see *Da Tang Xiyu ji*, *T* 51: 11.931b29ff.

[12] *Yugaron gi*, *T* 42: 9.518c6-16. A similar, though briefer, explanation can be found in the same text, *T* 42: 21.803a3-4: 如達羅弭荼明咒等者, 則是長年生處. 昔有仙人名達羅弭荼, 國從其名, 名達羅弭荼國.

Changnian ("physician") mentioned in this sentence is obviously partly identical with the *poluomen changnian* 婆羅門長年 ("brahmin physician") in the quotation translated in Chapter 4.3.1. Who was this "brahmin physician" whose home-country was Draviḍa? We know that Nārāyaṇasvāmin, Lokāditya and Śākyamitra are the only three "brahmin physicians" known to have been active in the Tang capital under the reign of Taizong and/or that of Gaozong and that Nārāyaṇasvāmin and Lokāditya were from Central India and Uḍḍyāna respectively.[13] Furthermore, Śākyamitra's home-country (*Shiziguo*) was obviously located near South India (no matter whether it was Siṃhala or Draviḍa). For these reasons, I assume that the "*brahmin* physician" mentioned in *Yugaron gi* was Śākyamitra, from which we can deduce that at least for some of his contemporaries in China Śākyamitra's home-country was Draviḍa, rather than Siṃhala.

In conclusion, Śākyamitra was either a Singhalese or Dravidian.

Regarding his arrival in China, we have the following conflicting dates: First, according to Daoxuan, he arrived in China one year previous to Qianfeng 2 (January 30, 667-February 17, 668), when he succeeded in scaling Wutai.[14] Second, whereas Huixiang ambiguously observes that Śākyamitra arrived in China during the Linde era, Fazang specifically dates it to the beginning of the Linde era, which probably means the first year of the reign-era (February 2, 664-January 21, 665). Third, we have Huiying, according to whom Śākyamitra did not arrive in China until Zongzhang 1 (April 22, 668-February 5, 669), which is obviously implausible given that Śākyamitra had climbed Wutai one year earlier.

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[13] For Lokāditya as a native of Uḍḍyāna, see Forte, "Hui-chih," 111. The probability of Nārāyaṇasvāmin being from Central India is based on the fact that it was there that he was acquired by Wang Xuance 王玄策 (active 646-666) in 648, who subsequently brought him to Chang'an into the service of Taizong; see *ZZTJ* 200.6303, 199.6257-58.

[14] See *Daoxuan lüshi gantong lu*, *T* 52: 437a12-14 (cf. *Lüxiang gantong zhuan*, *T* 52: 876b5-7; *Fayuan zhulin*, *T* 53: 14.395a10-12):

> Last year, a monk from the Country of Lions, that is, the monk-physician from the Country of Lions, who was ninety-nine *sui* old and who was a person with the accomplishment of "Third Fruit," after hearing of these Superior Traces (of Mañjuśrī), traveled to here (i.e., China) bare-foot, in order to search for Mount Qingliang. The [Tang] government provided offerings and escorts for him. He arrived there (i.e., Wutai) in the summer of this year, to the fulfillment of his wishes. 去歲長年師子國僧, 九十九夏, 三果人也. 聞斯勝跡, 跣行至此, 尋清涼山. 國家供送, 今夏在彼, 所願應遂.

As Śākyamitra did not arrive on Wutai until the sixth month of Qianfeng 2 (June 27-July 26, 667) or slightly afterwards (for this, see Huixiang's report), we know that the expression *qusui* 去歲 (last year; in this case, the year before Qianfeng 2; i.e., Qianfeng 1 [October 14, 666-January 29, 667]) does not refer to Śākyamitra's visit at Wutaishan, but rather to his arrival in China. Thus, Daoxuan dates Śākyamitra's arrival in China to sometime between October 14, 666 and January 29, 667.

It seems that the date provided by Daoxuan is more likely. First of all, he was the earliest person who mentioned Śākyamitra, with whom he had personal contacts. Most importantly, given that Daoxuan died barely one month after his meeting with Śākyamitra, the note about Śākyamitra (including the date of his arrival in China) that we now read in two of his works must have been taken down almost immediately after. This fact, in combination with Daoxuan's characteristic accuracy and discretion as a historian, encourages me to prefer his dating. Secondly, the date of Śākyamitra and his team's ascending Wutai as reported by Daoxuan is also confirmable through Huixiang, who was a member of the pilgrimage team. Finally, the date reported by Daoxuan also seems compatible with one aspect of Fazang's report of Śākyamitra; that is, he set out for the Wutai pilgrimage after spending one year or so (*suiyu* 歲餘) at the Penglai Palace. As we know, Śākyamitra climbed in June-July of 667. Given the relatively short distance between Chang'an (the departure point) and Wutai, and the fact that the pilgrimage was sponsored by the government (and therefore must have proceeded rather speedily), I assume that he might have left Chang'an for Wutai sometime in the spring. Because Śākyamitra was welcomed into the imperial palace shortly after his arrival in China, it is rather likely that he might have arrived early in the year prior—that is, Qianfeng 1 (February 14, 666-January 29, 667) (or Linde 3 [February 10-13, 666]). This also fits the date given by Huixiang. Thus, it seems that Śākyamitra arrived in China close to the end of 665 or the beginning of 666.

With the date of his arrival in China narrowed down, we can decide the date of Śākyamitra's birth if we can accept his own claim of ninety-nine *sui* when he was in China at the end of 665 or at the beginning of 666. This would make his birth year 567 or 568.[15] Shortly after arriving in China, Śākyamitra gained Gaozong's respect, probably at least partly due to his expertise in longevity techniques, merely because he was otherwise quite famous as a physician and the fact that he was housed in one of Gaozong's palaces along with Lokāditya, on whom Gaozong was then relying as an important physician and a chief counsellor in matters of "cultivating life."

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[15] We know this since Daoxuan reports that he was ninety-nine *sui* when he arrived in China, which happened, as was noted above, sometime between October 14, 666 and January 29, 667 according to Daoxuan. Daoxuan and Huixiang report Śākyamitra's age as ninety-nine and ninety-five. Given the closeness in form of the two Chinese characters for nine (九) and five (五), here one might have been an error for the other. As Daoxuan has consistently used the same number in all the three occasions when he reports the age of Śākyamitra, I assume that the number given by Huixiang is more likely to be the wrong one.

Fazang further informs us that Śākyamitra was an enthusiastic Buddhist pilgrim enthralled with Wutai's reputation as the dwelling place of Mañjuśrī, which is further attested by Daoxuan and Huixiang. As a matter of fact, Śākyamitra has remained so far the first identifiable Indian monk who was attracted to China from India by the symbol of Wutai and who had ever successfully ascended it. We did not know when (if ever) he left China, although we do know that he was still in China at least as late as 670. Moreover, it is remarkable that he later became a resident of Huadusi, the headquarters of the Sanjiejiao at the time. Finally, we need consider the possibility that Śākyamitra might have been the Indian monk known as Zhi Falin 支法林, who led a group to Wutai in 667 in search of saltpeter, a substance which was valued by alchemists for its supposed power in aiding longevity (and, ironically, turning out to be essential in the invention of gunpowder).[16]

[16] The fascinating possibility of identifying Zhi Falin as Śākyamitra has recently been proposed by Forte in his "Fazang and Śākyamitra," 398ff.

APPENDIX E

A CHRONOLOGY OF FAZANG'S LIFE

Table 4. Chronology of Fazang's Life

DATE	ACTIVITY	LOCATION
Dec. 19, 643	Born	Chang'an
658	Burned off finger in front of Famensi 法門寺 pagoda	Qiyang 歧陽
659	Searched for teacher in Chang'an in vain; entered Mt. Taibai	Chang'an, Mt. Zhongnan 終南
663?	Returned to Chang'an to visit his parent(s); encountered Zhiyan and became his disciple	Jinggong 靖恭 Ward, Chang'an
May 3, 667	Erected statue of Amitābha Buddha and dedicated it to the welfare of his family members (including person probably his wife)	Longmen 龍門
Shortly before Dec. 8, 668	Zhiyan entrusted Fazang, who was then still a layman, to Daocheng 道成 (?-687+) and Baochen 薄塵 (?- 687+)	Qingchansi 清禪寺(?), Chang-an
Nov. 20, 668	Ŭisang conversed with Zhiyan proba-bly in the presence of Fazang	Qingchansi, Chang'an
Dec. 8, 668	Zhiyan died	Qingchansi, Chang'an
Shortly after August 22, 670	Became monk	Taiyuansi 太原寺, Chang'an
Duanwu 端午 festival of 671, or shortly after	Received set of five monastic robes and greeting from Empress Wu	Taiyuansi, Chang'an
In or sometime after 670	Encountered Singhalese monk Śākya-mitra	Taiyuansi, Chang'an
Sometime betw. March 27, 670-Sept. 20, 674	Stayed at Wuzhensi 悟真寺 in the capacity of Elder (*shangzuo* 上座)	Wuzhensi, Mt. Zhongnan
August 29, 677	Helped Pure-land aspirant Xuanji 玄際 (640-706) and ten more monks to erect a pagoda that celebrated miracles that occurred in copying *Diamond sūtra*	Wuzhensi, Mt. Zhongnan

675 or shortly afterwards	Lectured attendants, including only known female disciple Facheng 法澄 (640-729)	Zhixiangsi 至相寺, Mt. Zhong-nan
By spring of 680	Returned to Taiyuansi, began collabo-ration with newly arrived Divākara	Taiyuansi, Chang'an
Sometime betw. June 2-July 1, 680	Asked to help copy *Huayan jing* for pious layman	Taiyuansi, Chang'an
Jan. 1, 680 - sometime after Jan. 19, 687	Stayed at Western Taiyuansi to work with Divākara	Taiyuansi, Chang'an
Sometime betw. May 17-June 15, 687	Lectured on *Avataṃsaka sūtra*	Ciensi 慈恩寺, Chang'an.
Sometime betw. May 17 - August 13, 687	Carried out rain-prayer for capital area	Ximingsi 西明寺, Chang'an
Feb. 4, 688	Divākara died	Luoyang
688 (?)	Called to Luoyang by the court to collaborate with Devendraprajña, newly arrived in China	Fuxiansi 福先寺, Luoyang
Feb. 2, 689	Organized large-scale *Avataṃsaka* dharma-assembly	Xuanwu, Northern Gate 玄武北門 (in Luoyang Palace complex)
Jan. 14, 690 (?)	Signed letter to Ŭisang	Chongfusi 崇福寺, Chang'an
Probably 690 (?)	Devendraprajña died	Fuxiansi, Luoyang
Oct. 16, 690	Great Zhou dynasty founded and the Tang abolished	Luoyang
690 or early 691	Went to visit his own family	Xiazhou 夏州 (present-day Jingbian 靖邊, Shaanxi)
Sometime betw. Dec. 6, 690-Nov. 25, 691	Continued to Caozhou 曹州; delivered lectures and debated with Daoist leader	Jiyin 濟陰 in Shandong
694	Accepted Huiyuan 慧苑 as disciple	Chang'an?

Sometime betw. June 19-Nov. 22, 694	Lectured on *Huayan jing*	Yunhuasi 雲華寺, Chang'an
Sometime betw. June 19, 694 and May 2, 695	Exiled to South China	Chang'an?
May 2, 695	Project begun under direction of Śikṣānanda in order to prepare new rendition of *Avataṃsaka sūtra*	Biankongsi 遍空寺, Luoyang
Sometime betw. May 19 and August 15, 695	Returned from exile	Chang'an or Luoyang?
Sometime betw. May 19-August 15, 695	Performed rain-prayer ritual for Yong-zhou 雍州 area	Chang'an
June 697	Performed black magic near battle-ground in current Beijing to aid in defeat of Khitan rebels	Probably went to Yunjusi in this trip
Sept. 29, 699	New rendition of *Avataṃsaka sūtra* (in 80 *juan*) completed.	Foshoujisi 佛授記寺, Luoyang
Nov. 5, 699	Completion of new rendition officially announced	Foshoujisi, Luoyang
Nov. 5, 699	Began work under Śikṣānanda for a new version of *Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論	Foshoujisi (?), Luoyang
Nov. 12, 699	Began lecture series on new version of *Avataṃsaka sūtra*	Foshoujisi, Luoyang
Night of Jan. 7, 700	Lectured on *Huayan jing*; earthquake occurred	Foshoujisi, Luoyang
Jan. 14, 700	Buddhist leaders at Foshoujisi signed memorial reporting "propitious sign"; Empress Wu responded, ordering it recorded in official history	Foshoujisi, Luoyang
Sometime betw. April 24-July 20, 700	Probably among monks invited by Empress Wu to prepare new version of *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra* at her summer palace	Sanyang 三陽 palace, Song-shan 嵩山
Nov. 7, 701	Followed Empress Wu to Chang'an	Foshoujisi (?), Luoyang
Nov. 26, 701	Arrived Chang'an	Qingchansi (?), Chang'an

702	Assisted Śikṣānanda in translating *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra* and one *parṣad* of the *Mañjuśrībuddhakṣetraguṇavyūha*	Qingchansi, Chang'an
702	Wrote commentary on *Heart sūtra* at the request of Zheng Wanjun 鄭萬鈞	Qingchansi, Chang'an
Feb. 24, 704	New version of *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra* completed; under direction of Mitrasena, assisted by Fazang	Qingchansi (?), Chang'an
Feb. 24, 704 (or shortly before)-Feb. 23, 705	Wrote commentary on new *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra*	Qingchansi, Chang'an
703-704	Assisted Mitrasena in translating *Raśmivimalaviśuddhaprabhā dhāraṇī* (Ch. *Wugou jingguang tuoluoni jing* 無垢淨光陀羅尼經)	Qingchansi (or Ximingsi) Chang'an
Sometime betw. Nov. 5, 699 and Nov. 17, 703	Became abbot of Western Chongfusi	Western Chongfusi, Chang'an
Nov. 17, 703	Several of Yijing's translations published, with Fazang announced as one of the translators	Ximingsi, Chang'an
Sometime betw. May 20, 703-June 18, 703	Requested Qingxu 清虛 (fl. 696-712) to perform a miracle at Wuzhensi, which revealed a well	Wuzhensi, Mt. Zhongnan
Nov. 21, 703	Empress Wu left Chang'an for Luoyang, probably followed by Fazang and other palace chaplains	Chang'an
Dec. 10, 703	Empress et al. arrived in Luoyang	Luoyang
704 (?)	Revised *Huayan jing zhuanji*	Luoyang
End of 704 (or at very beginning of 705)	Conversed with Empress Wu; proposed to bring Buddha finger-bone enshrined under the Famensi pagoda to the imperial palace complex for veneration; accepted	Hall Changsheng 長生, Luoyang
Jan. 29, 705	Relic-team stopped in Chang'an; greeted by officials and commoners	Chang'an
Feb. 9, 705	Relic entered Luoyang	Luoyang
Feb. 13, 705	Personally supported relic while Empress Wu paid homage	Floor of *mingtang* 明堂 in Luoyang

Feb. 20, 705	Coup d'état; two Zhang brothers executed	Luoyang
Feb. 21, 705	Empress Wu abdicated to Zhongzong	Luoyang
Feb. 23, 705	Zhonzong formally re-enthroned	Luoyang
March 3, 705	Great Tang restored and Zhou abolished	Luoyang
Several months after Feb. 24, 705	Zhongzong ordered Fazang rewarded with fifth-ranked title for role in coup; repeatedly declined by Fazang	Luoyang
April 9, 706	Rewarded with fifth-ranked title, which was subsequently relinquished to his brother Baozang	Luoyang
Dec. 16, 705	Empress Wu died	Shangyang Palace, Luoyang
Sometime betw. Oct. 22, 705-Jan. 18, 706	Zhongzong commissioned a portrait of Fazang, on which he penned four eulogies	Chang'an, palace chapel
Nov. 18, 706	Zhongzong left Luoyang for Chang'an, probably followed by Fazang	Luoyang
Dec. 7, 706	Arrived Chang'an	Chang'an
End of 706, or beginning of 707	Started translation of *Ratnakūṭa sūtra* (Ch. *Da baoji jing* 大寶積經)	Western Chongfusi, Chang'an
March 11, 708	Supervised ceremony for re-enshrining Buddha finger-bone into Famensi pagoda, along hair from heads of Zhongzong and several of his relatives	Famensi
May 24-June 22, 708	Successfully performed rain-prayer ritual	Jianfusi
Summer, 709	Performed another rain-prayer ritual.	Chang'an?
In 709 or shortly afterward	Proposed setting up five Huayan monasteries in five key locales	Chang'an
Jan. 24-April 22, 711	Performed esoteric ritual, reportedly bringing snow	Wuzhensi, Mt. Zhongnan
Sept. 8,712	Ruizong transferred certain state powers to Xuanzong	Chang'an
Dec. 4, 712 (69th birthday)	Received gifts and congratulatory letter from Ruizong	Chang'an

Dec. 16, 712	Died	Jianfusi, Chang'an
Feb. 16, 713	Yijing died	Jianfusi, Chang'an
May 7, 713	Translation of *Da baoji jing* completed	Chongfusi, Chang'an
July 29, 713	Court coup; Princess Taiping forced to commit suicide, Ruizong completely retired and Xuanzong fully empowered	Chang'an
July 13, 716	Ruizong died	Hall Baifu 百福殿, Chang'an

APPENDIX F

WHEN AND WHERE FAZANG ASSISTED ŚIKṢĀNANDA IN TRANSLATING A *PARṢAD* OF THE *MAÑJUŚRĪBUDDHAKṢETRAGUṆAVYŪHA* (*WENSHUSHILI SHOUJI HUI*)

Following Yan Chaoyin, Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn reports that during the Shenlong era (January 30, 705-October 4, 707), within the Linguang 林光 palace Fazang assisted Śikṣānanda in translating the *Mañjuśrībuddhakṣetraguṇavyūha*, a *parṣad* belonging to the genre of the *Mahāratnakūṭasūtra* titled "Wenshushili shouji hui" 文殊師利授記會.[1] Given that the Linguang Palace was a palace chapel in Chang'an,[2] and that Zhongzong and his government did not move back there from Luoyang until December 7, 706, this translation project, had it ever been carried out, must have been started some time between December 7, 706 and October 5, 707 (Shenlong 3.9.5 [*gengzi*]), when the Shenlong era ended. However, according to Fazang himself, Śikṣānanda left China in Chang'an 4 (February 10, 704-January 29, 705), or—more likely—in 702,[3] and did not come back until Jinglong 2 (January 28, 708-February 14, 709). It was impossible for him to have started translating the *Mañjuśrībuddhakṣetraguṇavyūha* within the above-mentioned timeframe (i.e., December 7, 706-October 5, 707). Furthermore, according to the same source, the *Mañjuśrībuddhakṣetraguṇavyūha* was translated by Śikṣānanda at Qingchansi in Chang'an:

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[1] "Kang Zang bei," 280b21-22; *PHC* 282b7-8. While Yan Chaoyin gives the title of the text as "Da baoji jing," Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn specifies it as "Wenshushili shouji hui," which is correct because Śikṣānanda only translated *Wenshushili shouji hui*, which was later included as one *parita* in the huge collection *Da baoji jing* after Bodhiruci finished translating other *parita*s of *Da baoji jing* in 713 (see below).

[2] For Foguang Palace as a palace chapel of the Tang Dynasty since the reign of Zhongzong, see Chen Jinhua, "Tang Buddhist Palace Chapels," 120-26.

[3] *HJZ*, *T* 51: 1.155a24-27. In one of his commentaries, Fazang hints that Śikṣānanda returned to Khotan in 702. Before finishing translating the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra*, Śikṣānanda followed Empress Wu to Chang'an, where he was lodged at Qingchansi. Then, just after finishing a draft which he had no time to check, he returned to Khotan. See *Ru Lengqiexin xuanyi*, *T* 39: 430b17-23. Given that Empress Wu returned to Chang'an on November 26, 701 and that Mitrasena, according to Fazang, could not have arrived in Chang'an later than January 21, 703, the last day of Chang'an 2, Śikṣānanda must have left China sometime between November 26, 701 and January 21, 703. In other words, he most likely left China in 702.

> In the first year (the cyclic year of *yiwei*) of the Zhengsheng era under the Heavenly Empress (November 23, 694-October 21, 695), at Biankongsi in the Great Inner [Palace] of the Eastern Capital, [Śikṣānanda started] to translate *Huayan jing*. … Later the *sūtra* was entrusted to śramaṇas Fuli, Fazang and others to be translated at Foshoujisi. The translation was completed in the second year of the Shengli era (the cyclic year of *yihai*) (November 27, 699-May 27, 700). Further, reaching Jiushi 1 (May 27, 700-February 12, 701), a *gengzi* year, [he started to] translate *Dasheng ru Lengqie jing* within the Sanyang Palace; also he successively translated *Wenshu shouji* and other *sūtra*s (nineteen in total) at Qingchansi in the Western Capital and Foshoujisi in the Eastern Capital. 以天后證聖元年乙未, 於東都大內遍空寺譯華嚴經. … 後付沙門復禮法藏等於佛授記寺譯, 至聖曆二年己亥功畢. 又至久視元年庚子, 於三陽宮內譯大乘入楞伽經. 及於西京清禪寺, 東都佛授記寺, 譯文殊授記等經, 前後總譯一十九都.[4]

Here, Zhisheng limits himself to the general remark that *Wenshu shouji jing* was among the nineteen *sūtra*s that Śikṣānanda translated at Qingchansi and Foshoujisi. He does not tell us at which monastery the *sūtra* was translated. Neither does he tell us when it was done, although the way he mentions *Wenshu shouji jing* might suggest that it was translated in Jiushi 1, an impression which turns out to be untrue given that he actually gives Jiushi 1 (May 27, 700-February 12, 701) as the date when the translation of *Dasheng ru lengqie jing* was started. Given that except for one short period of time (in the summer of Jiushi 1 when he translated the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra* at Palace Sanyang), Śikṣānanda worked at Foshoujisi when he was in Luoyang (from 695 to November 7, 701, when he left Luoyang for Chang'an with Empress Wu) and at Qingchansi when he was in Chang'an (from November 21, 701 to 702), there are only two possibilities about the translation of the *Mañjuśrībuddhakṣetraguṇavyūha*. First, if it was translated at Foshoujisi, it must have been done sometime between 695 and November 7, 701, or more likely either between September 6, 699 and May 26, 700 (Jiushi 1.5.4) or August 20, 700 and November 7, 701 if we consider that between 695 and September 6, 699 he was dedicated to the *Avataṃsaka* translation and that between Jiushi 1.5.5 (May 27, 700) and August 20, 700 he was busy with the *Laṅkāvatāra* translation at Sanyang Palace. Second, if we also assume that it was translated at Qingchansi, it must have been translated in 702.

Zhisheng clearly locates the translation of the *Mañjuśrībuddhakṣetraguṇavyūha* at Qingchansi, but does not tell us when the transla-

[4] *HJZ*, *T* 51: 1.155a15-22. This passage ends with 都, an obvious error for 部.

tion was made.[5] Thus, by the abovementioned logic, Zhisheng actually dates the translation to 702. In contrast to Zhisheng's silence on the date of this translation, Yuanzhao 圓照 (727-809), writing about seven decades after Zhisheng, gives it as Jiushi 1 (May 27, 700-February 12, 701).[6] A similar opinion is held by Bukong's assistant Qianzhen 潛真 (718-788), who tells us that *Wenshu shouji jing* was translated by Śikṣānanda at Qingchansi during the Jiushi era of Empress Wu.[7] Yuanzhao and Qianzhen's dating obviously cannot stand if the translation was indeed made at Qingchansi, since it is clear that Śikṣānanda did not move into Qingchansi until November 26, 701, more than nine months after Jiushi 1 had ended. As we can see, Yuanzhao and Qianzhen was here obviously misled by Zhisheng, whose account of the translation of *Wenshu[shili] shouji [hui]* might give the impression it was also done in Jiushi 1.

Consequently, given that Śikṣānanda briefly stayed at Qingchansi from November 26, 701 until his departure from China (which happened no later than January 21, 703) in order to visit his ailing mother, *Wenshushili shouji hui*, had it been indeed translated at Qingchansi as Zhisheng affirms us, must have been done within this timeframe (i.e., most likely in 702).

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[5] *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.565c17-18, where Zhisheng also tells us that the Chinese version was of three *juan* and that it was later entered into *Da baoji jing* as *parita* 15.

[6] *Da Tang Zhenyuan Xu Kaiyuan shijiao lu*, *T* 55: 2.759b29-c2; *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*, *T* 55: 16.889b16-18.

[7] See Qianzhen's biography at *SGSZ*, *T* 50: 5.736b. This saying seems to be endorsed by Antonino Forte, who quotes it in his *Political Propaganda*, 110 (1st edition)/146 (2nd edition).

APPENDIX G

MEMBERS OF THE TRANSLATION OFFICE HEADED BY ŚIKṢĀNANDA (695-699)

In this appendix and the two that follow (Appendixes H and I) I survey the members of the three translation projects individually supervised by three major Buddhist translators from the 690s to 710s, Śikṣānanda, Bodhiruci and Yijing. In the case of Śikṣānanda, we will discuss the office that he directed between 695 and 699 for the translation of the voluminous *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, which resulted in a Chinese version of eighty *juan*. As for Bodhiruci and Yijing, we will deal with the two translation centers under their separate direction, from 707 to 713 (for Bodhiruci's project of translating the *Ratnakūṭa sūtra*), and from 707 to 710 (for Yijing's project which resulted in the publication of nineteen Buddhist translations). Whereas Fazang was engaged in the two translation projects directed by Śikṣānanda and Bodhiruci, he played no role in this stage of Yijing's work (although he did participate in the earliest part of Yijing's career as a translator [that is, from 700 to 703]). An examination of the composition of Śikṣānanda and Bodiruci's translation offices will help us understand the type of person with whom Fazang worked in these two periods when his reputation as a Buddhist leader was reaching its apogee. A proper understanding of Yijing's translation team over the three years from 707 to 710 is a crucial step towards ascertaining Fazang's working relationship (or the lack thereof) with Bodhiruci and Yijing, and also his ties with two major monasteries in Chang'an—Western Chongfusi and Great Jianfusi—during the last few years of his life. In addition, an in-depth investigation of these three major translation teams will shed new light on Buddhist translation procedures both during the Tang and earlier periods.[1]

When it comes to the translators involved in Śikṣānanda's *Avataṃsaka* translation office, the most exhaustive list is included in the postscript attached to the end of the first *juan* of an edition engraved on stone of Śikṣānanda's version of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*. This postscript starts with a statement to the effect that the translation was

[1] I have shown elsewhere how useful a colophon to several of Yijing's translations is in helping us understand the structure and procedure of early Buddhist translation offices. See Chen Jinhua, "Buddhist Translation Procedure."

completed on September 29, 699 (Shengli 2.9.1), thirty-seven days before the completion was officially announced on November 5, 699 (Shengli 2.10.8), as indicated by Empress Wu's preface to the translation. Although it was begun during her reign, as may be verified by the various specially-created characters of Empress Wu that appear in the first eleven *juan*, this enormous endeavor was probably not brought to completion until long after the Great Zhou dynasty itself ended in 705. Originally, the eighty *juan* of the whole scripture were carved on one hundred sixty stone slabs, with one half *juan* carved on each slab. Only about one hundred and forty slabs are extant now. This stone scripture is currently preserved in the shrine-museum Jinci 晉祠博物馆, located at the foot of Mount Xuanweng 懸甕, twenty-five kilometers to the southwest of Taiyuan 太原, Shanxi. It is therefore known as "Jinci cang Fengyu huayan shijing" 晉祠藏風峪華嚴石經 among scholars, better known as "Fengyu shijing" 風峪石經 because of the cave in Fengyugou 風峪溝 where the scriptural slabs were stored before they were moved to the Jinci museum.

In 1999, Wang Hongbin 王鴻賓 and Hu Chunying 胡春英 published a list of the translators, largely based on this postscript, although they did not make a transcription of the whole text.[2] Detecting various problems in the list prepared by Wang and Wu, I decided to visit the stone postscript in person. I was eventually able to do so on July 6, 2006, thanks to the kind assistance of Professor Zhang Wenliang 張文良 of People's University of China 中國人民大學, who accompanied me to Jinci, and Dr. Yu Zhenlong 于振龍, the Director of the Jinci Museum, who graciously granted me permission to enter the corridor where parts of the stone-slabs (including that bearing the translation list) are stored. I have transcribed the whole postscript as follows:[3]

Line 1: [聖][4] 曆二年九月一日譯畢　三藏沙門于闐國僧實叉難陀釋[梵][本][5] 三藏沙門南天竺國僧菩提流[志][證][釋][梵][本][三][藏][沙][門][北][天][竺][國][僧][6] 阿儞真那證釋梵本

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[2] See Wang and Hu, "Fengyu shijing chutan," 74-75.

[3] Two general remarks about this inscription: First, generally, a one-character space is allowed after one entry on a person and before another person is introduced. Second, the following characters on the stele are presented in the style of the so-called "Zetian's characters" ("Zetian zaozi" 則天造字): 1. 年, 2. 月, 3. 日, 4. 國, 5. 天, 6. 證, 7. 授, 8. 臣, 9. 人, 10. 正.

[4] This character is damaged in the stele.

[5] Of these three characters 釋梵本, 釋 is half damaged (only the right part remains), while the other two (梵本) are damaged in the stele.

[6] Several characters after 菩提流 are too damaged to be recognizable. Wang and Hu suggest that they are 志 and 證釋梵本. Of these damaged characters, although the first is quite obviously 志 and the following three or four characters are 釋梵本 or 證釋梵本, I would like to propose that the other characters are 三藏沙門北天竺國僧, which

Line 2: 三藏沙門大福先寺僧義淨證釋梵本烏萇國沙門達摩戰陀[7]譯語[8] 大慈恩寺寄住沙門波若提婆[9]譯語翊麾副尉直祠部婆羅門大首領臣李無[碍]釋語

Line 3: 婆羅門大首領臣李無諂[10] 譯語北天竺國沙門達摩難陀證梵語北天竺國沙門尸利末多證梵語佛授記寺沙門道昌證梵語

Line 4: 翻經大德[11] 佛授記寺上座沙門玄度[審][覆][12] 翻經大德大福先寺沙門複禮綴文翻經大德荊州玉泉寺沙門弘景證義

Line 5: 翻經大德秦州大雲寺主沙門靈睿證義翻經大德大福先寺上座沙門波侖證義 翻經大德長壽寺主[13] 沙門智瀲[14]證義

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were used to identify Manicintana (Anizhenna 阿你真那). My reconstruction is based on the following two considerations. First, we know that like Śikṣānanda, Bodhiruci and Yijing, Manicintana was then also recognized as a "Trepiṭaka[-śramaṇa]" (*sanzang [shamen]* 三藏[沙門]). Second, given that the other three Trepiṭakas are here presented in a similar way: [1] the title "Trepiṭaka-śramaṇa," plus [2] the name of his native place (for the two foreign monks) (Khotan [于闐國] for Śikṣānanda, Southern India [南天竺國] for Bodhiruci) or his temple affiliation (for the Chinese native Yijing—Great Fuxiansi), and finally plus [3] the expression "monk" (*seng* 僧), Manicintana should have also been presented in the same way: the expression *sanzang shamen*, the name of his native place—which was "Northern India" (*Bei tianzhuguo* 北天竺國) since he was from Kashimira (迦濕密羅), a part of Northern India (see his biographies at *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.369c28-29; *SGSZ*, *T* 50: 2.720a15-16), and finally the expression *seng*.

[7] The third character of this four-character name is too damaged to be readable. Wang and Hu ("Guanyu Fengyu shijing," 223; idem, "Fengyu shijing chutan," 74) have reconstructed it as *zang* 藏. I believe, however, that it should be *zhan* 戰, which would make the monk's name Damozhantuo 達摩戰陀.

[8] Wang and Hu read 譯語 as 釋語, which does not reflect Boretipo's function in Śikṣānanda's translation office. As is proved by both Huiying and Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn, Tipo (i.e., Boretipo), like Zhantuo (Damozhantuo), acted as a *yiyu*. See *GYZ*, *T* 51: 176b6-7; *PHC* 282a19. According to my own observation, the character as it is preserved on the stele, though obscure, looks more like 譯 than 釋. Cf. note 30.

[9] The second character of this four-character name is not clear. Wang and Hu give it as 菩. I suspect that it should be 若. This will have the name of this translator as Boretipo. For Boretipo, see note 32.

[10] Wang and Hu have 諂 as 謟, which is not correct. Li Wuchan was a well known translator of the time. See *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.566b16-24; Forte, "Pao-ssu-wei," 324-27.

[11] A six-character space exists between 德 and 佛.

[12] These two characters, which must have denoted Xuandu's function, are now completely damaged on the stele. Wang and Hu believe that they are either *shiyu* 釋語 or *yiyu* 譯語. I believe, however, that they are *zhengyi* 證義, or *shenfu* 審覆. Both Fuli and Huiying identify Xuandu 玄度 as a *[shenfu] zhengyi* 審覆證義 (or simply *shenfu* 審覆), which I assume was identical with *zhengyi* 證義 ("proofer of meanings"). See "Da Zhou xinyi Da Fangguangfo huayan jing zongmu" (*DB* 119:126); cf. *GYZ*, *T* 51:176b7-8, where Xuandu's name is, as I argued before (Appendix C, note 22; see also Chen Jinhua, "Śikṣānanda," 136), miswritten as Quchen 去塵. In addition, Wang and Hu's transcription misses eight characters preceding Xuandu's name: 佛授記寺上座沙門.

[13] This character is missing from the text transcribed by Wang and Hu.

[14] Wang and Hu mispresent Zhilian 智瀲 as Zhiji 智激. As is proved by both Fuli's list and a list appearing at the end of *Da Zhou kanding zhongjing mulu*, this monk's correct name must be Zhilian, rather than Zhiji. Both Fuli's list and the list of *Da Zhou kanding zhongjing mulu* identify him in the same way as he is identified here (i.e., the

Line 6: 翻經大德崇先[15] 寺上座沙門法寶證義[16] 翻經大德大福先寺都維納沙門惠儼證義

Line 7: 翻經大德大周西寺沙門法藏證義翻經大德佛授記寺[主][17] 沙門德感證義[18]翻經大德中大雲寺都維納沙門玄軌證義

Line 8: 翊麾副尉直祠部婆羅門臣伊舍那寫梵本婆羅門臣祝模羅寫梵本[19] 鴻州慶山縣人臣叱干智藏[20] 寫梵本

Line 9: 麟臺楷書令史張正臣寫梵本[21] 經生呂仙喬寫[22]用紙一十五張[23]典劉珍遠

Line 10: 判官承奉郎守左玉鈐衛錄事參軍于師逸[24]判官朝議郎行梁王府記室參軍事王璠

Line 11: 判官通直郎行洛州參軍事宋之問[25] 檢校翻譯使朝請大夫守太子中舍人上柱國賈膺福

In addition, five further—much less complete—lists are also known to us. One is from a document called "Da Zhou xinyi Da Fangguangfo huayan jing zongmu" 大周新譯大方廣佛華嚴經總目,[26] a "General Catalogue" (*zongmu* 總目) for the titles of the chapters in the *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing*, compiled on November 5, 699, the day when the completion of that translation was officially announced. At the end of the catalogue are listed the compiler (i.e., the monk Fuli), twelve verifiers of this document, and two court officials, who were obviously two of the official superintendents of the translation project. The other four are provided by Fazang, two of his disciples (Huiying and Huiyuan) and his Korean biographer—Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn.[27] In my recent article on the

abbot of Changshousi, and a *bhadanta*-translator). See "Da Zhou xinyi Dafangguangfo huayan jing zongmu," *DB* 119:126; *Da Zhou kanding zhongjing mulu*, *T* 55: 15.475.24.

[15] Wang and Hu's transcription has 先 as 仙. It must be Chongxiansi 崇先寺, not Chongguangsi 崇光寺 given that Fabao's affiliation with Chongxiansi 崇先寺 is verified by Fuli's list. For Chongxiansi, see note 44.

[16] A space for about sixteen characters is allowed between 義 and 翻.

[17] According to Fuli's list, Degan was the head of Foshoujisi. It seems that a character (*zhu* 主) has dropped out after 佛授記寺.

[18] A space for about three characters exists between 義 and 翻.

[19] A space for about three characters exists between 本 and 鴻.

[20] The third character of this four-character name is not recognizable on the stone. Wang and Hu give it as *kai* 開. Actually, it should be read as *gan* 干, which will have the name as Chigan Zhizang 叱干智藏 (see note 50 for this monk).

[21] A space for about four characters exists between 本 and 經.

[22] A space for about three characters exists between 寫 and 用.

[23] A space for about three characters exists between 張 and 典.

[24] A space for about three characters exists between 逸 and 判.

[25] A space for about three characters exists between 問 and 檢.

[26] P. 2314 (*DB* 119:126; cf. Naba, "Tō shōhon Tōryō no ichi ibun," 84-85; Ikeda, *Shikigo*, 246-47).

[27] For these four lists by Fazang, Huiying, Huiyuan and Ch'oe Chi'wŏn, see, respectively, (1) *HJZ*, *T* 51: 1.155a17-18; (2) *GYZ*, *T* 51: 176b4-11; (3) *Xu Huayan jing lüeshu kanding ji*, *XZJ* 5: 1.24d14-18; and (4) *PHC* 282a16-21; discussed in Chen Jinhua, "Śikṣānanda," 129ff.

location and members of Śikṣānanda's *Avataṃsaka* translation office, I have compared these five lists in an effort to reconstruct the composition of Śikṣānanda's translation team.[28] Unfortunately, I was not aware of the far more complete list included in the Fengyu stone scripture at that time. As I have now access to this exceptionally valuable document, I can say more about this important topic. I will present the various persons involved in this translation project, in terms of their function and primarily on the basis of the list preserved in the Jinci postscript. I will also contrast this list with the other five, in order to see which members in this list are also presented in the latter on the one hand, and on the other, whether the five lists contain any members not covered in this list. For the sake of convenience, let these five lists be signified by letters A to E:

A= Fuli's list C= Huiying's list
B= Fazang's list D= Huiyuan's list E= Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's list

Table 5. Members of Śikṣānanda's Avataṃsaka Translation Office

POSITION	NAME	APPOINTMENTS AND/OR TITLES	APPEARING IN OTHER FIVE LISTS OR NOT
shifanben 釋梵本 (explainers of Sanskrit originals)	Śikṣānanda 實叉難陀	Trepiṭaka-śramaṇa 三藏沙門, Khotanese monk	A, B, C, D, E
	Bodhiruci 菩提流[志]	Trepiṭaka-śramaṇa, monk from the Kingdom of South India	B
	Anizhenna 阿你真那 (Manicintana?-721)[29]	Trepiṭaka-śramaṇa, monk from Northern India	
	Yijing 義淨	Trepiṭaka-śramaṇa, monk of Great Fuxiansi	A, B, D

[28] Chen Jinhua, "Śikṣānanda."
[29] For this monk, see Forte's exclusive study, "Pao-ssu-wei."

yiyu 譯語 (translators of Sanskrit words)[30]	Damozhantuo 達摩[戰]陀[31]	śramaṇa from Uḍḍyāna	C, E
	Li Wuchan 李無諂	*brahmin* and Great Chief; minister [of the Great Zhou]	
	Boretipo 波[若]提婆 (Prajña-deva?, ?-699+)[32]	śramaṇa temporarily residing at Great Ciensi	C, E

[30] In addition to the category of *yiyu*, Wang and Hu's copy also has another category called *shiyu* 釋語, under which he puts three monks Boretipo, Li Wuai and Xuandu. To the best of my knowledge, there is no function in medieval Chinese Buddhist translation bureaus that was known as *shiyu*. In view of the similarity in form between 釋 and 譯, I suspect that Wang and Hu here have misread 譯語 as 釋語. In other words, like Damozhantuo and Li Wuchan, these three monks actually also functioned as "translators of Sanskrit words" (*yiyu*).

[31] Damozhantuo must have been identical with the foreign monk bearing the same name mentioned in the preface that the monk Bolun 波崙 (?-703+) wrote for a newly translated esoteric text. See "Qianyan qianbi Guanshiyin pusa tuoluoni shenzhou jing xu," *T* 20: 83c6-11. According to Bolun's brief description, Damozhantuo was a Buddhist monk of Brahmin origin (*poluomen seng* 婆羅門僧), originally from Uḍḍyāna and who was during the Shengong era (September 29-December 19, 697) associated with Foshoujisi. Furthermore, this Uḍḍyānian monk must have been the same person who was simply known as Zhantuo and who, in the capacity of "translator of Sanskrit words" (*yiyu*), was active in the translation bureaus supervised by Divākara (*Xu Gujin yijing tuji*, *T* 55: 368c14; *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.564a18; *SGSZ*, *T* 55: 2.719a27), Devendraprajña (*Xu Gujin yijing tuji*, *T* 55: 369b14; *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.565b22), and Bodhiruci (*Xu Gujin yijing tuji*, *T* 55: 371b15; *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.570a18; *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*, *T* 55:14. 873a9). A Dunhuang manuscript identifies him, as of October 7, 693, as a monk of Jifasi 濟法寺 in Chang'an and a translator of Bodhiruci's *Ratnamegha* translation office. See *S* 2278, *DB* 18: 12 (Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 172 [1st edition]/248 [2nd edition]).

[32] Boretipo must have been the same person with the same name who assisted Divākara as a *yi[yu?]* 譯[語]. See Chapter 9.1.1. He was probably also the same person who, simply called Bore and identified as a Brahmin monk, acted as a *zhengyi* 證譯 ("translation verifier") in Bodhiruci's *Ratnamegha* translation bureau. See Forte, *Political Propaganda* (2nd edition), 251.

	Li Wuai 李無碍[33]	vice-commandant (*fuwei* 副尉) of *yihui* 翊麾,[34] auxiliary in the Bureau of Sacrifices (*zhi cibu* 直祠部), *brahmin*, Great Chieftain, and minister [of Great Zhou]	
zhengfanyu 證梵語 (verifiers of Sanskrit terms)	Damonantuo 達磨難陀 (Dharmananda, ?-710+)[35]	śramaṇa from kingdom of North India	
	Silimoduo 尸利末多 (Śrimata?, fl. 699-707)[36]	śramaṇa from kingdom of North India	
	Daochang 道昌[37]	śramaṇa of Foshoujisi	

[33] Like Li Wuchan, Li Wuai was active in Manicintana's translation bureau in the capacity of *bishou* (scribe) (Li Wuchan, on the other hand, acted as *yiyu* ["translator of Sanskrit words"]). See *Xu Gujin yijing tuji*, *T* 55: 370a11; *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.566c23; Forte, "Pao-ssu-wei," 327. In his article on Manicintana ("Pao-ssu-wei," 327), Forte is hesitant about whether Li Wuai was a Chinese or a foreigner. Now thanks to this stone edition we have come to know his Indian origin, as is indicated by how he is addressed here—a *brahmin* chieftain.

[34] The *yihui* was one of the military prestigious titles (*wu sanguan* 武散官). See *JTS* 42.1785, 1798; *XTS* 46.1198.

[35] He is probably identical with a homonymous monk who, then a monk of Foshoujisi, served as a verifier of the Sanskrit words (*zhengfanwen*) in Bodhiruci's *Ratnamegha* translation bureau. See S 2278 (*DB* 18: 12; Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 172 [1st edition]/249 [2nd edition]). This monk also served in the same capacity in Yijing's translation bureau (see Appendix I). He is then identified as a native of Jibin 罽賓, which is compatible with how he is identified here (i.e., as a Northern Indian) given that Jibin was then indeed regarded as a part of Northern India.

[36] This monk is also known for his Chinese name Miaohui 妙慧. Forte has collected the scant information on Śrimata in his "Pao-ssu-wei," 327-29. Forte has concluded that Śrimata was a collaborator of Manicintana and Yijing and that he maintained a close tie with the Sanjie cult, and particularly its main representative Shili 師利. Unaware of this colophon, Forte does not note that Śrimata was actually also a member of Śikṣānanda's *Avataṃsaka* translation office and that he had been in China no later than 699 (and very likely by May 3, 695, when Śikṣānanda's *Avataṃsaka* translation office started to work). This colophon verifies Forte's hypothesis that Śrimata was from North India.

[37] This monk was also in Bodhiruci's *Ratnamegha* translation bureau as acted as a verifier of Sanskrit words (*zhengfanwen* 證梵文). See S 2278, *DB* 18: 12 (Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 172 [1st edition]/249 [2nd edition]). Forte believes that he was also a foreigner.

zhuiwen 綴文 (composer)	Fuli 複禮 (?-706?)[38]	*bhadanta*-translator (翻經大德) and śramaṇa of Great Fuxiansi	A, B, C, E
zhengyi 證義 (proofers of meanings)	Hongjing 弘景 (634-712)[39]	*bhadanta*-translator and śramaṇa of Yuquansi in Jingzhou	A, C, D, E
	Xuandu 玄度 (?-699+)[40]	*bhadanta*-translator	A, C
	Lingrui 靈睿 (?-699+)[41]	*bhadanta*-translator and abbot of Dayunsi in Qinzhou, śramaṇa	A
	Bolun 波崙 (?-703+)[42]	*bhadanta*-translator, elder of Great Fuxiansi, śramaṇa.	A, C

[38] In addition to a brief biographical note at *KSL* (*T* 55: 9.564b14-26), Fuli has a far more developed biography at *SGSZ* (*T* 50: 16.811c-812a), which confirms his status as an eminent scholar and translator. For Fuli, particularly his importance as a Buddhist ideologue for Empress Wu, see Forte, *Political Propaganda*, (esp.) 138-41 (1st edition)/172-207ff (2nd edition). See also Isshiki Junshin's 一色順心 exclusive study (Isshiki, "Fukurei"). I draw together some more information about this monk in my forthcoming book, *Collusion and Collision* (Appendix A). Fuli was far more than a major Buddhist translator cooperating with almost all of the contemporary major Buddhist translators. As is shown by the conflict he had with Fazang, which is discussed in Chapter 5.3.1, and some other evidence I collected in my above-mentioned research note, he seems to have been a Buddhist leader of exceptional power and influence in his days.

[39] A former disciple of Wen'gang, Hongjing (a.k.a. Hengjing 恆景) became a very distinguished monk under the reigns of Empress Wu and Zhongzong, with a majority of his career spent in the two capitals. See his biography at *SGSZ*, *T* 50: 5.732b-c (right after Fazang's).

[40] As noted above (note 8), Wang and Hu put Xuandu under the category of *shiyu* 釋語, which I believe is an error for *yiyu* 譯語. I also believe that Xuandu should belong to the category of *zhengyi*, as is verified by Fuli's list. In his preface to the Chinese version of *Yogācārabhūmi śāstra*, Xu Jingzong 許敬宗 (?-672) mentions a monk of the same name belonging to Huichangsi 會昌寺 as one of the twenty-one scholar-monks who assisted Xuanzang in translating the *śāstra*, the completion of which was officially announced on June 22, 647 (Zhenguan 21.5.15). See "Yujia shidi lun xinyi xu," *T* 30: 283c8 (another edition [*QTW* 152.11a3], however, has the name as Hongdu 宏度). Xuandu acted as a *bishou* (scribe) for Xuanzang. It is not clear if this Xuandu was identical with the homonymous monk who, fifty-two years later, served as a proofer of meanings (*zhengyi*) in Śikṣānanda's translation bureau.

[41] Probably Lingjun 靈濬, a co-compiler of the official Buddhist catalogue compiled under the Great Zhou. See *Da Zhou kanding zhongjing mulu*, *T* 55: 15.475c3; Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 150 (1st edition)/220 (2nd edition). We are not clear as to which one (Lingrui or Lingjun) was the correct form of his name.

[42] Some scant information about Bolun has been collected and analyzed in Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 99-100 (1st edition)/127-28 (2nd edition).

	Zhilian 智瀲 (?-699+)	*bhadanta*-translator, abbot of Changshousi, śramaṇa	A
	Fabao 法寶 (?-703+)[43]	*bhadanta*-translator, elder of Chongxiansi,[44] śramaṇa	A, C, D, E
	Huiyan 惠儼 (?-703+)[45]	*bhadanta*-translator, administrator of Great Fuxiansi, śramaṇa	A, C
	Fazang 法藏 (643-712)	*bhadanta*-translator, śramaṇa of Da Zhou xisi	A, B, C, D, E
	Degan 德感 (?-703+)[46]	*bhadanta*-translator, [abbot of] Foshoujisi, śramaṇa	A

[43] Fabao's biography is located at *SGSZ*, *T* 50: 4.727a19-b3. A chief disciple of Xuanzang, he served in Yijing's translation office in addition to Śikṣānanda's. See *Xu Gujin yijing tuji*, *T* 55: 370c26; *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.568c5; *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*, *T* 55: 13.869b8. His importance as a Buddhist translator under the Great Zhou is shown by his status as a co-compiler of *Da Zhou kanding zhongjing mulu* (*T* 55: 15.476a1). His latest reported activity was in 703, when he was already the head of Qibaotaisi 七寶臺寺 (formerly Guangzhaisi 光宅寺, a monastery important to Empress Wu's political propaganda). See *S* 523, *DB* 6: 270.

[44] Chongxiansi 崇先寺 was located in the Fuxing 輔興 Ward of Chang'an. Originally the mansion of Dou Dan 竇誕 (?-626?), it was converted by Empress Wu into the Chongxian Establishment 崇先府 in memory of her father Wu Shihuo on March 10, 689 (Yongchang 1.2.14 [*dingyou*]). It was further converted into a Buddhist monastery (named Chongxiansi) on January 6, 698 (Zhengsheng 1.*zheng*.18). On December 31, 710 (Jingyun 1.12.7), the Buddhist monastery was rebuilt into a Daoist abbey for Ruizong's ninth daughter, Princess Changlong 昌隆. The abbey was renamed Yuzhen 玉真 (692?-762?) when the princess received her new title of principality—Yuzhen on May 2, 711 (Jingyun 2.4.10). It seems that the abbey was later converted back into a Buddhist monastery, either on or sometime before October 9, 736 (Kaiyuan 24.9.1), when it was renamed Guangfusi 廣福寺. See *THY* 48.848, 50.871; *XTS* 4.88; *ZZTJ* 204.6456 (cf. *JTS* 183.4728, *XTS* 206.5835). It is important to note that Dou Dan married Gaozu's daughter Princess of Xiangyang 襄陽, and one of his granddaughters became, in turn, a wife of Prince Xiang 相王 (Li Dan [Gaozu's great grandson], the future Ruizong), who gave birth to Li Longji (the future Xuanzong) and his two sisters, Princesses Jinxian 金仙 and Yuzhen. Thus, it seems more than a coincidence that Yuzhen was assigned to an abbey built on the site of Chongxiansi. For Dou Dan's complicated ties to the Tang imperial family, see his biographies at *JTS* 61.2370, *XTS* 95.3849, and Empress Zhaocheng's 昭成 (?-692) (Dou Dan's granddaughter) biographies at *JTS* 51.2176, *XTS* 74.3689.

[45] For this monk, see Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 95-96 (1st edition)/123 (2nd edition).

[46] The most thorough survey of this monk is found in Forte, *Political Propaganda* (1st edition), 100-8, which has now been updated and significantly expanded in Forte, *Political Propaganda* (2nd edition), 129-43. Although Forte might be right in assuming that Degan died shortly after 703, in which his latest documented activity fell, I still feel hard to exclude the possibility that he lived until 720s, when he engaged in a series of debates with a monk now only known to us as Dharma Master Zhan 湛. See Chen Jinhua, "One Name, Three Monks," 55n146.

	Xuangui 玄軌 (?-700+)[47]	*bhadanta*-translator, administrator of Central Dayunsi, śramaṇa	A
xiefanben 寫梵本 (copyists of Sanskrit texts)	Yishena 伊舍那 (Īśāna?, ?-699+)[48]	vice-commandant of *yihui*, auxiliary in Bureau of Sacrifices, *brahmin*-minister	
	Zhumoluo 祝模羅 (?-699+)[49]	*brahmin*-minister	
	Chigan Zhizang 叱干智藏 (?-699+)[50]	native of Qingshan subprefecture, Hongzhou	
	Zhang Zheng 張正 (?-699+)[51]	clerkly calligrapher (*kaishu* 楷書), clerk (*lingshi* 令史) in the Palace Library (Lintai 麟臺)[52]	

[47] For this monk, see Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 108-10 (1st edition)/143-47 (2nd edition). Forte believes that Xuangui was also known as Xuanfan 玄範.

[48] Īśāna is one of the older names of Śiva-Rudra. This Indian man might or might not have been identical with another contemporary translator with a slightly different name (Yisheluo 伊舍羅 [Īśāra?], rather than Yishena 伊舍那 [Īśāna] as we have here) (see Appendix H, note 10).

[49] Otherwise unknown.

[50] Chigan Zhizang is a translator engaged in both Bodhiruci's *Ratnamegha* translation office (in 693) and Li Wuchan's project of translating the *Amoghapāśadhāraṇī sūtra* into Chinese (titled "Bukong juansuo tuoluoni jing" 不空罥索陀羅尼經) in 700. For the former, see S 2278, *DB* 18: 13 (Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 174 [1st edition]/251 [2nd edition]), where Chigan Zhizang is identified as, like here, a native of Qingshan in Hongzhou 鴻州 and his function is given as, like here again, a "copyist of Sanskrit texts" (*xiefanben* 寫梵本). For the later, see Bolun's "Bukong juansuo tuoluoni jing xu," *T* 20: 409b-c (*QTW* 913.3b9), where his name is wrongly given as Chiyu Zhizang 叱于智藏. Judging by his name and his capacity (copyist of Sanskrit texts), he was probably a foreigner too.

On October 24, 686 (Chuigong 2.10.2 [*jisi*]), Sub-prefecture Xinfeng 新豐 was renamed Qingshan because of a mountain that newly emerged in Xinfeng (*XTS* 4.85). Cf. *XTS* 76.3479; *JTS* 38.1396; *JTS* 187A.4883, in which the renaming is dated Zaichu 1; *XTS* 35.910, which dates the renaming Chuigong 2.9.*jisi*, obviously incorrect given that there was no *jisi* day in this month. Hongzhou as a prefecture was set up in Tianshou 2 (December 6, 690-November 25, 691), covering five sub-prefectures: Weinan 渭南, Qingshan 慶山, Gaoling 高陵, Yueyang 櫟陽 and Hongmen 鴻門 (*JTS* 38.1396).

[51] Otherwise unknown.

[52] Lintai was how the *mishusheng* 秘書省 (Palace Library) was called from 685 to 712.

Jingsheng 經生 (scriptural clerks)	Lü Xianqiao 呂仙喬 (?-699+)[53]		
jianyi 監譯[54] (superintendents)	Jia Yingfu 賈膺福 (?-713)[55]	acting commissioner [supervising] translation (*jianjiao fanyishi* 檢校翻譯使), grand-master for court audience (*chaoqing daifu* 朝請大夫), acting (*shou* 守) secretary in Secretariat of Heir-apparent (*taizi zhong sheren* 太子中舍人), supreme pillar of state (*shang zhuguo* 上柱國)[56]	A, C
	Wang Fan 王璠 (?-699+)[57]	administrative assistant (*panguan* 判官), gentleman for court discussion (*chaoyi lang* 朝議郎), acting adjunct (*xing canjunshi* 行參軍事) to record keeper (*jishi* 記室) of Prince of Liang's 梁 Princely Establishment (*wangfu* 王府)	

[53] Otherwise unknown.

[54] The name of this category does not appear in the stone inscription. Wang and Hu suggest that these four persons must have functioned as "officials who supervised and protected the translation" (*jianhu guanyuan* 監護官員). I agree with their surmising on this role, although I believe that the proper name of such a function must be *jianyi* 監譯, as is verified by the relevant historical records (e.g., a colophon to Yijing's translations to be discussed in Appendix I).

[55] Jia Yingfu was a significant figure in the political and religious worlds under the reign of Empress Wu and those of Zhongzong and Ruizong. He has a biographical note at the end of *JTS* and *XTS* biographies for his father Jia Dunshi. See *JTS* 185A.4789, *XTS* 197.5623. This biographical note identifies him as a left cavalier attendant-in-ordinary (*zuo sanqi changshi* 左散騎常侍) and an academician (*xueshi* 學士) of the Institute for the Glorification of Literature (Hongwenguan 弘文館). During the Ruizong reign, along with Xue Ji 薛稷 (649-713) and Cui Shi 崔湜 (671-713), he served as an expectant official (*daizhao* 待詔), in charge of drafting imperial edicts (*JTS* 43.1853). He was killed on July 29, 713 (Xiantian 2.7.3 [*jiazi*]) for his involvement (along with Xue Ji, Cui Shi and others) in a failed coup attempt against Xuanzong, which was believed to have been plotted by Princess Taiping. See *JTS* 7.161, 8.109; *XTS* 83.3651-52, 121.4333; *ZZTJ* 210.6681-84; Guisso, "Empress Wu, Chung-tsung and Jui-tsung," 231-33; Chen Jinhua, "Śikṣānanda," 132-33. Jia's role in the translation activities supervised by Śikṣānanda is also noted in *HJZ*, *T* 51: 1.155a23-24.

[56] Fuli's list identifies him in the same way except that he uses *shi* 使 (commissioner) instead of *jianjiao fanyishi* 檢校翻譯使.

[57] Otherwise unknown.

	Song Zhiwen 宋之問 (656?-713?)	administrative assistant, court gentleman for comprehensive duty (*tongzhi lang* 通直郎), acting adjunct to the [Prefectural government of] Luozhou	
	Yu Shiyi 于師逸 (?-699+)[58]	administrative assistant, gentleman in attendance (*chengfeng-lang* 承奉郎), acting administrative supervisor (*lushi canjun* 錄事參軍) of the left guard of Jade Strategy (*zuo yuqianwei* 左玉鈐衛)	A, C
	Liu Zhen-yuan 劉珍遠 (?-699+)[59]	clerk (*dian* 典)[60]	

One is struck by the huge number of people (thirty-two in total) involved in the project. Fourteen were from India or Central Asia, including (1) Śikṣānanda, (2) Bodhiruci, (3) Manicintana, (4) Damozhantuo, (5) Li Wuchan, (6) Prajñadeva, (7) Li Wuai, (8) Dharmananda, (9) Śrimata, (10) Īśāna, (11) Zhumoluo, and probably also (12) Daochang, (13) Chigan Zhizang, and (14) Fazang, who was a third generation Sogdian immigrant. Five of them were laymen (one—Chigan Zhizang—did not have any official title, but the other four—Li Wuchan, Li Wuai, Īśāna and Zhumoluo—all bore official titles), while the rest were Buddhist monks. As for the eighteen Chinese participants, eleven of them (Yijing, Xuandu, Fuli, Hongjing, Lingrui, Bolun, Zhilian, Fabao, Huiyan, Degan, and Xuangui, all of whom, except for Yijing, who was a Trepiṭaka, were *bhadanta*-translators) were Buddhist monks, and seven (Zhang Zheng, Lü Xianqiao, Jia Yingfu, Wang Fan, Song Zhiwen, Yu Shiyi, and Liu Zhenyuan) were officials with titles of different degrees of prestige, ranging from ordinary clerk to grand master for court audience. It is noteworthy that all of the four

[58] Otherwise unknown. *XTS* (72B.2608) has a Wang Shiyi 王士逸 as a member of the prestigious Langye Wang 琅邪王 clan. Given the closeness in form between *wang* 王 and *yu* 于, one might surmise that Yu Shiyi was a mistake for Wang Shiyi. This is proved untrue, since not only the lists by Fuli and Huiying, but also this stone inscription, give his name as Yu Shiyi.

[59] Otherwise unknown.

[60] According to Li Fang ("Guanyu Fengyu shijing zhong de jianhu guanyuan," 231), who quotes from the second *juan* of *Tang liudian* 唐六典, during the Tang dynasty, for a special task endorsed by the emperor, a special commissioner was to be appointed and that he was usually to be assisted by a certain number of administrative assistants (*panguan* 判官) and clerks (*dian* 典). However, I have not been able to identify this source from *Tang liudian*.

Trepiṭakas of the time—Śikṣānanda, Bodhiruci, Manicintana and Yijing—were involved in this project, a very telling indicator of the exceptional importance that the Great Zhou government attached to the project.

Fazang's role in this translation project is a "proofer of meanings," which fits quite well with his reputation as a Buddhist philosopher. A comparison of this list with other five lists shows that all of the translators mentioned in the latter, except for two monks Wŏnch'ŭk and Shenying, can be found here. Given that Wŏnch'ŭk died three years earlier (in 696), I assume that his death is the reason for his being excluded from this list, which seems to have been prepared right after the translation was completed on September 29, 699. The same cannot be said, however, of Shenying, who outlived the completion of the translation at least by four years.[61] It seems therefore that for reasons that are now impossible to determine, Shenying retreated from the project some time before it was completed.

[61] For Shenying, see Chen Jinhua, "Śikṣānanda," note 20. The last verifiable activity of Shenying is his participation in at least two of Yijing's translations published on November 17, 703 (Chang'an 3.10.4), as indicated by eight colophons collected in Ikeda, *Shikigo*, 258-64 (one for *Genben sapoduo bu lüshe* 根本薩婆多部律攝, one for *Genben shuoyiqieyoubu pi'naiye* 根本說一切有部毗奈耶, and the other six for *Jinguangming zuisheng wang jing*).

APPENDIX H

MEMBERS OF BODHIRUCI'S *RATNAKŪṬA* TRANSLATION OFFICE (707-713)

At the end of 706 or in 707, Fazang, then residing at his monastery Chongfusi, joined Bodhiruci's *Ratnakūṭa* translation bureau.[1] The project was not completed until May 7, 713 (Xiantian 2.4.8), more than four months after Fazang's death. Ruizong composed a preface, and another contemporary, Xu E 徐鍔 (?-721+), a gentleman for court discussion and acting assistant magistrate (*zhubu* 主簿) of Gaocheng subprefecture 告成 in Henan Prefecture 河南府, also wrote an "account" (*shu* 述) that discusses the making of a copy.[2]

Xu E tells us in the account that Li Shiyan 李式顏 (?-715+) and Xu Qiao 徐鐈 (?-715+) sponsored the copying of this huge scriptural collection as a sign of their filial piety for their deceased fathers, Li Jiongxiu 李迥秀 (died between 715-722)[3] and Duke Gaoping 高平, who was grand master of imperial entertainments with silver seal and blue ribbon, advisor to the heir-apparent (*taizi binke* 太子賓客), academician (*xueshi* 學士) of the Institute for the Glorification of Literature. Although Xu E does not explicitly reveal the name of Xu Qiao's father, on the basis of Lin Bao 林寶 (?-812+)[4] we can easily identify him as Xu Yanbo 徐彥伯 (?-712), who was actually also Xu E's own father, which explains well why he avoids naming Xu Yanbo. One of Xu

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[1] Chapter 9.3.2.

[2] "Da baoji jing shu," *T* 11:1b-2b (*QTW* 295.15a-18a). Xu E was later appointed as the magistrate (*xianling* 縣令) of Luoyang in an unknown date. The edict announcing this appointment written by Sun Di 孫狄 on behalf of Xuanzong is still extant (*Wenyuan yinghua* 407.15a, *QTW* 308.18b-19a). His last known activity fell on February 28, 721 (Kaiyuan 9.*zheng*.28), when the censor Yuwen Rong 宇文融 (?-729?) recommended him, who was then the district defender (*xianwei* 縣尉) of Gaocheng, and district defender of other sub-prefectures, as administrative assistants for promoting agriculture (*quannong panguan* 勸農判官). See *THY* 85.1562.

[3] Li Jiongxiu was rather close to Zhang Yizhi, whose widowed mother Azang 阿臧 he married on Empress Wu's orders. Disappointed by her old age and physical unattractiveness, he tried any means possible to avoid his newly wedded wife, which exasperated her and eventually resulted in his demotion. See *Chaoye qianzai* 3.222; *JTS* 37.1377, 78.2706; *XTS* 104.4014. Li Jiongxiu's interest in Buddhism is shown by a eulogy he dedicated to Hongren 弘忍 (600-674) after he died. Eight lines of the eulogy are preserved in *Lengqie shizi ji*, *T* 85: 1289c22-24.

[4] *Yuanhe xingzuan* 2.207, stating that Xu Yanbo had two sons, Xu Jiao and Xu E.

Yanbo's two official biographies, and especially a colophon to a huge glossary to the Daoist canon completed in 712 under the supervision of the Daoist priest Shi Chongxuan, verifies the appointments and titles that Xu E here attributes to him.[5] Thus, given that the account refers to Xu Yanbo's death, which occurred in Kaiyuan 2 (January 21, 714-February 8, 715),[6] we can assume that it must have been written either in 714 or later. As for Li Jiongxiu, he seems to have lived beyond Kaiyuan 3 (February 9, 715-January 28, 716) given that he wrote in the year a memorial epitaph for a former official Li Mi 李祕 (?-715?).[7] We can even further narrow down the timeframe of the composition of this document. As noted by Antonino Forte, Xu E's composition was written before August 17, 716 because of the way it refers to Ruizong—"Taishanghuang" 太上皇, a title that he adopted after he abdicated on September 8, 712 and which was superseded by his posthumous title "Dasheng zhen huangdi" 大聖貞皇帝 on August 17, 716 (Kaiyuan 4.7. 25), barely one month after he died on July 13, 716 (Kaiyuan 4.6.20).[8] This establishes that the account must have been written before August 17, 716. We may then conclude that it is sometime between 715 and August 17, 716 that Xu E wrote the account.

In contrast to Ruizong, who did not mention Bodhiruci's colleagues and other historical facts concerning this important project, Xu E provides us a rather detailed list of Bodhiruci's colleagues in this project. Fazang's name is not included, however, in this long list which refers to no less than twenty-five people (not including Bodhiruci himself). Zhisheng, who wrote seventeen years after *Da baoji jing* was completed, listed Fazang as a "proofer of meanings" (we should note that this was also the function he performed in Śikṣānanda's translation office) on the translation committee.[9] Fazang's role in Bodhiruci's

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[5] *JTS* 94.3006. "Yiqie jing yinyi miaomen youqi xu bianzuang liewei," Ikeda, *Shikigo*, 285.

[6] See Xu Yanbo's biographies at *JTS* 94.3006-07, *XTS* 114.4202.

[7] *Baoke leibian*, *SKQS* 682: 3.8b. However, Li Jiongxiu must have died by Kaiyuan 10 (January 22, 722-February 9, 723), judging by the fact that the compilers of *JTS*, in narrating a military uprising in 722 that implicated his son Li Qisun 李齊損 (?-722), refer to him as "the former minister of war" (*JTS* 185A.4799).The uprising broke out on the night of October 25, 722 (Kaiyuan 10.9.11[*yimao*]) and was quelled the next day. See *JTS* 8.184, 185A.4799; *XTS* 100.3940; *ZZTJ* 211.6751. Therefore, the account must have been written before October 25, 722 if we consider that Li Jiongxiu and his family, including another of his sons whom Xu E mentions as a major sponsor of copying *Da baoji jing*, must have been disgraced after this riot.

[8] Forte, "Bodhiruci," 104n109. For the adoption of these two titles, see, respectively, *JTS* 7.160, *ZZTJ* 210.6674; *JTS* 7.161.

[9] *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.570b26-c12. Cf. a colophon to the translation (dated Shenlong 2 [January 19, 706-February 6, 707]) found at the end of the Korean edition of *Da baoji jing* (Ikeda, *Shikigo*, 266). This seems to be no more than rewritten on the basis of the

Chongfusi-based translation project is naturally necessary considering that since no later than November 17, 703 Western Chongfusi had been headed by him. Then, why was Fazang's name so conspicuously absent from Xu E's list? Before any reasonable speculation can be advanced on this odd omission, we need to have a close look at the differences between Xu E and Zhisheng's lists.

Table 6. Members of Bodhiruci's Ratnakūṭa Translation Office Described by Xu E and Zhisheng

POSITION	XU E'S LIST	ZHISHENG'S LIST	POSITION
I. *yifanwen* 譯梵文 (translators of Sanskrit texts)	Sizhong 思忠, a śramaṇa-*bhadanta* (*shamen dade* 沙門大德)	Sizhong, śramaṇa	*zheng-fanwen*
	Yisheluo 伊舍羅, a great chief of E. Indian Kingdom; *brahmin* minister [of the Great Tang]	Yisheluo, great chief of the Eastern Indian Kingdom[10]	
		Dupoju 度頗具, an auxiliary in the Secretariat (*zhi zhongshu* 直中書)	
II. *zhengfanyi* 證梵義 (verifiers of Sanskrit meanings)	Borequduo 波若屈多, Indian śramaṇa	Borequduo 波若丘多, Southern Indian śramaṇa	*zheng fanyi*[11]
	Damo (Dharma) 達摩, Northern Indian śramaṇa	Dharma, śramaṇa	
III. *bishou* 筆授 (scribes)[12]	Lüfang 履方	Lüfang	*bishou*[13]
	Zongyi 宗一[14]	Zongyi	

description in Zhisheng's catalogue, for the members of the translation office supervised by Bodhiruci.

[10] He was probably the same person bearing the same name who appears in a colophon to Yijing's translation published in 710, in which he was also identified in the same way (i.e., as a great chief of the Eastern Indian Kingdom) (see Appendix I, note 143). He is probably also identical with the homonymous person in Vajrabodhi's (Jin'gangzhi 金剛智, 671?-741) translation bureau and who was known as a great Brahmin chief of East India and an auxiliary official in the Chancellery [of the Tang government] (see *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.571c4-9). But I am not certain as to his relationship with the person with a slightly different name (Yishena 伊舍那, instead of Yisheluo 伊舍羅) who served in Śikṣānanda's *Avataṃsaka* translation and who is identified by the *Fengyu shijing* colophon in a different way (see Appendix G, note 48). They may or may not have been the same person.

[11] Dharma appears before Boreqiuduo in Zhisheng's list.

[12] Xu E refers to all these four monks in this category as śramaṇa-*bhadanta*.

[13] Zhisheng refers to all these four monks in this category as śramaṇa. They appear in Zhisheng's lists in the following order: Huijue, Zongyi, Pujing, Lüfang.

[14] Zongyi was probably Fazang's disciple. See Chapter 3, note 81.

	Pujing 普敬	Pujing	
	Huijue 慧覺	Huijue	
IV. *zhengyi* 證義 (proofers of meanings)[15]	Shenliang 深亮	Shenliang	*zhengyi*[16]
	Sŭnjang 勝莊[17]	Sŭnjang	
	Chenwai 塵外	Chenwai	
	Wuzhuo 無著	Wuzhuo	
	Huidi 慧迪	Huaidi 懷迪[18]	
		Fazang	
V. *ciwen* 次文 (editors)[19]	Chengli 承禮 (?-727+)[20]	Chengli	*ciwen*[21]
	Yunguan 雲觀[22]	Yunguan	
	Shenjian 神暕	Shenjian	
	Daoben 道本		

[15] Xu E calls all these four monks in this category śramaṇa-*bhadanta* too.

[16] Zhisheng calls all these six monks in this category śramaṇa. They appear in Zhisheng's lists in the following order: Sŭnjang, Fazang, Chenwai, Wuzhuo, Shenliang, Huaidi.

[17] In addition to his role in Bodhiruci's *Ratnamegha* translation project, Sŭnjang seems to have participated in all stages of Yijing's translation project, from 700 until 713, as is verified by Yijing's biography at *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.568c5, 12.569a4. A disciple of Wŏnch'ŭk, he was also a prolific author, whose numerous commentaries, on a variety of *śāstra*s including *Yinming* [*ru*] *zhengli men lun* 因明[入]正理門論, *Zuisheng jinguangming jing*, *Huiwei tongli* 會違通理, *Fanwang jing*, *Dasheng apidamo zaji lun* 大乘阿毗大磨雜集論 (Skt. *Mahāyānābhidharma samuccaya vyākhyā*), *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論, *Da yinming lun* 大因明論, are mentioned in several Korean and Japanese Buddhist catalogues. See *Toiki dentō mokuroku*, *T* 55: 1153c4, 1154c23, 1157a26, 1158b04, 1159c15; *Sinp'yŏn chejong kyojang ch'ongnok*, *T* 55: 2.1173b04; *Kegonshū shōsho narabini immyō roku*, *T* 55: 1134a21; *Nittō shingu shōgyō mokuroku*, *T* 55: 1083c15. Except for his commentary on *Fanwang jing* (in four *juan*), which is still extant (*HPC* 2:114-181), and that on the *Jinguangming zuisheng wang jing*, of which only some fragments are extant (*HPC* 2:181-232), none of these works exists.

[18] Huidi and Huaidi probably refer to the same person. Huaidi is probably the right form of this translator's name, as is verified by his biographical note in *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.571c. He was later (probably posthumously) involved in the "translation" of the apocryphal *Shou lengyan jing* 首楞嚴經.

[19] Xu E calls all these four monks in this category *bhadanta*-śramaṇa (*dade shamen* 大德沙門), in contrast to śramaṇa-*bhadanta* (*shamen dade* 沙門大德) as he uses to refer to monks under the preceding categories. It seems to me that these were not two distinct appellations, but rather that Xu E (or the *Taishō* edition of his preface) has miswritten one as another. To the best of my knowledge, *dade shamen* seems to be a more common way of calling a distinguished monk under the Tang dynasty.

[20] We know that Chengli lived beyond 727 since Zanning mentions him as one of Wen'gang's friends (*falü* 法侶), who mourned for his death, which happened in 727.

[21] Zhisheng refers to all these three monks in this category as śramaṇa. They appear in Zhisheng's lists in the following order: Chengli, Shenjian, Yunguan.

[22] Yunguan had already had the experience of collaborating with Bodhiruci during the Shenlong era (705-707). See *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.569c3-4.

VI. *runwen* 潤文 (polishers)	Lu Can 盧粲 (?-714+), grand master of imperial entertainments with silver seal and blue ribbon (*yinqing guanglu daifu* 銀青光祿大夫), tutor (*fu* 傅) to prince of Fen 邠, supreme pillar of state, dynasty-founding earl (*kaiguobo* 開國伯) of Gu'an subprefecture 固安	Lu Can, tutor to Prince of Fen, earl of Gu'an.[23]	*runse* 潤色[24]
	Xu Jian 徐堅 (659?-729), grand master of imperial entertainments with silver seal and blue ribbon, vice supervisor of the Household of the Heir-apparent (*taizi [shao] chanshi* 太子[少]詹事), academician of the Institute for Promotion of Literature, chief compiler of dynastic history (*jianxiu guoshi* 監修國史), supreme pillar of state, dynasty-founding duke (*kaiguogong* 開國公) of Donghai subprefecture 東海	Xu Jian, vice supervisor of the Household of the heir apparent, and duke of Prefecture Donghai 東海.[25]	
	Su Jin 蘇晉 (?-726+), grand master for court discussion (*chaoyi daifu* 朝議大夫), acting drafter in the Secretariat, academician of the Institute for Glorification of Literature, supreme pillar of state, dynasty-founding baron (*kaiguonan* 開國男) of Sub-prefecture Yewang 野王	Su Jin 蘇瑨,[26] drafter in the Secretariat, baron of Yewang	

[23] Lu Can was the author of Yijing's funeral epitaph. For more about him, see Chen Jinhua, "Yijing," 17n18.

[24] These eight bureaucrat-scholars appear in Zhisheng's list in the following order: Xu Jian, Lu Can, Lu Cangyong, Su Jin, Peng Jingzhi, Wang Jin, Yan Wenzhi, He Zhizhang.

[25] Xu Jian is also mentioned in a colophon to Yijing's translations completed in 710, which attributes to him different titles (those he held by 710, three years before *Da Baoji jing* was completed).

[26] Xu E and Zhisheng give this official's name differently: Su Jin 蘇晉 vis-à-vis Su Jin 蘇瑨. According to the two official Tang histories (see, for examples, *JTS* 190B. 5029, 5037, 5044; *XTS* 119.4298, 128.4469, 202.5760/5763), the correct form should be 晉, rather than 瑨.

	Cui Ju 崔璩 (dates unknown),[27] a gentleman for court discussion and an auxiliary palace steward (*jishizhong nei gongfeng* 給事中內供奉)		
		Lu Cangyong 盧藏用 (?-714),[28] the right assistant director of the Department of State Affairs (*shangshu youcheng* 尚書右丞), baron of Donghai 東海	
		Peng Jingzhi 彭景直 (?-ca. 710),[29] vice director (*langzhong* 郎中) of the Ministry of Rites (*libu* 禮部)	
		Wang Jin 王瑨 (?-ca. 707+) (otherwise unknown), the left rectifier of omissions (*zuo buque* 左補闕) and baron of Qixian 祁縣	
		Yan Wenzhi 顔溫之 (?-712+),[30] an aide (*cheng* 丞) in the Chamberlain for the Palace Revenues (*taifu* 太府)	

[27] Cui Xuanwei's son, accorded a biography in neither of the two official Tang histories and only briefly mentioned in *JTS* biographies for his father and his son Cui Huan 崔渙 (?-768) (*JTS* 91.2935, 108.3280).

[28] According to his *JTS* (94.3004) biography, Lu Cangyong died at the beginning of the Kaiyuan era (December 22, 713-February 9, 742).

[29] His *XTS* biography suggests that he died while serving in this position, to which he was appointed shortly after Zhongzong died on July 3, 710.

[30] Nothing else is known about him except that in Jingyun 3 (February 12-29, 712) he wrote the verse part (*ming* 銘) of a memorial inscription dedicated to Heensi (with the prose part [*xu* 序] written by Pei Yaoqing 裴耀卿 [681-743]). See *Baoke congbian*, *SKQS* 682: 8.10b.

		He Zhizhang 賀知章 (659?-744?), an erudite (*boshi* 博士) of the Court of Imperial Sacrifice (*taichang* 太常)	
VII. *zongyue* 總閱 (overseers)	Wei Zhigu 魏知古 (647-715), grand master of imperial entertainments with silver seal and blue ribbon, acting director of the Chancellery (*shizhong* 侍中), concurrently acting as the head of the left Supervisorate of the Household of the Heir-apparent (*taizi zuo shuzi* 太子左庶子), chief compiler of dynastic history, supreme pillar of state, dynasty-founding duke of Sub-prefecture Julu 鉅鹿	Wei Zhigu, director of the Chancellery, duke of Julu	*jianyi* 監譯 (supervisors)[31]
	Guo Yuanzhen 郭元振 (?-722), minister of war (*bingbu shangshu* 兵部尚書) and supreme pillar of state		
	Zhang Yue, grand master of imperial entertainments with silver seal and blue ribbon, acting secretariat director (*jianjiao zhongshuling* 檢校中書令), supreme pillar of state, dynasty-founding baron of Sub-prefecture Fanyang 范陽		
	Lu Xiangxian 陸象先 (665-736), grand master of imperial entertainments with silver seal and blue ribbon, acting assistant gentleman in the Secretariat, cooperating with third rank officials of the Secretariat-Chancellery (*tong zhongshu menxia sanpin* 同中書門下三品), chief compiler of dynastic history, supreme pillar of state, dynasty-founding earl of Sub-prefecture Xingping 興平	Lu Xiangxian, assistant gentleman in the Secretariat, earl of Pingyu 平輿[32]	

[31] In Zhisheng's list Lu Xiangxian appears before Wei Zhigu.
[32] Either Xingping 興平 or Pingyu 平輿 is wrong.

	Xue Chongyin 薛崇胤 (dates unknown), the former chamberlain for ceremonials (*taichang qing* 太常卿)	*jianhu* 監護 (Supts. & Protectors)
	Yang Zhongsi 楊仲嗣 (dates unknown), secretarial receptionist (*tongshi sheren* 通事舍人), baron of Hongnong 弘農	

Zhisheng's list contains one position that is not covered by Xu E's—*jianhu* 監護 (superintendents and protectors), under which he lists two court officials, Xue Chongyin and Yang Zhongsi. Except for this, all the positions (seven in total) are shared by the two lists, although they refer to two of them differently—*zongyue* 總閱 (overseers) and *runwen* 潤文 (polishers) in Xu E's list in contrast to *jianyi* 監譯 (supervisors) and *runse* 潤色 (polishers) in Zhisheng's. Of these seven positions, two—*zhengfanyi* (including Dharma and Borequduo/Boreqiuduo) and *bishou* (including Lüfang, Zongyi, Pujing and Huijue)—each include identical members in both lists. As for the other five positions:

Under the position of *zhengfanwen*, Zhisheng lists three members, one of whom (Dupoju) is not included by Xu E;

Under the position of *zhengyi* 證義, Zhisheng lists six members, one of whom (Fazang) is not included by Xu E;

Under the position of *ciwen*, Xu E lists five members, one of whom (Daoben) is not included by Zhisheng;

Under the position of *runse*/*runwen*, Xu E lists four members; one (Cui Ju) is not included by Zhisheng, who, on the other hand, lists eight members, five of whom (Lu Cangyong, Su Jin, Peng Jingzhi, Wang Jin, Yan Wenzhi, He Zhizhang) are not found in Xu E's;

Under the position of *zongyue*/*jianyi*, Xu E lists four members; two (Guo Yuanzhen and Zhang Yue) are not included by Zhisheng.

We thus can conclude that there are eight members listed by Zhisheng who are not found in Xu E's list: Dupoju, Fazang, Lu Cangyong, Su Jin, Peng Jingzhi, Wang Jin, Yan Wenzhi, and He Zhizhang. Of these eight people, who did participate in Bodhiruci's *Ratnakūṭa* translation project according to Zhisheng but who were left out by Xu E, three (Fazang, Lu Cangyong and Peng Jingzhi) died either in or before 715 (and therefore before Xu E wrote the account). Xu E omitted them probably because they were not alive when he wrote the account. As for He Zhizhang, who lived until 744, many years after the account was

written, he was not mentioned probably because he was then still rather obscure given that he was not appointed to a low-ranking position until sometime between 711 and 713 thanks to the help of his cousin Lu Xiangxian, who was then a prime minister.[33] It is noteworthy that this happened almost at the same time that the *Ratnakūṭa* translation was finishing. If this was also the time when He Zhizhang was enrolled into the project, his role therein must have been minimal, which must have constituted another factor contributing to his being ignored by Xu E. As for the other four members—Dupoju, Su Jin, Wang Jin, Yan Wenzhi, we know them too little to decide the specific reasons of their being skipped over. These could have been their death preceding the composition of the account, their lack in influence and importance, or their being disgraced at the time. Given that Dupoju was already a rather distinguished translator by the time, and as a foreigner, he might have been less likely to get implicated in political infighting, I am inclined to believe that the exclusion of his name from Xu E's list indicates that he may have died before it was prepared.

[33] Fu Xuancong et al. (coll. and annot.), *Tang caizi zhuan jiaojian* 1: 455-56, 5: 86; Zhang Zhongqing, "He Zhizhang shengping."

APPENDIX I

MEMBERS OF THE TRANSLATION OFFICE HEADED BY YIJING (706-710)

In discussing Fazang's connections with Great Jianfusi in the last years of his life (Chapter Nine), I argued against his alleged longstanding affiliation with (or even his abbotship of) the monastery. A main proof is the absence of Fazang's name in Zhisheng's list of Yijing's collaborators in his translation project between 706 and 710 and in another far more complete list included in a colophon dated July 17, 710 that was attached to several of Yijing's translations.

The most complete version of this colophon is contained in a 1090 edition of *Genben Shuoyiqieyou bu bichuni pi'naiye* 根本說一切有部苾芻尼毘奈耶 that is currently stored at Kōyasan 高野山, Japan. The colophon was found at the end of the first *juan* of this twenty-*juan* vinaya text. As is presented in this edition,[1] the colophon ends with a date—May 30, 725 (Kaiyuan 13.4.15), which indicates when the copying of the whole text was completed, since right after this date is the statement that it took two thousand sheets of paper to copy this text and that the copied text was inspected and collated by two monks called Yuwai 宇外 and Faming 法明. The text itself was translated, according to Zhisheng, in 710.[2] This suggests that the list must have been also compiled in 710.

This assumption is verified by two shorter versions of this colophon, both of which start with a specific date—July 17, 710 (Jinglong 4.4.15). One version is attached to the end of two single-*juan* vinaya texts translated by Yijing, *Genben Shuoyiqieyou bu pi'naiye nituona mudejia shesong* 根本說一切有部毘奈耶尼陀那目得迦攝頌 (*T* no. 1456) and *Genben Shuoyiqieyou bu lüe pi'naiye zashi shesong* 根本說一切有部略毘奈耶雜事攝頌 (*T* no. 1457), and to the first *juan* of the five-*juan*

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[1] This colophon, referred to as "*Yiqieyou bu bichuni pi'naiye juanyi yichang liewei*" 一切有部苾芻尼毘奈耶卷一譯場列位, is included in Ikeda, *Shikigo*, 276-79.

[2] In his list for Yijing's translations (*KSL*, *T* 55: 9.567a-568b), Zhisheng includes nineteen translations that were published in 710. Four of them were given a specific day—July 17, 710: [1] *Yuxiang gongde jing* 浴像功德經 (1 *juan*), [2] *Shuzhu gongde jing* 數珠功德經 (1 *juan*), [3] *Cheng weishi baosheng lun* 成唯識寶生論 (5 *juan*), and [4] *Guan suoyuan lunshi* 觀所緣論釋 (1 *juan*). This date is exactly when the two shorter versions of the complete list are dated.

Cheng weishi baosheng lun 成唯識寶生論 (*T* no. 1591). The other version is attached to the first *juan* of the ten-*juan Genben Shuoyiqieyou bu nituona [mudejia]* 根本說一切有部尼陀那[目得迦] (*T* no. 1451). Given that *Genben Shuoyiqieyou bu nituona* was published on November 17, 703 (Chang'an 3.10.4),[3] the text did not originally go with this colophon which was dated seven years after the text was published. The colophon must have been, then, wrongly added to this text by a later editor, who mistook it as belonging to this text.[4]

It is necessary to compare these three different versions of the colophon. While the first version has only one edition (i.e., the 1091 edition preserved on Kōyasan; hereafter to be referred to as P given that it is the principal version to be treated here), the second and third versions have several editions each.

As was just noted, the second version is found in three vinaya texts: *T* nos. 1456, 1457, 1591. For this version of the colophon produced in each of these three texts, the *Taishō* editors use two editions: for *T* no. 1456, an edition shared by the Song and Yuan canons (hereafter A1), and the Shōgozō edition[5] (hereafter A2); for *T* no. 1457, an edition shared by the Song, Yuan and Ming canons (hereafter B1), and Kunai edition[6] (hereafter B2); for *T* no. 1591, an edition shared by the Song, Yuan and Ming canons (hereafter C1) and the Kunai edition (C2).

For the third version of the colophon, it has six editions, the Ming edition (hereafter D1), Song edition (hereafter D2), Yuan edition (hereafter D3), Kunai edition (hereafter D4), Kuhara edition[7] (hereafter D5), and the Ishiyamaji 石山寺 edition (hereafter D6). The first five editions are conveniently presented in *T* no. 1451, which is based on D1 in collation with D2-5. D6 is transcribed and edited in the collection of medieval Chinese colophons compiled by Ikeda On 池田溫.[8]

A critical edition of this colophon can be made as follows on the basis of its three different versions, each in its various editions:[9]

大唐景龍四年歲次庚戌四月壬午朔十五日景申

1. 三藏法師, 大德沙門義淨, 宣釋梵本, 并綴文正字;
2. 翻經沙門, 吐火羅大德達磨[10]秣[11]磨[12], 證梵義;

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[3] *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.567a.

[4] As a matter of fact, we do have a colophon originally belonging to those translations published by Yijing on November 17, 703. See Ikeda, *Shikigo*, 264-65. This colophon refers to Fazang as a collaborator of Yijing.

[5] The Shōgozō 聖語藏 edition is stored in the Imperial Treasure House Shōsōin 正倉院 in Nara 奈良, Japan.

[6] Kunai 宮內 edition is stored in the Library of the Japanese Imperial House (Kunaishō toshoryō 宮內省圖書寮).

[7] Kuhara 久原 edition belongs to the Kuhara library based in Tokyo.

[8] Ikeda, *Shikigo*, 276-79.

[9] This date is only present in P, not in all other editions.

3. 翻經沙門, 中天竺國大德拔[13]努, 證梵義;
4. 翻經沙門, 罽賓國大德達磨難陀, 證梵文[14];
5. [15]翻經沙門, 西涼州白[16]塔寺大[17]德慧積, 讀梵本;
6. [18]翻經沙門, 大崇聖寺大德律師文綱[19], 證義;
7. 翻經沙門, 淄州大雲寺大德慧沼, 證義;
8. 翻經沙門, 洛州崇先[20]寺大德律師道琳[21], 證義;
9. 翻經沙門, 福壽寺寺主[22]大德利明, 證義;
10. [23]翻經沙門, 大薦福寺大德律師思恆, 證義;
11. 翻經沙門, 洛[24]州太平寺大德律師道恪, 證義;
12. [25]翻經沙門, 相州禪河寺大德玄傘, 證義, 筆受;
13. 翻經沙門, 大薦福寺大德勝莊[26], 證義;
14. [27]翻經沙門, 罔極寺[28]上座, 律師愛同, 證義;

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[10] P=A1-2=B1-2=D1-5=達磨, D6=達摩, C1-2=達.

[11] P=A2=C1-2=D1-6=秣, A1=B1-2=秫.

[12] P=B1-2=C1-2=D1-6=磨, A1-2=唐.

[13] A1 =校, A2=B1-2=C1-2= D1-6=拔, P=拨.

[14] P=A1=B1-2=C1-2=D1-6=文, A2 =義.

[15] B1-2, which do not have the line on Li Shijia, have this line (on Huiji) before the line on Qu[tang]jin'gang. Cf. note 32.

[16] P=A1 =D1-5=白, A2=B1-2=C1-2=伯. 白 seems correct.

[17] P=A1-2=B1-2=C1-2=D1-4=寺大, D5 =寺. 寺大 is correct.

[18] A1-2, B1-2, C1-2 and D1-6 do not have this line (on Wen'gang).

[19] P=剛. 剛 should be 綱, as is indicated by Wen'gang's *SGSZ* biography at *T* 50: 14.791c-792b, in which he is identified as a monk of Chongshengsi, as it is here.

[20] P=A2=B1-2=先, A1=C1-2= D1-6=光. I am not certain as to which character is correct. There was indeed a monastery called Chongxiansi, but it was in Chang'an (see Appendix G, note 44), not in Luoyang as it is indicated here. It is possible that there was a temple called Chongguangsi in Luoyang. The colophon to *Da Zhou kanding zhongjing mulu* (*T* 55: 15.475c) refers to a monk, Wenche 文澈, who was the administrator (*duweina* 都維那) of Chongguangsi 崇光寺, and a *bhadanta*-translator. It is not clear if this Chongguangsi is in Chang'an or Luoyang (it is possible that Chongguangsi here is an error for Chongxiansi, just as the famous monastery Fuxiansi 福先寺 is miscopied as Fuguangsi 福光寺 several times in the same colophon).

[21] P=A1-2=B1-2=C1=D1-6=琳, C2=啉.

[22] P=A1-2=B1-2=C1-2=D5-6=寺主, D1-4=主.

[23] This line (on Siheng) is missing from A1-2, B1-2, C1-2, and D1-6.

[24] P=A1-2=B1-2=C1-2=D1-3=D6=洛, D4-5=渭. 洛 is correct given that Taipingsi was in Luoyang (see Chen Jinhua, "*Śarīra* and Scepter," 66).

[25] In A1-2, B1-2, C1-2, and D1-6, this line (on Xuansan) is placed after the line on Sŭnjang and before that on Zhiji.

[26] P=A1-2=B1-2=D1-4=D6=勝莊, C1-2=大勝莊, D5=勝在. 勝莊 is correct.

[27] These six lines—about Aitong, Huaizhi, Tanbiao, Chongye, Huilang, Daliang—are not found in A1-2, B1-2, C1-2, D1-6.

[28] P=反極寺, an error for 罔極寺. Wangjisi was built by Princess Taiping in the Taining 太寧 (i.e., Daning 大寧) Ward in Chang'an for the welfare of her mother Empress Wu, in accordance with a decree that Zhongzong issued on April 9, 705 (Shenlong 1.3.12), when Empress Wu was then drawing to the end of her life. It was renamed Xingtangsi 興唐寺 on July 3, 732 (Kaiyuan 20.6.7). See *THY* 48.846. For more about this monastery, see Chen Jinhua, "Tang Nuns," 62n29.

15. 翻經沙門, 招福寺大德, 律師懷志, 證義;
16. 翻經沙門, 西崇福寺大德, 律師曇表, 證義;
17. 翻經沙門, 西明寺大德, 律師崇業, 證義;
18. 翻經沙門, 新都寺大德, 律師惠朗, 證義;
19. 翻經沙門, 觀音寺大德, 律師大亮, 證義;
20. 翻經沙門, 大薦福寺大德智積, 證義, 正字;
21. [29]翻經沙門, 大般若寺大德雲辯, 證義;
22. 翻經沙門, 德州大雲寺寺主[30]慧傘, 證義;
23. [31]翻經沙門, 大安國寺大德多子, 證義;
24. 翻經沙門, 龍興寺大德律師道珪, 證義;
25. 翻經沙門, 大開業寺大德律師處寂, 證義;
26. 翻經沙門, 西崇福寺大德律師彼岸, 證義;
27. 翻經沙門, 西崇福寺大德律師秀璋, 證義;
28. [32]翻經婆羅門, 右驍衛翊府中郎將, 員外置宿衛, 目[33]李釋迦[34], 讀梵本;
29. [35]翻經婆羅門, 東天竺國左屯衛[36]翊府中郎將, 員外置, 同正員, 臣瞿曇[37]金剛, 證譯[38];
30. 翻經婆羅門, 東天竺國大首領, 臣伊舍[39]羅, 證梵本;
31. [40]翻經婆羅門, 左[41]領軍衛中郎將, 迦濕[42]彌羅國王子臣阿[43]順, 證譯[44];
32. 翻經婆羅門, 東天竺國左領軍右執戟[45], 直中書省, 臣度[46]頗具, 讀梵本;
33. 翻經婆羅門, 龍播國大達官, 准五[47]品, 臣李輸羅, 證譯;
34. 金紫光祿大夫, 守尚書左[48]僕射, 同中書門下三品, 上柱國, (史)[49]舒[國]公[50], 臣韋巨[51]源, 監[52]譯;

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[29] This line (on Yunbian) is not found in A1-2, B1-2, C1-2, D1-6.
[30] P=A1-2=B1-2=C1-2=D5-6 =寺主, D1-4=主.
[31] These following five lines—on Duozi, Daogui, Chuji, Bi'an, and Xiuzhang—are not found in A1-2, B1-2, C1-2, D1-6.
[32] This line (on Li Shijia) is not found in B1-2.
[33] P=目, A1-2=B1-2=C1-2=D1-6=臣. 臣 is correct.
[34] P=A2=B1-2=C1-2=D1-6=迦, A1=加.
[35] This line (twenty-nine characters, about Qutangjin'gang) misses from D5.
[36] P =A2 =B1-2=D1-5=屯衛, A1=屯, C1-2=衛.
[37] P=瞿曇, A1-2=B1-2=C1-2=D6=瞿, D1-5=翟. 瞿曇 seems correct.
[38] P=A1-2=B1-2=C1-2=譯, D1-6=義.
[39] P=A1-2=B1-2=C1-2=D6=舍, D1-5=金. 舍 is correct.
[40] This line (on Ashun) is not found in A1-2.
[41] P=A1-2=B1-2=C1-2=D1-4=D6=左, D5=右.
[42] P=A1-2=b1=C1-2=D1-6=濕, B2=涅. 濕 is correct.
[43] B1-2=C1-2=D5-6=P=阿, D1-4=何.
[44] P=B1-2=C1-2=D6=譯, D1-5=義.
[45] P=D1-5=左領軍右執戟, A1-2=B1-2=C1-2=D6=左執戟.
[46] P=A1-2=B1-2=C1-2=臣度, D1-6=臣.
[47] P=A2 =B1-2=C1-2=D1-6=五, A1=三.
[48] P=D1-4=D6=左, D5=右.

35. 尚書右僕射, 同中書門下三品, 上柱國, 許國公, 臣蘇瓌[53], 監譯;
36. 特進行太子少[54]師, 同中書門下三品, 上柱國, 宋國[55]公, 臣唐休璟, 監[56]譯;
37. 特進太子少保, 兼揚州大都督, 同中書門下三品, 監修國史, 上柱國, 彭國公, 臣韋溫, 監譯;
38. 特進同中書門下三品, 修文[57]館大學士, 監修國史, 上柱國, 趙國公, 臣李嶠, 筆受兼潤色;
39. 特進侍中, 監修國史, 上柱國, 鄖國公, 臣[58]韋安石, 監譯;
40. 特中[59], 監修國史, 上柱國, 越國公, 臣紀處訥, 監譯;
41. 光祿大夫, 行中書令, 修文[60]館大學士, 監修[61]國史, 上柱國, 郢國公, 臣宗楚客, 監[62]譯;
42. 中書令, 監修國史, 上柱國, 酇[63]國公, 臣蕭至忠[64], 監譯;
43. 翻經學士, 銀青光祿大夫, 守兵部尚書, [同中書][65]門下三品, 修文[66]館大學士, 上護軍[67], 逍遙公, 臣韋嗣立[68];
44. 翻經學士, 中散大夫, 守中書侍郎, 同中書門下三品, 著紫, 佩金魚[69], 修文[70]館學士[71], 上柱國, 臣趙彥[72]昭;
45. [73]翻經學士, 太中大夫, 守祕書監, 員外[置][74], 同正員, 修國史, 修文[75]館學士, 上柱國, 臣劉憲;

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[49] This character, which appears in all editions, is redundant.

[50] P=舒公, D1-6=舒國公. 舒國公 is correct.

[51] P=D2=D6=巨, D1=D3-5=臣. 巨 is correct.

[52] P=D1-6=監, D5=濫.

[53] P=D6=瑰, D1-5=環. 瑰 is correct.

[54] P=D1-4=太子少, D5-6=太子. 太子少 is correct.

[55] P=D1-4=D6=上柱國宋國, D5=上柱國. 上柱國宋國 is correct.

[56] P=D1-4=D6=監, D5=濫.

[57] P==D1-5=文, D6=父. 文 is correct.

[58] P=D1=D3=鄖國公臣, D2=D4-5=鄖國公, D1-5=公臣, D6=公. 鄖國公臣 is correct, Yun being the title of Wei Anshi's dukedom. Wei Anshi was bestowed the ducal title in Shenlong 1 (January 30, 705-January 18, 706) (see *JTS* 92.2956, *XTS* 122.4350). The title was changed into Xun 郇 on November 29, 710 (Jingyun 1.11.4 [*xinhai*]), slightly over four months after the colophon was compiled (see *JTS* 7.156).

[59] P=特中, D1-6=侍中. Ikeda suggests that 特中 is an error for 特進侍中.

[60] P=D1-5=文, D6=父. 文 is correct.

[61] P=D6=兼修, D1-5=修.

[62] P=D1-4=D6=監, D5=濫.

[63] P=D1-4=D6=酇, D5 =鄧. 酇 is correct. Zan being the title of Xiao Zhizhong's dukedom. See *JTS* 7.147, 148, 153, 161, 187B.4893; *XTS* 123.4373.

[64] P=D1-5=忠, D6=志. 忠 is correct.

[65] 同中書 seem to have been dropped here.

[66] P=D1-5=文, D6=父. 文 is correct.

[67] P=上護軍, D1-6=上柱國.

[68] P=D1-5=立, D6=之. 立 is correct.

[69] P=D1-4=D6=同中書門下三品著紫佩金魚, D5=同中書門下三品.

[70] P=D1-5=文, D6=父. 文 is correct.

[71] *XTS* (127.5748) has him as a *da xueshi* 大學士.

[72] P=D1-5=彥, D6=光. 彥 is correct.

46. 翻經學士, 銀青光祿大夫, 行中書[76]侍郎, 修文[77]館學士, 兼修國史, 上柱國, 朝陽縣開國子, [臣][78]岑義[79];
47. 翻經學士, 通議大夫, 守吏部侍郎, 修文[80]館學士, 兼修國史, 上柱國臣崔湜[81];
48. 翻經學士, 朝議大夫, 守兵部侍郎, 兼修文[82]館學士, 兼修[83]國史, 上柱國, 臣張說;
49. 翻經學士, 太中大夫, 檢校兵部侍郎, 騎[84]尉, 修文館學士, 安平縣開國子, 臣崔日用;
50. 翻經學士, 朝請大夫, 守中書舍人, 兼檢校吏部侍郎, 修文[85]館學士, 上柱國[86], 車騎[87]都尉, 臣盧藏用;
51. 翻經學士, 銀青光祿大夫, 行禮部侍郎, 修文[88]館學士[89], 兼修[90]國史, 上柱國, 慈源縣開國子, [臣] [91]徐堅[92];
52. 翻經學士, 正議大夫, 行國子司業, 修文[93]館學士, 上柱國, 臣郭山惲;
53. 翻經學士, 禮部郎中[94], 修文[95]館直學士, 輕車都尉, 河東縣開國[96]男[97], 臣薛稷;
54. 翻經學士, 正議大夫, 前蒲[98]州刺史, 修文[99]館學士, 上柱國, 高平[100]縣開國子, 臣徐彥伯;

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[73] D5 does not have these two lines (68 characters) (about Liu Xian and Cen Yi).
[74] P=D6=員外, D1-5=員外置.
[75] P=D1-5=文, D6=父. 文 is correct.
[76] P=D1-5=中書, D6=中. 中書 is correct.
[77] P=D1-5=文, D6=父. 文 is correct.
[78] P=朝陽縣開國子, D1-5=朝陽縣開國子臣. 朝陽縣開國子臣 is correct.
[79] P=D1-5=岑, D6=少. 岑 is correct. 義 is obviously an error for 羲.
[80] P=D1-5=文, D6=父. 文 is correct.
[81] P=D1-5=湜, D6=是. 湜 is correct.
[82] P=D1-5=文, D6=父. 文 is correct.
[83] P=兼修, D1-6=修.
[84] Ikeda suggests that this character is redundant.
[85] P=D1-5=文, D6=父. 文 is correct.
[86] P=修文館學士上柱國, D1-5=修文館學士.
[87] P=車騎, D1-5=經車.
[88] P=D1-5=學士, D6=學. 學士 is correct.
[89] P=D1-5=文, D6=父. 文 is correct.
[90] P=兼修, D1-6=修.
[91] P=慈源縣開國子, D1-5=慈源縣開國子臣. 慈源縣開國子臣 is correct.
[92] P=D1-4=堅貞, D5=望, D6=堅. 堅 is correct. According to Xu Jian's *XTS* (199.5662) biography, he achieved the title of Viscount of Sub-prefecture Ciyuan under the reign of Empress Wu.
[93] P=D1-5=文, D6=父. 文 is correct.
[94] P=D1-5=郎中, D6=郎. 郎中 is correct.
[95] P=D1-5=修文, D6=父. 修文 is correct.
[96] P=D1-4=D6=開國, D5=國. 開國 is correct.
[97] P=D1-4=D6=男, D5=界. 男 is correct.
[98] P=D1-4=D6=蒲; D5=瀛. 蒲 is correct, as is verified by Xu Yanbo's biographies, according to which he once served as the prefect of Puzhou 蒲州. See *JTS* 94.3006, *XTS* 112.4202.

55. 翻經學士, 中大夫[101], 行中書舍人, 修文[102]館學士[103], 上柱國, 臣李乂[104];
56. [105]翻經學士, 中書舍人, 修文館學士[106], 上柱國, 金鄉縣開國男[107], 臣[108]韋元旦[109];
57. 翻經學士, 太中大夫[110], 行中書舍人, 修文[111]館直學士[112], 上柱國, 臣馬懷素;
58. 翻經學士, 朝請大夫, 守給事中, 修文[113]館學士[114], 上柱國, 臣李適;
59. 翻經學士, 中書舍人, 修文[115]館學士[116], 上柱國, 臣蘇頲[117];
60. 翻經學士, 朝散大夫, 守著作[郎][118], 修文[119]館學士[120], 兼修國史, 臣鄭愔;
61. [121]翻經學士, 朝散大夫, 行起居郎, 修文館直學士, 上護軍, 臣沈佺[122]期;
62. 翻經學士, 朝請大夫, 行考功員外郎, 修文館直學士, 上柱國[123], [輕]車都尉[124], 臣武平一[125];
63. 翻經學士, 著作佐郎, 修文館直學士, 臣閻朝隱[126];
64. 翻經學士, 修文館直學士, 臣符鳳;
65. 書手, 祕書省楷書令史, 臣趙希令寫;
66. 孔目官, 文林郎, 少府監掌冶[127]署[128]丞, 臣殷庭龜;

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[99] P=D1-5=文, D6=攵. 文 is correct.
[100] P=D1-4=D6=平, D5 =羊. 平 is correct.
[101] P=D1-5=中大夫, D6=大夫.
[102] P=D1-5=文, D6=攵. 文 is correct.
[103] Ikeda suggests that 學士 should be 直學士.
[104] P=D1-4=D6=乂, D5=叉. 乂 is correct.
[105] This line (on Wei Yuandan) misses from D6.
[106] Ikeda suggests that 學士 should be 直學士.
[107] P=D1-4=男, D5=界. 男 is correct.
[108] This character misses from all the editions except for D5.
[109] P=旦, D1-5=亙. 旦 is correct.
[110] P=太中大夫, D1-5=中大夫, D6=中夫.
[111] P=D1-5=文, D6=攵. 文 is correct.
[112] P=D5=直學士, D1-4=學士.
[113] P=D1-5=文, D6=攵. 文 is correct.
[114] Ikeda suggests that 學士 should be 直學士.
[115] P=D1-5=文, D6=攵. 文 is correct.
[116] Ikeda suggests that 學士 should be 直學士.
[117] P=D5=瑣, D1-4=頲, D6=頒. 頲 is correct.
[118] P =D5-6=守著作, D1-4=守著作郎. 守著作郎 is correct.
[119] P=D1-5=文, D6=攵. 文 is correct.
[120] Ikeda suggests that 學士 should be 直學士.
[121] These nine lines (on Shen Quanqi, Wu Pingyi, Yan Chaoyin, Fu Feng, Zhao Xiling, Yin Tinggui, Pan Jiaji, Liu Lingzhi, and Li Yong) miss from D6.
[122] P=D1-4=D6=佺, D5=佺. 佺 is correct.
[123] P=上柱國, D1-5=上. 上柱國 is correct.
[124] P=車都尉, D1-5=輕車都尉. 輕車都尉 is correct.
[125] P=D5=武平一, D1-4=武平.
[126] D5 does not have this line (18 characters) (on Yan Chaoyin).

67. [129]判官, 朝議郎, 行相州安陽縣令, 上柱國, [臣][130]潘嘉寂[131];
68. 判官, 朝散大夫, 行著作佐郎, 臣劉令植;
69. 使, 金紫光祿大夫, 行祕[132]書監, 檢校殿中, 監兼知內外閑廄, 隴右三使, 上柱國, 嗣虢[133]王, 臣[134]邕[135].

This colophon mentions as many as sixty-nine people who played different roles in Yijing's translation project: [1]. Yijing 義淨, [2]. Damomomo 達磨秣磨, [3]. Banu 拔努, [4]. Damonantuo 達磨難陀, [5]. Huiji 慧積, [6]. Wen'gang 文綱, [7]. Huizhao 慧沼, [8]. Daolin 道琳, [9]. Liming 利明, [10]. Siheng 思恆, [11]. Daoke 道恪, [12]. Xuansan 玄傘, [13]. Sŭnjang 勝莊, [14]. Aitong 愛同, [15]. Huaizhi 懷志, [16]. Tanbiao 曇表, [17]. Chongye 崇業, [18]. Huilang 惠朗, [19]. Daliang 大亮, [20]. Zhiji 智積, [21]. Yunbian 雲辯, [22]. Huisan 慧傘, [23]. Duozi 多子, [24]. Daogui 道珪, [25]. Chuji 處寂, [26]. Bi'an 彼岸, [27]. Xiuzhang 秀璋, [28]. Li Shijia 李釋迦, [29]. Qutanjin'gang 瞿曇金剛, [30]. Yisheluo 伊舍羅, [31]. Ashun 阿順, [32]. Dupoju 度頗具, [33]. Li Shuluo 李輸羅, [34]. Wei Juyuan 韋巨源, [35]. Su Gui 蘇瓌, [36]. Tang Xiujing 唐休璟, [37]. Wei Wen 韋溫, [38]. Li Jiao 李嶠, [39]. Wei Anshi 韋安石, [40]. Ji Chu'ne 紀處訥, [41]. Zong Chuke 宗楚客, [42]. Xiao Zhizhong 蕭至忠,

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[127] P=冶, D1-5 =治. 冶 is correct.
[128] P=D1-4=署, D5=著. 署 is correct.
[129] This line (on Pan Jiaji) misses from D1-6.
[130] 臣 is dropped from P.
[131] About Wei Juyuan and the thirty-three people after him (from Su Gui to Pan Jiaji), A1-2, B1-2, C1-2 make such a summary: 金紫光祿大夫, 守尚書左僕射, 同中書門下三品, 上柱國, 史館國公, 臣匡臣源等, 及修文館學士三十三人同監, which should be corrected to 金紫光祿大夫, 守尚書左僕射, 同中書門下三品, 上柱國, 舒國公, 臣韋巨源等, 及修文館學士三十三人同監 (史 before 館 is redundant, 館 is an error for 舒; 匡臣源 is an error for 韋巨源). It can be translated as, "Wei Juyuan, grand master of the palace with golden seal and purple ribbon, acting left vice director of the Department of State Affairs (*shou shangshu zuo puye* 守尚書左僕射), cooperating with third rank officials of the Secretariat-Chancellery, supreme pillar of state, state-duke of Shu 舒, and thirty-three academicians of the Institute for the Cultivation of Literature, supervised the translation together." This summary, although counting the people omitted correctly, is inaccurate in a couple of points. First, it is not true that Wei Juyuan and all these thirty-three people supervised (*jian* 監) the translation together. As is clear from the colophon, those who "supervised the translation" (*jianyi* 監譯) were only eight people, including Wei Juyuan, Su Gui, Tang Xiujing, Wei Wen, Wei Anshi, Ji Chu'ne, Zong Chuke and Xiao Zhizhong. Second, of the thirty-three people listed behind Wei Juyuan, only twenty-four were academicians—to be more specific, three grand academicians (*da xueshi* 大學士) (Li Jiao, Zong Chuke and Wei Sili), fifteen academicians (Zhao Yanzhao, Liu Xian, Cen Xi, Cui Shi, Zhang Yue, Cui Riyong, Lu Cangyong, Xu Jian, Guo Shanyun, Xu Yanbo, Li Yi, Wei Yuandan, Li Shi, Su Ting, and Zheng Yin), and six auxiliary academicians (*zhi xueshi* 直學士) (Xue Ji, Ma Huaisu, Shen Quanqi, Wu Pingyi, Yan Chaoyin, and Fu Feng).
[132] A1-2=B1-2=C1-2=祕, B1-2=私. 祕 is correct.
[133] P=A1-2=虢, B1-2=C1-2=D1-5=號. 虢 is correct.
[134] A1-2=D5 =王臣, B1-2=D1-4=臣王. 王臣 is correct.
[135] A1=邕, A2=C1-2=邑. 邕 is correct.

[43]. Wei Sili 韋嗣立, [44]. Zhao Yanzhao 趙彥昭, [45]. Liu Xian 劉憲, [46]. Cen Yi 岑義 [=Cen Xi 岑羲], [47]. Cui Shi 崔湜, [48]. Zhang Yue 張說, [49]. Cui Riyong 崔日用, [50]. Lu Cangyong 盧藏用, [51]. Xu Jian 徐堅, [52]. Guo Shanyun 郭山惲, [53]. Xue Ji 薛稷, [54]. Xu Yanbo 徐彥伯, [55]. Li Yi 李乂, [56]. Wei Yuandan 韋元旦, [57]. Ma Huaisu 馬懷素, [58]. Li Shi 李適, [59]. Su Ting 蘇頲, [60]. Zheng Yin 鄭愔, [61]. Shen Quanqi 沈佺期, [62]. Wu Pingyi 武平一, [63]. Yan Chaoyin 閻朝隱, [64]. Fu Feng 符鳳, [65]. Zhao Xiling 趙希令, [66]. Yin Tinggui 殷庭龜, [67]. Pan Jiaji 潘嘉寂, [68]. Liu Lingzhi 劉令植, and [69]. Li Yong 李邕.

Twenty-two of them are included in the second version of this colophon (A1-2, B1-2, C1-2): 1. [1. Yijing], 2. [2. Damomomo], 3. [3. Banu], 4. [4. Damonantuo], 5. [7. Huizhao], 6. [8. Daolin], 7. [9. Liming], 8. [11. Daoke], 9. [13. Sŭnjang], 10. [12. Xuansan], 11. [20. Zhiji], 12. [22. Huisan], 13. [5. Huiji], 14. [28. Li Shijia], 15. [29. Qutanjin'gang], 16. [30. Yisheluo], 17. [31. Ashun], 18. [32. Dupoju], 19. [33. Li Shuluo], 20. [34. Wei Juyuan], 21. [68. Liu Lingzhi], 22. [69. Li Yong].[136]

Fifty-four people are included in the third version (D1-6): 1. [1. Yijing], 2. [2. Damomomo], 3. [3. Banu], 4. [4. Damonantuo], 5. [7. Huizhao], 6. [8. Daolin], 7. [9. Liming], 8. [10. Siheng], 9. [11. Daoke], 10. [13. Sŭnjang], 11. [12. Xuansan], 12. [20. Zhiji], 13. [22. Huisan], 14. [5. Huiji], 15. [28. Li Shijia], 16. [29. Qutanjin'gang], 17. [30. Yisheluo], 18. [31. Ashun], 19. [32. Dupoju], 20. [33. Li Shuluo], 21. [34. Wei Juyuan], 22. [35. Su Gui], 23. [36. Tang Xiujing], 24. [37. Wei Wen], 25. [38. Li Jiao], 26. [39. Wei Anshi], 27. [40. Ji Chu'ne], 28. [41. Zong Chuke], 29. [42. Xiao Zhizhong], 30. [43. Wei Sili], 31. [44. Zhao Yanzhao], 32. [45. Liu Xian], 33. [46. Cen Xi], 34. [47. Cui Shi], 34. [48. Zhang Yue], 35. [49. Cui Riyong], 36. [50. Lu Cangyong], 37. [51. Xu Jian], 38. [52. Guo Shanyun], 39. [53. Xue Ji], 40. [54. Xu Yanbo], 41. [55. Li Yi], 42. [56. Wei Yuandan], 43. [57. Ma Huaisu], 44. [58. Li Shi], 45. [59. Su Ting], 46. [60. Zheng Yin], 47. [61. Shen Quanqi], 48. [62. Wu Pingyi], 49. [63. Yan Chaoyin], 50. [64. Fu Feng], 51. [65. Zhao Xiling], 52. [66. Yin Tinggui], 53. [68. Liu Lingzhi], 54. [69. Li Yong].[137]

On the other hand, in surveying the translation project that Yijing carried out between 706 (Shenlong 2 [January 19, 706-February 6, 707]) and 710 (Jinglong 4 [February 4-July 3, 710]) (actually between December 7, 706, when Yijing arrived in Chang'an from Luoyang following the imperial chariots, and July 17, 710, when he published nineteen of his translations), Zhisheng also provides us another list of

[136] It should be noted, however, that the line on Ashun is missing from A1-2, while the two lines on Huiji and Li Shijia are omitted from B1-2.

[137] Three lines (on Qutangjin'gang, Liu Xian and Cen Xi) are not found in D5, ten lines (on Wei Yuandan, on Shen Quanqi, Wu Pingyi, Yan Chaoyin, Fu Feng, Zhao Xiling, Yin Tinggui, Pan Jiaji, Liu Lingzhi, and Li Yong) are missing from D6.

Yijing's collaborators. Far shorter than the list contained in the colophon just surveyed above, Zhisheng's list only contains twenty-seven people. This presents us the problem of how to understand the relationship between these two lists. To be specific, we may wonder, "Is Zhisheng's list here simply based on the colophon, of which he makes a summary, or does he have another source for his own list?" Before proceeding to compare these two lists, let me here present Zhisheng's list too:

[神龍]二年…… 又至景龍四年庚戌……已上二十部八十八卷:
(1) 吐火羅沙門達磨末磨, (2) 中印度沙門拔弩證梵義;
(3) 罽賓沙門達磨難陀證梵文;
(4) 居士東印度首領伊舍羅證梵本;
(5) 沙門慧積, (6) 居士中印度李釋迦, (7) 度頗多等讀梵本; 沙門 (8) 文綱, (9) 慧沼, (10) 利貞, (11) 勝莊, (12) 愛同, (13) 思恒等證義;
沙門 (14)玄傘, (15)智積等筆受;
居士東印度 (16)瞿曇金剛, (17) 迦濕彌羅國王子阿順等證譯;
修文館大學士特進趙國公 (18) 李嶠, 兵部尚書逍遙公 (19) 韋嗣立, 中書侍郎 (20) 趙彥昭,吏部侍郎(21) 盧藏用, 兵部侍郎 (22) 張說, 中書舍人 (23) 李乂, (24) 蘇頲等二十餘人次文潤色.
左僕射舒國公 (25) 韋巨源, (26) 右僕射許國公蘇瓌等監譯.
祕書大監嗣虢王 (27) 邕監護.[138]

As we can see, all of the twenty-seven people in this list have already been covered in the colophon: 1. [2. Damomomo], 2. [3. Banu], 3. [4. Damonantuo], 4. [30. Yisheluo], 5. [5. Huiji], 6. [28. Li Shijia], 7. [32. Dupoduo], 8. [6. Wen'gang], 9. [7. Huizhao], 10. Lizhen [=9. Liming], 11. [13. Sŭnjang], 12. [14. Aitong], 13. [10. Siheng], 14. [12. Xuansan], 15. [20. Zhiji], 16. [29. Qutanjin'gang], 17. [31. Ashun], 18. [38. Li Jiao], 19. [43. Wei Sili], 20. [44. Zhao Yanzhao], 21. [50. Lu Cangyong], 22. [48. Zhang Yue], 23. Li You= [55. Li Yi], 24. [59. Su Ting], 25. [34. Wei Juyuan], 26. [35. Su Gui], and 27. [69. Li Yong].

Zhisheng has also divided them into ten groups in terms of their functions:

(i) *zhengfanyi* 證梵義 (nos. 1-2), (ii) *zhengfanwen* 證梵文 (no. 3),
(iii) *zhengfanben* 證梵本 (no. 4), (iv) *dufanben* 讀梵本 (nos. 5-7),
(v) *zhengyi* 證義 (nos. 8-13), (vi) *bishou* 筆受 (nos. 14-15),
(vii) *zhengyi* 證譯 (nos. 16-17), (viii) *ciwen runse* 次文潤色 (nos. 18-24),
(ix) *jianyi* 監譯 (nos. 25-26), (x) *jianhu* 監護 (no. 27).

Let us see how the colophon defines the varying functions in Yijing's translation bureau and see if it is related to Zhisheng's way of

[138] *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.568c16-569a11.

classifying the positions in his list. Even a cursory look at the colophon shows that excluding the first two lines, which, respectively, indicates the date of the colophon and identifies Yijing as the head of the project who also "enounced and explained the Indic originals" (*xuanshi fanben* 宣釋梵本), "patched up the compositions and corrected the words" (*zhuiwen zhengzi* 綴文正字),[139] the colophon is composed of two parts, one for monastics and the other for laymen, with each part further divided into two sections, one for foreigners and the other for Chinese nationals. The structure of the whole colophon can therefore be studied in terms of these four sections.

The first section, for four foreign monastics, includes the following three positions: (I.1) *zhengfanyi* 證梵義 ("verifiers of Sanskrit meanings" [i.e., Damomomo and Banu]), (I.2) *zhengfanwen* 證梵文 ("verifiers of Sanskrit words" [i.e., Damonantuo]), and (I.3) *dufanben* 讀梵本 ("enunciator of Sanskrit texts" [i.e., Huiji]).

The second section, for the Chinese monastics, consists in three positions—(II.1) *zhengyi* 證義 ("proofers of meanings"), including no less than twenty-two Chinese monks, from Wen'gang to Xiuzhang; (II.2) *bishou* 筆受 ("scribe"), which was concurrently held by one of these proofers of meanings—Xuansan; and (II.3) *zhengzi* 正字 ("verbal corrector"), which was concurrently held by another of these proofers of meanings—Zhiji.

The third section includes six foreign laymen, who are covered under three positions: (III.1) *dufanben* (i.e., Li Shijia and Dupoju), (III.2) *zhengyi* 證譯 ("translation verifiers" [i.e., Qutangjin'gang, Ashun and Li Shuluo]) and (III.3) *zhengfanben* 證梵本 (verifiers of Sanskrit originals" [i.e., Yisheluo]). One of them—*dufanben*—has already appeared in the first section, although it should be noted that these six people here are not arranged by their positions, but probably in accordance with their seniority: 1. Li Shijia (*dufanben*), 2. Qutanjin'gang (*zhengyi*), 3. Yisheluo (*zhengfanben*), 4. Ashun (*zhengyi*), 5. Dupoju (*dufanben*), and 6. Li Shuluo (*zhengyi*).

The last section, covering thirty-six Chinese laymen, exceeding half of the people included in this list, starts with nine eminent court officials (from Wei Juyuan to Xiao Zhizhong), all of whom, except for one—Li Jiao, whose function is defined as a scribe and polisher (*bishou jian runse* 筆受兼潤色), acted as "supervisors of the translation" (*jianyi* 監譯). This group is followed by another larger one com-

[139] The *xuanshi fanben* probably included two to three, or even all of the four individual positions denoted below in the colophon: *dufanben* 讀梵本*, zhengfanben* 證梵本*, zhengfanwen* 證梵文*,* and *zhengfanyi* 證梵義, while *zhuiwen zhengzi* might have largely covered *ciwen runse* 次文潤色 and *zhengzi* 正字.

prising as many as twenty-two people (from Wei Sili to Fu Feng), who, accomplished bureau-scholars themselves, all bore a unique title—"academician-translator" (*fanjing xuesh*i 翻經學士), which proves that they engaged in the translation more than symbolically, probably acting as editors and polishers, as is indicated by Zhisheng.[140] This section ends with a small group of five people, one is a copyist (Zhao Xiling), second a clerkly calligrapher, third and fourth both administrative assistants, and finally a prince who acted as a "commissioner" (*shi* 使), probably specially appointed by the emperor for a special task (obviously related to the translation). Thanks to Zhisheng, we learn that this prince, Li Yong, acted as the "superintendent and protector" (*jianhu* 監護) of the translation. The other four people in the group must have been, then, his assistants, who were also especially appointed and assigned to him, following a custom that we have noted in discussing the special commissioner assigned to superintend [and protect] Śikṣānanda's translation bureau.[141] Thus, we can see that this section actually covers four more positions, (IV.1) *jianyi*, (IV.2) *bishou*, (IV.3) *ciwen runse* and (IV.4) *jianhu*.

We are now able to see how many positions are covered in the colophon and the order in which they are mentioned:

(I.1) *zhengfanyi* → (I.2) *zhengfanwen* → (I.3) *dufanben* → (II.1) *zhengyi* 證義→ (II.2) *bishou* → (II.3) *zhengzi* → (III.1) *dufanben* → (III.2) *zhengyi* 證譯→ (III.3) *zhengfanben*→ (IV.1) *jianyi*→ (IV.2) *bishou*→ (IV.3) *ciwen runse*→ (IV.4) *jianhu*.

Excluding those that are repetitious, the order in which the colophon lists these positions can be constructed as follows:

(i) *zhengfanyi*→ (ii) *zhengfanwen*→ (iii) *dufanben*→ (iv) *zhengyi* 證義→ (v) *bishou* 筆受→ (vi) *zhengzi*→ (vii) *zhengyi* 證譯→ (viii) *zhengfanben*→ (ix) *jianyi*→ (x) *ciwen runse*→ (xi) *jianhu*.

To compare how different positions are covered by this colophon and Zhisheng's list, we can easily put them into the following chart:

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[140] In the colophon, the function of these twenty-two bureaucrat-scholars is not indicated. Thanks to Zhisheng, who identifies Li Jiao and six of them—Wei Sili, Zhao Yanzhao, Lu Cangyong, Zhang Yue, Li Yi, Su Ting—as *ciwen runse* 次文潤色 ("editors and polishers"), we know that all of them performed the same role.

[141] See Appendix G, note 54.

Table 7. Positions in Yijing Translation Office Described by a Colophon and Zhisheng

COLOPHON	ZHISHENG
1. *zhengfanyi*	1. *zhengfanyi*
2. *zhengfanwen*	2. *zhengfanwen*
3. *dufanben*	3. *zhengfanben*
4. *zhengyi* 證義	4. *dufanben*
5. *bishou*	5. *zhengyi* 證義
6. *zhengzi*	6. *bishou*
7. *zhengyi* 證譯	7. *zhengyi* 證譯
8. *zhengfanben*	8. *ciwen runse*
9. *jianyi*	9. *jianyi*
10. *ciwen runse*	10. *jianhu*
11. *jianhu*	

All the positions in Zhisheng's list can be found in the colophon, which contains, however, one position (i.e., *zhengzi*) not in Zhisheng's list. Moreover, the two lists, by and large, observe the same order in giving these positions. Zhisheng moves *zhengfanben*—which is left behind *zhengyi* 證譯 in the colophon due to the rule that the colophon gives priority to monastics over laymen—in between *zhengfanwen* and *dufanben*. Zhisheng's emendation makes sense given that in function *zhengfanben* appears closer to *zhengfanyi*, *zhengfanwen*, *dufanben*, than to *zhengyi* and *jianyi*, in between which it is placed by the colophon. In addition to this, Zhisheng puts *ciwen runse* before *jianyi*, contrary to the colophon, in which *jianyi* precedes *ciwen runse*. Except for these two discrepancies, the two lists arrange these ten positions in the same order. Thus, the high degree of similarity in structure displayed in these two lists strengthens the suspicion that Zhisheng has been based on the colophon in making his own list. This likelihood will be turned into a certainty as we turn to examine other connections between the two documents by subjecting them to a closer comparison:

Table 8. Members of Yijing Translation Office Described by a Colophon and Zhisheng

POSITION	COLOPHON	ZHISHENG'S LIST
I *zheng-fanyi*	Damomomo 達磨秣磨, a śramaṇa-translator (*fanjing shamen* 翻經沙門), a Tokharian *bha-danta*	Damomomo 達磨末磨, a Tokharian śramaṇa

	Banu 拔努, a śramaṇa-translator, a Central Indian *bhadanta*	Banu 拔弩,[142] a Central Indian śramaṇa
II *zheng-fanwen*	Damonantuo 達磨難陀, a śramaṇa-translator, a *bhadanta* of Jibin	Damonantuo, a Jibin śramaṇa
III *zheng-fanben*	Yisheluo 伊舍羅,[143] a *brahmin*-translator, grand-chieftain (*dashouling* 大首領) of Eastern India	Yisheluo, a layman, chieftain of Eastern India
IV *dufanben*	Yijing	
	Huiji 慧積, a śramaṇa-translator, *bhadanta* of Baitasi 白塔寺 (W Liangzhou 西涼州)	Huiji, a śramaṇa
	Li Shijia 李釋迦, a *brahmin*-translator (*fanjing poluomen* 翻經婆羅門), commandant (*zhonglang jiang* 中郎將) of the Right Courageous Guard (*you xiaowei* 右驍衛) and Standby Garrison (*yifu* 翊府), supernumerary (*yuanwai zhi* 員外置), imperial bodyguard (*suwei* 宿衛), minister	Li Shijia, a layman of Central India
	Dupoju 度頗具,[144] a *brahmin*-translator, left commandant (*zuolingjun* 左領軍) of Eastern India, right halberdier (*you zhiji* 右執戟) and an auxiliary in the Secretariat (Zhongshusheng 中書省)	Dupoduo 度頗多[145]
V *zhengyi* 證義	Wen'gang 文綱 (636-727), a śramaṇa-translator, vinaya-master, a *bhadanta* of Great Chong-shengsi	Wen'gang
	Huizhao 慧沼 (651-714), a śramaṇa-translator, vinaya-master, a *bhadanta* of Dayunsi 大雲寺 in Zizhou 淄州	Huizhao

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[142] They also present the name's second character differently (努 vs. 弩).

[143] For this man, see Appendix G, note 48; Appendix H, note 10.

[144] He served as a "translator of the Sanskrit texts" (*yifanwen* 譯梵文) in Bodhiruci's *Ratnakūṭa* translation bureau (see Appendix H). He also served as a "copyist of the Sanskrit texts" (*xiefanben* 寫梵本) in Bodhiruci's *Ratnamegha* translation bureau. See *S* 2278, *DB* 18: 13 (Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 174 [1st edition]/251 [2nd edition]), where his name is presented slightly differently—Dupoju 度破具, rather than Dupoju 度頗具; see also Forte, *Political Propaganda* (2nd edition), 251, where he suggests that Dupoju might have been identical with the figure called Dupo 度婆 (identified as a general of pacifying the remote [*ningyuan jiangjun* 寧遠將軍]), who translated the *Buddhoṣṇīṣ vijaya dhāraṇī sūtra* with Du Xingyi in 679.

[145] Dupoduo 度頗多 in Zhisheng's list is obviously identical with Dupoju 度頗具 in the colophon. In listing Bodhiruci's collaborators in the *Ratnamegha* translation project, Zhisheng gives this foreigner's name as 度頗具, not 度頗多. Thus, 度頗多 as appearing here might have been a typographical error made by a later editor/copyist. According to Zhisheng, he was also a layman from Eastern India, like Li Shijia.

	Daolin 道琳, a śramaṇa-translator, vinaya-master, a *bhadanta* of Chongguangsi 崇光寺 in Luozhou 洛州	
	Liming 利明, a śramaṇa-translator, abbot of Fushousi 福壽寺, a *bhadanta*	Lizhen 利貞[146]
	Siheng 思恆 (653-726), a śramaṇa-translator, a *bhadanta* of Great Jianfusi, a vinaya-master	Siheng
	Daoke 道恪, a śramaṇa-translator, a *bhadanta* and vinaya master of Taipingsi 太平寺 in Luozhou	
	Xuansan 玄傘,[147] a śramaṇa-translator, a *bhadanta* of Chanhesi 禪河寺 in Xiangzhou 相州	
	Sŭnjang 勝莊, a śramaṇa-translator, a *bhadanta* of Great Jianfusi	Sŭnjang
	Aitong 愛同,[148] a śramaṇa-translator, elder of Wangjisi, vinaya master	Aitong
	Huaizhi 懷志, a śramaṇa-translator, a *bhadanta* of Zhaofusi 招福寺, a vinaya master	
	Tanbiao 曇表, a śramaṇa-translator, a bhadanta of Western Chongfusi, a vinaya master	
	Chongye 崇業,[149] a śramaṇa-translator, a *bhadanta* of Ximingsi, a vinaya master	
	Huilang 惠朗, a śramaṇa-translator, a *bhadanta* of Xindusi 新都寺, a vinaya master	
	Daliang 大亮,[150] a śramaṇa-translator, a *bhadanta* of Guanyinsi 觀音寺, a vinaya master	

[146] Lizhen 利貞 was very likely Liming 利明 in the list. When the list was prepared in July 17, 710, the character 貞, being a part of the personal name of Empress Wei's father Wei Xuanzhen 韋玄貞 (?- ca. 684), was tabooed so that Lizhen had to be written as Liming. The taboo was abolished after Empress Wei was executed and disgraced in July 25, 710 (a mere one week after the list was compiled!), making it possible for Zhisheng to restore the original form of Lizhen's name when he compiled his list in 730.

[147] Xuansan was engaged in almost every stage of Yijing's translation project. See *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.567b3-c26.

[148] A short biographical note of Aitong is found at *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.571a6-11. A member of the prestigious Tianshui Zhao 天水趙 family (the same from which Fazang's teacher Zhiyan came), he abandoned his household life when he was twenty and gradually distinguished himself as a vinaya expert.

[149] The colophon to *Da Zhou kanding zhongjing mulu* (*T* 55: 15.475c13) includes a Chongye, the administrator of Great Fuguangsi 福光寺 (an error for Fuxiansi 福先寺), as a "monk who inspected and collated the *sūtras*" (*jianjiao seng* 檢校僧). Zanning mentions a Chongye as a disciple of Wen'gang (*SGSZ*, *T* 50: 14.792b15-17). These two Chongye were probably the same Chongye mentioned here.

[150] Daliang was the chosen heir to the vinaya master Manyi 滿意 (fl. 630-640), who was, in turn, a disciple of Fali 法礪 (569-635), the founder of the Xiangbu lineage 相部宗 of Chinese vinaya tradition. See Manyi's *SGSZ* biography at *T* 50: 14.795a8-14.

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="8"></td><td>Zhiji 智積,[151] a śramaṇa-translator, a bhadanta of Great Jianfusi</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Yunbian 雲辯,[152] bhadanta of Great Boresi 大般若寺</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Huisan 慧傘,[153] a śramaṇa-translator, abbot of the Dayunsi in Dezhou 德州</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Duozi 多子, a śramaṇa-translator, a bhadanta of Great Anguosi 大安國寺</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Daogui 道珪, a śramaṇa-translator, a bhadanta and vinaya master of Longxingsi 龍興寺</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Chuji 處寂, śramaṇa-translator, a bhadanta and vinaya master of Great Kaiyesi 大開業寺</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Bi'an 彼岸, a śramaṇa-translator, a bhadanta and vinaya master of Western Chongfusi</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Xiuzhang 秀璋 (?-740+),[154] a śramaṇa-translator, a bhadanta and vinaya master of Western Chongfusi</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">VI
zhengyi
證譯</td><td>Qutanjin'gang 瞿曇金剛, a brahmin-translator from Eastern India, commandant of the Left Encampment Guard (Zuo tunwei 左屯衛) and Standby Garrison, supernumerary but treated as a regular official (tong zhengyuan 同正員)</td><td>Qutanjin'gang, a layman of Eastern India</td></tr>
<tr><td>Ashun 阿順, a brahmin-translator, commandant of the Left Metropolitan Guard (zuo lingjun wei 左領軍衛), a Kashmirian prince</td><td>Ashun, a Kashmirian prince</td></tr>
<tr><td>Li Shuluo 李輸羅,[155] a brahmin-translator, an eminent official (da dagruan 大達官) of the Longbo 龍播 Kingdom, secondary (zhun 准) fifth rank</td><td></td></tr>
</table>

[151] According to Lu Can, Zhiji was a major disciple of Yijing. See "Da Tang Longxing fanjing sanzang Yijing fashi zhi taming bing xu," *T* 55: 872a2.

[152] There was a monk called Lingbian 靈辯 who was involved in Divākara's translation project. See Chapter 9.1.1. It is possible that Lingbian has been miswritten as Yunbian 雲辯 here.

[153] He is identified as a "monk who collated the catalogues of the *sūtras*" (*jiao jingmu seng* 校經目僧) in the colophon attached to *Da Zhou kanding zhongjing mulu*, *T* 55: 15.475b7.

[154] According to Zanning (*SGSZ*, *T* 50: 14.792c21-25), in his death-bed the vinaya master Huaisu 懷素 (634-707) had a brief conversation with a monk called Xiuzhang 秀章, who was very likely the translator Xiuzhang 秀璋 mentioned here. That Xiuzhang attended Huaisu in his deathbed means that he was a very close disciple of Huaisu. This would explain well that he was distinguished as a vinaya master and that he was involved in Yijing's translation project, which was mainly devoted to vinaya texts. Xiuzhang was to accompany Zhisheng to send a huge number of scriptures to Yunjusi in Fangshan in 740. See Chapter 5, note 92.

[155] I have not been able to locate the state called Longbo. I wonder if it was actually Lanbo 嵐波, the native place of another major translator at the time, Li Wuchan (see his *KSL* biography at *T* 55: 9.566b and "Bukong juansuo tuoluoni jing xu," *T* 20: 409b).

VII *bishou*	Xuansan	Xuansan
	Li Jiao[156]	Zhiji
VIII *zhengzi*	Zhiji	
	Aitong	
IX *ciwen runse*	Li Jiao 李嶠 (644-713), specially promoted cooperating with third rank officials of the Secretariat-Chancellery, grand academician (*da xueshi* 大學士) of the Institute for the Cultivation of Literature, chief compiler of the dynastic history, supreme pillar of state, State-duke Zhao 趙	Li Jiao, grand academician of Institute for the Cultivation of Literature, specially promoted,[157] state duke Zhao
	Wei Sili 韋嗣立 (660-719), an academician-translator (*fanjing xueshi* 翻經學士), grand master of imperial entertainments with silver seal and blue ribbon, acting minister of war, a third rank official of the Secretariat-Chancellery (*menxia sanpin* 門下三品), grand academician of Institute for the Cultivation of Literature, senior military protector (*shang hujun* 上護軍) (or supreme pillar of state [*shang zhuguo* 上柱國]), Duke Xiaoyao 逍遙	Wei Sili, minister of war and Duke Xiaoyao
	Zhao Yanzhao 趙彥昭 (?-710+), an academician-translator, grand master of palace leisure (*zhongsan daifu* 中散大夫), acting assistant gentleman in the Secretariat (*zhongshu shilang* 中書侍郎), cooperating with third rank officials of the Secretariat-Chancellery, a wearer of purple robe (*zhuozi* 著紫) and carrier of golden fish (*pei jinyu* 佩金魚), an academician of Institute for the Cultivation of Literature, supreme pillar of state	Zhao Yanzhao, an assistant gentleman in the Secretariat
	Liu Xian 劉憲 (?-711?), an academician-translator, superior grand master of the palace (*taizhong daifu* 太中大夫), acting director of the Palace Library (*mishujian* 祕書監), supernumerary but treated as a regular official, compiler of the dynastic history, academician of Institute for the Cultivation of Literature, supreme pillar of state	

[156] Li Jiao acted as both *bishou* and *ciwen runse*.

[157] By "specially promoted" (*tejin* 特進), Zhisheng here probably means "specially promoted" cooperating with third rank officials of the Secretariat-Chancellery.

	Cen Xi 岑羲 (?-713), an academician-translator, grand master of imperial entertainments with silver seal and blue ribbon, acting assistant gentleman in the Secretariat, academician of Institute for the Cultivation of Literature, chief compiler of the dynastic history, supreme pillar of state, dynasty-founding viscount (*kaiguozi* 開國子) of Sub-prefecture Chaoyang 朝陽	
	Cui Shi 崔湜 (?-713), an academician-translator, grand master for thorough counsel (*tongyi daifu* 通議大夫), acting assistant gentleman in the Ministry of Personnel (*libu* 吏部), academician of Institute for the Cultivation of Literature, chief compiler of the dynastic history, supreme pillar of state	
	Zhang Yue 張說 (667-731), an academician-translator, grand master for court discussion, acting assistant gentleman in the Ministry of War, concurrently acting as (*jian* 兼) an academician of Institute for the Cultivation of Literature, chief compiler of the dynastic history, supreme pillar of state	Zhang Yue, an assistant gentleman of the Ministry of War
	Cui Riyong 崔日用 (673?-722?), an academician-translator, superior grand master of the Palace, acting (*jianjiao* 檢校) assistant gentleman in Ministry of War, commandant of cavalry (*qiwei* 騎尉), academician of Institute for the Cultivation of Literature, dynasty-founding viscount of Sub-Prefecture Anping 安平	
	Lu Cangyong 盧藏用 (?-713), an academician-translator, grand master for court audience, acting drafter in the Secretariat, concurrently acting as an assistant gentleman in the Ministry of Personnel, academician of Institute for the Cultivation of Literature, general of light chariot (*qingche duwei* 輕車都尉)	Lu Cangyong, an assistant gentleman of the Ministry of Personnel
	Xu Jian 徐堅 (659?-729), an academician-translator, grand master of imperial entertainments with silver seal and blue ribbon, acting assistant gentleman of the Ministry of Personnel, academician of Institute for the Cultivation of Literature, compiler of the dynastic history, supreme pillar of state, dynasty-founding viscount of Sub-Prefecture Ciyuan 慈源	

	Guo Shanyun 郭山惲 (?-713?), an academician-translator, grand master for proper consultation (*zhengyi daifu* 正議大夫), acting director of studies (*siye* 司業) in the Directorate of Education (*guozijian* 國子[監]), academician of Institute for the Cultivation of Literature, supreme pillar of state	
	Xue Ji 薜稷 (649-713), an academician-translator, director (*langzhong* 郎中) of the Ministry of Rites, auxiliary academician (*zhixue-shi* 直學士) of Institute for the Cultivation of Literature, general of light chariot, dynasty-founding baron (*kaiguonan* 開國男) of Sub-Prefecture Hedong 河東	
	Xu Yanbo 徐彥伯 (?-714), an academician-translator, grand master for proper consultation, former prefect (*cishi* 刺史) of Puzhou 蒲州, academician of Institute for the Cultivation of Literature, supreme pillar of state, dynasty-founding viscount of Sub-Prefecture Gaoping 高平	
	Li Yi 李乂 (657-716), an academician-translator, grand master of the palace (*zhongdaifu* 中大夫), acting drafter in the Secretariat, an (auxiliary) academician of Institute for the Cultivation of Literature, supreme pillar of state	Li Yi, a drafter in the Secretariat
	Wei Yuandan 韋元旦 (dates unknown), an academician-translator, drafter in the Secretariat, an (auxiliary) academician of Institute for the Cultivation of Literature, supreme pillar of state, dynasty-founding marquis of Sub-Prefecture Jinxiang 金鄉	
	Ma Huaisu 馬懷素 (before 657-716+), an academician-translator, superior grand master of the palace, acting drafter in Secretariat, auxiliary academician of Institute for the Cultivation of Literature, supreme pillar of state	
	Li Shi 李適 (663?-711?), an academician-translator, grand master for court audience, acting palace steward (*shou jishizhong* 守給事中), an (auxiliary) academician of Institute for the Cultivation of Literature, supreme pillar of state	
	Su Ting 蘇頲 (670-727), an academician-translator, drafter in the Secretariat, an (auxiliary) academician of Institute for the Cultivation of Literature, supreme pillar of state	Su Ting, a drafter in the Secretariat

	Zheng Yin 鄭愔 (?-710), an academician-translator, grand master for closing court, acting editorial director (*zhuzuo[lang]* 著作[郎]), an (auxiliary) academician of Institute for the Cultivation of Literature, chief compiler of the dynastic history	
	Shen Quanqi 沈佺期 (?-713?), an academician-translator, grand master for closing court, Acting Imperial Diarist (*qijulang* 起居郎), auxiliary academician of Institute for the Cultivation of Literature, senior military protector	
	Wu Pingyi 武平一 (?-741?), an academician-translator, grand master for court audience, acting vice director of Bureau of Evaluations (*xing kaogong yuanwailang* 行考功員外郎), auxiliary academician of Institute for the Cultivation of Literature, supreme pillar of state, general of light chariot	
	Yan Chaoyin 閻朝隱 (?-713?), academician-translator, assistant editorial director (*zhuzuo zuolang* 著作佐郎), auxiliary academician of Institute for the Cultivation of Literature	
	Fu Feng 符鳳, an academician-translator, auxiliary academician of Institute for the Cultivation of Literature	
X *jianyi*	Wei Juyuan 韋巨源 (?-710), grand master of the palace with golden seal and purple ribbon, acting left vice director of the Department of State Affairs (*shou shangshu zuo puye* 守尚書左僕射), cooperating with third rank officials of the Secretariat-Chancellery, supreme pillar of state, state-duke of Shu 舒	Wei Juyuan, left vice director of Department of State Affairs, state duke of Shu
	Su Gui 蘇瑰 (639-710), right vice director of the Department of State Affairs, cooperating with third rank officials of the Secretariat-Chancellery, supreme pillar of state, state-duke of Xu 許	Su Gui, right vice director of the Department of State Affairs, state duke of Xu
	Tang Xiujing 唐休璟 (627-712), specially promoted acting junior preceptor of the heir apparent (*taizi shaoshi* 太子少師), cooperating with third rank officials of the Secretariat-Chancellery, supreme pillar of state, state-duke of Song 宋	

	Wei Wen 韋溫 (?-710), specially promoted acting junior guardian of the heir apparent (*taizi shaobao* 太子少保), concurrently acting as area commander-in-chief (*dadudu* 大都督) of Yang-zhou 揚州, cooperating with third rank officials of the Secretariat-Chancellery, chief compiler of the dynastic history, supreme pillar of state, state-duke of Peng 彭	
	Wei Anshi 韋安石 (651-714), specially promoted director of the Chancellery (*shizhong* 侍中), chief compiler of the dynastic history, supreme pillar of state, state-duke of Yun 鄖	
	Ji Chu'ne 紀處訥 (?-710), (specially promoted) director of the Chancellery, chief compiler of the Dynastic History, supreme pillar of state, state-duke of Yue 越	
	Zong Chuke 宗楚客 (?-710), grand master for splendid happiness (*guanglu daifu* 光祿大夫), acting secretariat director (*zhongshu ling* 中書令), grand academician of the Institute for the Cultivation of Literature, chief compiler of the dynastic history, supreme pillar of state, state-duke of Ying 郢	
	Xiao Zhizhong 蕭至忠 (?-713), secretariat director, chief compiler of the dynastic history, supreme pillar of state, state-duke of Zan 酇	
XI *jianhu*	Zhao Xiling 趙希令,[158] clerkly calligrapher and clerk in the Palace Library (*mishu sheng* 祕書省)	
	Yin Tinggui 殷庭龜, clerk (*kongmu guan* 孔目官), gentleman-litterateur (*wenlin lang* 文林郎), head (*ling* 令) of Foundry Bureau (*zhangyeshu* 掌冶署) in the Directorate for imperial Manufacture (*shaofu jian* 少府監)	
	Pan Jiaji 潘嘉寂, administrative assistant, gentleman for court discussion, acting magistrate (*xianling* 縣令) of Sub-prefecture Anyang 安陽 in Xiangzhou	
	Liu Lingzhi 劉令植, administrative assistant, grand master for closing court, acting assistant editorial director	

[158] Note that Zhao Xiling's status is completely identical with that of Zhang Zheng in Śikṣānanda's translation bureau (see Appendix G, note 51). An official bearing the same status also appeared in Bodhiruci's *Ratnamegha* translation bureau. See *S* 2278 (*DB* 18: 13; Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 175 [1st edition]/252 [2nd edition]).

	Li Yong 李邕 (?-727), [special] commissioner (*shi* 使), grand master of the palace with golden seal and purple ribbon (*jinzi guanglu daifu* 金紫光祿大夫), acting director of the Palace Library, acting director of the Palace Administration (*jianjiao dianzhong jian* 檢校殿中監), concurrently acting commissioner of the Inner and External Corrals and Stables (*zhi neiwai xianjiu* 知內外閑廄), in charge of the Three commissioners of Longyou (?) ([知]隴右三使), supreme pillar of state, Prince of Siguo	Li Yong,[159] the grand director (*dajian* 大監) of the Palace Library (Mishusheng 祕書[省]), Prince of Siguo

This colophon contains a great deal of valuable information that will shed revealing light on Buddhism under the reign of Zhongzong and particularly the state-church relationship during this period of particular significance to both Buddhism and Daoism.[160] While I will put aside these more general issues for another occasion,[161] let me here concentrate on several specific points that are of most direct relevance to the present study.

First, all the members listed by Zhisheng under the ten positions can be found under the colophon's corresponding positions—the only minor exception is the position of *bishou*. Under the category of *bishou*, Zhisheng gives Zhiji and Xuansan, in contrast to the colophon, which under this category includes Xuansan and Li Jiao, but not Zhiji, whom it includes in the category of *zhengzi*. Thus, it seems that Zhisheng might have understood *zhengzi* as a part of the function of *bishou*.

Second, by referring to the colophon, we find that the titles(s) and/or appointment(s) Zhisheng uses to identify each person on his list are parts of those the colophon applies to the same person.

Finally, the following coincidence is particularly noteworthy. In listing the members under the ten categories, Zhisheng applies the expression *deng* 等 ("et al.") to six of them—*dufanwen*, *zhengyi*, *bishou*, *zhengyi*, *ciwen runse* and *jianyi*, and not to the other four (*zhengfanyi*, *zhengfanwen*, *zhengfanben*, and *jianhu*). By consulting the colophon, we find that the latter four are exactly the groups whose members Zhi-

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[159] The *Taishō* edition has Li Yong's princely title as Sihao 嗣號, an obvious error for Siguo 嗣虢, probably made, again, by a copyist, rather than by Zhisheng himself.

[160] Most of these "academician-translators" are scholars known as "Jinglong wenshi" 景龍文士, and are the subjects of *Jinglong wenguan ji* 景龍文館記, now nonextant. Collecting passages of the latter from different sources, Jia Jinhua 賈晉華 reconstructs a full list of such academicians; Jia, "Study of the *Jinglong Wenguan Ji*" and *Tangdai jihui zongji yu shiren qun yanjiu.* Regrettablly, she has not used this full list for the translators involved in Yijing's translations.

[161] See my forthcoming book, *Collusion and Collision*.

sheng has exhaustively listed (this is understandable given that three of them each have one member only, while the fourth has two members),[162] and that the former are those whose members Zhisheng does not list completely. In particular, under the category of "polisher" (*ciwen runse*), while Zhisheng only lists seven polishers, he notes that there were actually over twenty such polishers. On the other hand, there are indeed twenty-three such polishers named by the colophon.

Thus, by scrutinizing this colophon and comparing it with Zhisheng's list, we can safely make the following two conclusions. First, Zhisheng's list was only a truncated version of this colophon. Second, given that in Zhisheng's biography for Yijing he has presented this list not merely for these several specific translations, but also those for all of Yijing's nineteen translations prepared during this period (706-710), the same can also be spoken of the far more complete list in the colophon.

[162] Each of the *zhengfanwen*, *zhengfanben*, and *jianhu* has only one member (although Li Yong has four assistants, but he was the only commissioner, and therefore in principle the only superintendent and protector of the translation), *zhengfanyi* covers two members.

APPENDIX J

DIVĀKARA'S ACTIVITIES IN LUOYANG AND CHANG'AN

In order to ascertain the timeframe within which Fazang might have collaborated with Divākara, we need to know when the Indian monk arrived in China, or to be more specific, in Chang'an and/or Luoyang, Fazang's principal locales at the time. There are different datings of Divākara's arrival:

First, Yancong's preface to *Foding zuisheng tuoluoni jing* 佛頂最勝陀羅尼經 is dated July 2, 682 (Yongchun 1.5.22); the work was a translation under the direction of Divākara. Yancong, like Fazang, a collaborator of Divākara, does not provide the date of the latter's arrival in China, although he does tell us when Divākara began the translation of Buddhist texts at the two Taiyuan Monasteries (Chang'an and Luoyang), and at Hongfusi. This would be sometime "shortly after" (*weiji* 未幾) Yifeng 4.*zheng*.5 (February 20, 679), when Du Xingyi 杜行顗 (?-ca. 682) submitted to the court his translation of the *Buddhoṣṇīṣvijayadhāraṇī sūtra*.[1] This was exactly one day after the court reverted to Luoyang.[2] It suggests that like Du, Divākara probably submitted his application for translating Buddhist texts on the same day. It is also quite likely that his application was approved shortly afterwards. Thus, according to Yancong, Divākara arrived in Luoyang sometime before February 20, 679.

Second, Empress Wu, writing in the seventh month of Chuigong 1 (August 6-September 3, 685) or shortly afterwards, does not tell us when Divākara arrived in China either, merely noting that he succeeded in finishing ten translations by Chuigong 1.7 (August 6-September 3, 685).[3]

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[1] "Foding zuisheng tuoluoni jing xu," *T* 19: 355b.

[2] The Tang court moved to Chang'an sometime in Shangyuan 3.10 (November 11-December 10, 676) and did not move back to Luoyang until February 19, 679 (Yifeng 4.*zheng*.4 [*yiyou*]); see *ZZTJ* 202.6381, 6399.

[3] According to Empress Wu, ten *bhadanta* monks were ordered to assist Divākara to translate Buddhist texts at Western Taiyuansi and by the month of *yize* 夷則 (i.e., the seventh month) of Chuigong 1 (August 6-September 3, 685), ten translations, including *Fangguang da zhuangyan jing* 方廣大莊嚴經, were produced. For these ten translations, she wrote a preface, which is now still preserved as "Fangguang da zhuangyan jing xu" 方廣大莊嚴經序 (*QTW* 97.4b-5b).

Third, Fazang's biography of Divākara, written sometime after the latter died on February 4, 688 (Chuigong 3.12.27), only notes that he had arrived at the capital (*jingshi* 京師; i.e., Chang'an) in Yonglong 1, without telling us whether he arrived in Chang'an from another city in China (e.g., Luoyang), or from abroad.[4] By Yonglong 1, Fazang here probably means Tiaolu 2, since, according to him, Divākara had already been at Western Taiyuansi (in Chang'an) by Yonglong 1.3, which was actually Tiaolu 2.3 (April 5-May 3, 680) given that the new reign-name Yonglong was not introduced to replace Tiaolu until five months later.[5] Thus, to combine these two statements by Fazang, we get the impression that Divākara arrived in Changan by May 3, 680.

Fourth, Zhisheng's *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* supplies a biographical note on Divākara in addition to a list of his translations; it does not say when Divākara arrived in China, but provides a timeframe for his translation activities: from the early Yifeng era of Gaozong (December 18, 676-July 14, 679) to the end of Chuigong (February 9, 685-January 26, 689). This does not fit with what Yancong tells us about Divākara's translation project, according to which Divākara did not start his translation until sometime after February 20, 679.[6] At any rate, Zhisheng seems to believe that Divākara arrived in China in the early Yifeng era, if not earlier.

Fifth, Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn simply states that Divākara "arrived" (*laijie* 來屆) during the Tiaolu era (July 15, 679-September 21, 680). Like Fazang, he does not tell us if this was the date Divākara arrived in China, or specifically Chang'an.[7]

Sixth, Zanning, the third known biographer of Divākara after Fazang and Zhisheng, remains silent on this matter, although he apparently believes that the arrival was before the fifth month of Yifeng 4 (June 14-July 12, 679), when, according to Zanning, Divākara submitted a memorial to the court asking for permission to translate the Buddhist texts he had brought to China.[8] Given Zanning's notoriety as a less-than-accurate historian, I suspect that Yifeng 4.5 was a misrepresentation of the date given by Yancong, namely, Yifeng 4.*zheng*.5 (February 20, 679).

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[4] *HJZ*, *T* 51: 1.154c15-16.

[5] See Chapter 5, note 46.

[6] *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.564a14-17.

[7] *PHC* 282a10-12.

[8] See Divākara's biography at *SGSZ*, *T* 50: 2.719a21-22. On the basis of its title, which identifies him as a monk of Guangfusi under the Great Zhou, Antonino Forte believes that Zanning's record was based on a memorial inscription dedicated to Divākara sometime under the reign of Empress Wu (690-705); see Forte, "Divākara," 77-78. I doubt this given that Zanning's account does not go beyond the combination of what we know from Yancong and Zhisheng's accounts.

Seventh, Zhipan, another careless and unreliable historian, gives us the surprising information that Divākara arrived in China in Yonghui 3 (February 15, 652-February 2, 653), when he began his translations at Hongfusi.[9]

Finally, Juean 覺岸 (1286-1355) tells us that Divākara arrived in Chang'an in the early Yifeng era.[10] He is probably based on Zhisheng, although the latter gives "the early Yifeng era" as the date for the beginning of the project, not his arrival.[11]

Thus, excluding the date provided by Zhipan, which is obviously impossible, and that by Zanning, which is probably nothing more than a misrepresentation of Yancong's opinion, we have the following five different sayings about Divākara's arrival in China:

[i] sometime before February 20, 679: arriving in Luoyang (Yancong);
[ii] sometime before Chuigong 1.7 (August 6-September 3, 685): arriving in Chang'an (Empress Wu);
[iii] by May 3, 680: arriving in Chang'an (Fazang);
[iv] by the early Yifeng era (December 18, 676-July 12, 679): arriving in China (Chang'an) (Zhisheng, Juean);
[v] during the Tiaolu era (July 15, 679-September 21, 680): arriving in China (Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn)

Despite discrepancies, these do not necessarily contradict each other because they concern different aspects of the matter: Divākara's arrival in Luoyang (Yancong), or Chang'an (Empress Wu, Fazang), or generally, in China (which could have meant Chang'an or Luoyang) (Zhisheng, Juean, and Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn). We then have to decide, more specifically, when Divākara arrived in these two Tang capitals. Given that Divākara's activities in China are mainly documented as a translator in the two major Buddhist catalogues for this period, *Da Zhou kanding zhongjing mulu* and *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*, the chronology of his translations implied therein might hopefully present some clues to determine the periods of time that he spent in Chang'an and Luoyang.

Da Zhou kanding zhongjing mulu contains dates and locations for all of the fourteen translations it attributes to Divākara, except for one

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[9] *Fozu tongji*, *T* 49: 39.366c16-367a1.

[10] *Shishi jigu lüe*, *T* 49: 3.819c28-820a1.

[11] Juean refers to his source as *benzhuan* 本傳 ("original biography"), which, as Forte correctly points out, could not have been *SGSZ*'s Divākara's biography, which does not indicate when Divākara arrived in China. Forte ("Divākara," 78) suggests that Juean here might have been based on a source unknown to us. This is possible, although we should note that the short note Juean makes on Divākara does not contain any new information not found in Divākara's *KSL* biography, which was then perforce what Juean here refers to as "benzhuan."

(*Dasheng miyan jing* 大乘密嚴經 [3 *juan*]).[12] Six were translated in Eastern Taiyuansi in Luoyang during Yonglong 1 (September 21, 680-January 24, 681):

[1] *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni jing* 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼經 (1 *juan*);
[2] *Zhengqi dasheng jing* 證契大乘經 (2 *juan*);
[3] *Dasheng xianshi jing* 大乘顯識經 (2 *juan*);
[4] *Dasheng sifa jing* 大乘四法經 (1 *juan*);
[5] *Zaota gongde jing* 造塔功德經 (1 *juan*);
[6] *Da Fangguangfo shizihou jing* 大方廣佛師子吼經 (1 *juan*).[13]

As noted before, Yonglong 1 here is to be understood as Tiaolu 2, or, more accurately, the first three months of Tiaolu 2 (February 6-September 21, 680), when Divākara was still in Luoyang.

The other seven were translated in Western Taiyuansi (mostly at its Guining Cloister 歸寧院) in Chang'an:

[7] *Dasheng baifuxiang jing* 大乘百福相經 (1 *juan*);
[8] *Dasheng li wenzi pu guangming zang jing* 大乘離文字普光明藏經 (1 *juan*);
[9] *Qijudi fomu xin dazhunti tuoluoni jing* 七俱胝佛母心大准提陀羅尼經 (1 *juan*);
[10] *Jin'gang bore boluomi jing po quzhuo buhuai jiaming lun* 金剛般若波羅蜜經破取著不壞假名論 (2 *juan*);
[11] *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing xu ru fajie pin* 大方廣佛華嚴經續入法界品 (1 *juan*);
[12] *Fangguang da zhuangyan jing* 方廣大莊嚴經 (12 *juan*);
[13] *Dasheng guang wuyun lun* 大乘廣五蘊論 (1 *juan*).[14]

All of these translations are still extant.[15] The first four were translated in Yongchun 2 (February 2-December 27, 683), while the latter three were done in Chuigong 1 (February 9, 685-January 29, 686). We even know the exact dates for the completion of one of the first four and one of the second third: nos. 10 and 13 were completed on October 10, 683 (Yongchun 2.9.15), and July 31, 685 (Chuigong 1.6.25) respectively. Thus, it seems that the first four and last three translations were, respectively, declared to be completed on October 10, 683, and July 31, 685.

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[12] *Da Zhou kanding zhongjing mulu*, *T* 55: 1.379c.

[13] The information on these six translations is provided at *Da Zhou kanding zhongjing mulu*, *T* 55: 4.396c, 396c-397a, 397a; and 1.379c6-10.

[14] The information on these seven translations is provided at *Da Zhou kanding zhongjing mulu*, *T* 55: 1.379c11-13, 4.397b7-10, 6.406c21-25, 1.379c16-18, 2.381a18-20, 1.379c19-21, 6.408a4-7.

[15] See, respectively, *T* no. 661, vol. 16; *T* no. 829, vol. 17; *T* no. 187, vol. 3; *T* no. 1515, vol. 25; *T* no. 1077, vol. 20; *T* no. 295, vol. 10; *T* no. 1613, vol. 31.

This chronology is largely adopted by Zhisheng, in his bibliography thirty-five years later.[16] He only made the following modifications:

First, he refused to ascribe to Divākara the writing of *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni jing* (no. 1, above), a translation of the *Buddhoṣṇīṣvijayadhāraṇī sūtra*, which he argues was translated by Du Xingyi. Zhisheng attributes to him two other versions, however: *Foding zuisheng tuoluoni jing* 佛頂最勝陀羅尼經 and *Zuisheng foding tuoluoni jingchu yezhang jing* 最勝佛頂陀羅尼淨除業障經. He is of the opinion that Divākara translated the first version on July 2, 682 (Yongchun 1.5.22), at Hongfusi in Chang'an (this is obviously based on Yancong, whose preface to *Foding zuisheng tuoluoni jing* carries the same date, something Zhisheng takes as the completion date of the translation), and the second version in Luoyang (presumably at Eastern Taiyuansi) shortly before his planned departure for India, which means that it was translated sometime before February 4, 688 (Chuigong 3.12.27), when he died.[17]

Second, in contrast to Mingquan, who dates no. 12 in the above list to Chuigong 1, Zhisheng dates the completion to Yongchun 2.9.15 (October 10, 683), which Zhisheng, like Mingquan, also uses as the date for no. 10. Does Zhisheng here mistakenly apply the completion date of a translation to another translation, or were the two translations both declared to be completed on October 10, 683? The latter possibility seems more likely in view of Zhisheng's credibility as a cataloguer. Be that as it may, the following scenario was probably close to the historical fact. It seems that Mingquan's dating no. 12 to Chuigong 1 is based on Empress Wu's preface for ten translations done by Divākara shortly before Chuigong 1.7 (August 6-September 3, 685), which marked the date in which all of these ten translations were completed (this cannot be understood, of course, that all of these ten translations were completed simultaneously [i.e., sometime between August 6-September 3, 685]). Zhisheng's dating, on the other hand, must be based on a colophon to it that clearly indicated completion on the specific date (i.e., October 10, 683). Thus, if we can trust Zhisheng, of the seven texts translated at Western Taiyuansi, five (nos. 7-10, 13), rather than four (nos. 7-10), were declared to be completed on October 10, 683. This leaves only two of them (nos. 11-12) whose completion was declared on the other date (July 31, 685).

Third, Zhisheng includes *Pusa xiuxing sifa jing* 菩薩修行四法經, *Dasheng baifu zhuangyanxiang jing* 大乘百福莊嚴相經 and *Dasheng bianzhao guangmingzang wuzi famen jing* 大乘遍照光明藏無字法門經,

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[16] *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.563c-564a.
[17] Forte, "Divākara," 81.

all of which are also extant,[18] as the retranslations of, respectively, nos. 4, 7 and 8. That partly accounts for the discrepancy that Zhisheng attributes to Divākara four more translations (eighteen texts) than Mingquan does (fourteen only).[19] Although Zhisheng explicitly states that *Pusa xiuxing sifa jing* was translated in Yongchun 2.*zheng* (February 2-March 3, 683) at Hongfusi, he remains silent on when and where the other two were made, although we know that they were retranslations of two texts that Divākara translated at Western Taiyuansi. These two retranslations could have been made at the same temple or Hongfusi were they made in Chang'an, but they could have been made in Eastern Taiyuansi if Divākara did not turn to them until he returned to Luoyang.

In summary, according to Zhisheng, of the eighteen translations by Divākara, six were translated in Luoyang (nos. 2-6 plus *Zuisheng foding tuoluoni jingchu yezhang jing*), nine (nos. 7-13 plus *Foding zuisheng tuoluoni jing* and *Pusa xiuxing sifa jing*) in Chang'an, while three (*Dasheng miyan jing*, *Dasheng baifu zhuangyanxiang jing* and *Dasheng bianzhao guangmingzang wuzi famen jing*) were not clearly located (they could have been in Chang'an or Luoyang). As to be shown below,[20] one of the translations that both Mingquan and Zhisheng locate in Luoayng (no. 5) was actually made in Chang'an, which will increase the number of translations that can be located in Chang'an for certain from nine to ten (totally 22 *juan*), to the decrease of the number of translations made in Luoyang from six to five (totally 7 *juan*).

Although not all parts of this chronology of Divākara's translation work can be accepted without reservation,[21] it largely reflects the activities of Divākara in Luoyang and Chang'an as the most respected Buddhist authority in China at the time. On the basis of this chronology, we can reconstruct Divikara's life in China as follows (we need to note that the dates Mingquan and Zhisheng gave for the translations are usually those for their completion, in some cases even their entry into the canon, rather than their commencement):

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[18] See, respectively, *T* vol. 17, no. 830; *T* vol. 16, no. 662; *T* vol. 12, no. 340.

[19] The other reason is that Zhisheng takes away from Divākara one version of the *Buddhoṣṇīṣ vijaya dhāraṇī sūtra* that Mingquan attributes to him, while ascribing to him two versions of the same text. Thus, compared with Mingquan, Zhisheng added five more translations to the list, while subtracting one, hence the increase of four.

[20] See note 21.

[21] For example, that *Zaota gongde jing* was translated in Yonglong 1 (September 21, 680-January 24, 681) at Eastern Taiyuansi is contradicted by a preface to the *sūtra* which asserts that five more monks, including Wŏnch'ŭk, assisted Divākara and it was completed between December 11, 680 (Yonglong 1.11.15) and January 3, 681 (Yonglong 1.12.8) at Hongfusi, which was located in Chang'an; see "Zaota gongde jing xu," *T* 16: 801a3-6.

[i]. ?-sometime between February 6-May 3, 680 (Tiaolu 2.1-3), Luoyang: translating four texts (nos. 2-4 and 6, 6 *juan* in total) at Eastern Taiyuansi.
[ii]. ?- Yongchun 2 (very likely until Yongchun 2.9.15 [October 10, 683]), Chang'an: translating four texts (16 *juan* in total) at Western Taiyuansi, in addition to three more (3 *juan*) at Hongfusi (December 11, 680-January 3, 681: *Zaota gongde jing*; ?-July 2, 682: *Foding zuisheng tuoluoni jing*; February 2-March 3, 683: *Pusa xiuxing sifa jing*);
[iii]. ?-sometime in Chuigong 1.7 (August 6-September 3, 685), Chang'an: translating three texts (3 *juan* in total) at Western Taiyuansi;
[iv]. sometime after Chuigong 1.7.1 (August 6, 685)-Chuigong 3.12.27 (February 4, 688), Luoyang: translating *Zuisheng Foding tuoluoni jingchu yezhang jing* (very likely at Eastern Taiyuansi) while waiting for imperial permission to return to India.

Correlating this chronology with what Yancong, Fazang, Zhisheng, and Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn tell us about Divākara, we will be able to fill several lacunae in his life.

First of all, Yancong situates the commencement of Divākara's translation project sometime shortly after Yifeng 4.*zheng*.5 (February 20, 679), the day on which Du Xingyi submitted his translation of the *Buddhoṣṇīṣvijayadhāraṇī sūtra* to the Tang court, which had arrived back at Luoyang one day earlier. On the other hand, Zhisheng tells us that Divākara arrived in China in the early Yifeng era (December 18, 676-July 15, 679). On the basis of this ambiguous statement, Antonino Forte has concluded that Divākara arrived in Luoyang (the first place in China where Divākara is known to have been active) in 676 or early 677 (i.e., Yifeng 1 [December 18, 676-February 7, 677]).[22] I am inclined, however, to believe that although it is possible that Divākara might have arrived somewhere else (e.g., Canton) in Yifeng 1, he probably got to Luoyang toward the end of Yifeng 2 (January 27, 678)—that is, most likely some time in the end of 677. My reasoning is as follows. The Yifeng era consisted of four years: Yifeng 1 (December 18, 676-February 7, 677), Yifeng 2 (February 8, 677-January 27, 678), Yifeng 3 (January 28, 678-February 15, 679) and Yifeng 4 (February 16-July 15, 679). If we assume that Divākara could not have waited in China too long before urging the Tang government to allow him to carry out his translation project, I feel it quite likely that he arrived in China in Yifeng 2 (very likely toward the end of that year), rather than in Yifeng 1, which, after all, only lasted for fifty-two days, from De-

[22] Forte, "Divākara," 79.

cember 18, 676 to February 7, 677. The credibility of this assumption is borne out by the fact that since sometime between November 11 and December 10, 676, the Tang court had remained in Chang'an, whence it was not moved back to Luoyang until February 19, 679. This means that had Divākara arrived in Luoyang too much before February 19, 679, he probably would have moved on to Chang'an, rather than patiently waiting in Luoyang for the return of the court. The fact that he did spend some time in Luoyang while the government was not based there means that either he did not stay there long, and/or that while he was in Luoyang he learnt that the government was about to move back. In other words, he arrived in China not too long before Yifeng 4.*zheng*.5 (February 20, 679), nor after Yifeng 2 (otherwise Zhisheng could not have said that he arrived in the early Yifeng era). This would have sometime close to the end of Yifeng 2 as the most likely timeframe for his arrival in China. Thus, it seems that he spent about one year in Luoyang before filing an application to the Tang court, which approved it shortly after February 20, 679.

Secondly, given that Divākara had already been at Western Taiyuansi no later than May 3, 680 (as is reported by Fazang), and that it probably took him a few weeks to travel from Luoyang to Chang'an, he could not have stayed in Luoyang beyond April 5, 680 (Tiaolu 2.3.1).[23] He must have then completed translating the four texts at Eastern Taiyuansi in Luoyang by this date.

Thirdly, Divākara must have spent part of Yonglong 1 (actually Tiaolu 2) in Luoyang to put the last touches on the translation of the four texts at Eastern Taiyuansi on the one hand, and, on the other, he could not have stayed there beyond Tiaolu 2.3.1 (April 5, 680). Thus, he must have left Luoyang sometime between Tiaolu 2.1.1 and Tiaolu 2.3.1—viz., between February 6 and April 5, 680. In other words, the first four of his translations were done from sometime shortly after Yifeng 4.*zheng*.5 (February 20, 679) to sometime between February 6 and April 5, 680.

Fourthly, given that less than two years elapsed between Yongchun 2 (February 2-December 27, 683; very likely Yongchun 2.9.15 [October 10, 683])—when he finished seven translations (nineteen *juan*) at Western Taiyuansi (four texts in sixteen *juan*) and Hongfusi (three texts in three *juan*)—and Chuigong 1.7 (August 6-September 3, 685), when he was reported to have completed three more texts (in three *juan*), I

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[23] Historical sources show that it generally took an imperial carriage twenty days to travel between the two capitals (Chang'an and Luoyang). See Chen Jinhua, "Yijing," 20n50. It might have taken Divākara longer if he traveled by himself, rather than by relying on the speedier imperial transport.

assume that Divākara must have spent most, if not all, of this short period of time in translating Buddhist texts at Western Taiyuansi. This is partly proved by Fazang, who reports two instances of his communications with Divākara at Western Taiyuansi during the Wenming era (February 27-October 18, 684).[24] Accordingly, since he arrived in Chang'an sometime between March 6 and May 3, 680,[25] up to sometime in Chuigong 1.7 (August 6-September 3, 685), Divākara had stayed in Chang'an, and to be more specific, mainly at Western Taiyuansi (although he also spent some time at Hongfusi).

Finally, we do not know when Divākara left Chang'an for Luoyang, where he submitted a series of petitions to ask for permission to return to India to visit his mother and where he died just before he was able to leave after a permit was eventually granted. This must have happened from a certain day in Chuigong 1.7 (August 6-September 3, 685), when he finished the three translations at Western Taiyuansi, to sometime at the beginning of Chuigong 3 (January 19, 687).[26]

With these clarifications, we are now able to provide for Divākara's life in China a chronology with more certainties:

[i] sometime close to the end of Yifeng 2 (January 27, 678)—sometime between February 6 and April 5, 680: Luoyang (mainly Eastern Taiyuansi).

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[24] See *HJZ*, *T* 51: 5.170a, in which Fazang records an Indian story told by Divākara in Wenming 1 (February 26-October 18, 684) about the power of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*; *Tanxuan ji*, *T* 35: 1.113c, in which Fazang recalls his consulting Divākara on the classification of Buddhist teachings in India in the same year. In both cases, Divākara is presented as translating Buddhist texts at Western Taiyuansi.

[25] We know that Divākara had already been in Chang'an by Tiaolu 2.3.29 (May 3, 680), the last day of Tiaolu 2.3. On the other hand, the earliest possible date for him to leave Luoyang for Chang'an is Tiaolu 2.1.2 (February 7, 680) given that he needed to stay in Luoyang for at least one day in Tiaolu 2 (Tiaolu 2.1.1). This would have enabled him to arrive in Chang'an one month later, on Tiaolu 2.2.1 (March 6, 680). Thus, I assume that he reached Chang'an sometime between March 6 and May 3, 680.

[26] He could not have left Chang'an for Luoyang before Chuigong 1.7.1 (August 6, 685) given that his translation project in Chang'an was not brought to completion until sometime in Chuigong 1.7, as Empress Wu assures us in her preface (see note 3). However, as Forte once suggested to me (Forte, private communication, March 11, 2006), the date might indicate the time when Empress Wu composed this preface. In the case, it is possible that he left Chang'an earlier. Fortunately, we know for certain that Divākara was still in Chang'an by July 31, 685 (Chuigong 1.6.25), when he completed translating a text in a cloister of Western Taiyuansi. See *Da Zhou kanding zhongjing mulu*, *T* 55: 7.408a4-7; *KSL*, *T* 55: 9.564a13-15. This suggests that Chuigong 1.7.1 is very likely the completion date of these translations. On the other hand, he would have had to arrive in Luoyang no later than the beginning of Chuigong 3 (January 19, 687), given that he repeatedly negotiated with the government regarding his return to India before he successfully got permission, apparently not too long before he died on February 4, 688.

[ii] sometime between March 6 and May 3, 680 – sometime between August 6, 685 (Chuigong 1.7.1) and January 19, 687 (Chuigong 3.1.1) – Chang'an, mainly at Western Taiyuansi (and occasionally at Hongfusi);

[iii] Sometime between September 6, 685 and February 19, 687-February 4, 688: Luoyang (Eastern Taiyuansi).

While the earliest and latest possible dates for Divākara to arrive in Chang'an were, respectively, March 6, 680 and May 3, 680, the earliest and latest possible dates for him to leave Chang'an were, respectively, August 6, 685 and January 19, 687. At the most, he could have stayed in Chang'an for six years and ten months (March 6, 680-January 19, 687); at the least, five years and three months (May 3, 680-August 6, 685). Thus, we know for certain that these are also the two timeframes within which he collaborated with Fazang and other Buddhist monks in Chang'an, mainly the "Ten *Bhadanta*-monks."

APPENDIX K

AN ERROR IN A PASSAGE IN THE *TAISHŌ* EDITION OF *PŎPJANG HWASANG CHŎN* REGARDING THE SUBJECT OF THE REBELLION THAT FAZANG HELPED TO QUELL

As is noted in Chapter Ten, according to the *Taishō* edition of *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn*, Fazang helped the government to quell a rebellion led by Zhang Jianzhi. This passage is puzzling given that Zhang Jianzhi was the leader of the pro-Tang political group which successfully staged a court coup at the beginning of 705 that resulted in the re-enthronement of Zhongzong, a deed that was unanimously praised by Tang and post-Tang historiographers. It is also noteworthy that the *Fajiezong wuzu lüeji*, which was primarily based on *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn*, has the subject of the rebellion as Zhang Yizhi. Which was then correct, Zhang Yizhi or Zhang Jianzhi? The implications of this issue are far more than merely editorial or textual. As we will see, this issue is of significant importance for understanding the current saṃgha-state relationship and especially Fazang's role in the political transition in the period.

As is noted in Chapter Two, the *Taishō* edition of *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn* is based on the edition published by Sōshun in 1699. In his preface to the edition he published, Sōshun says nothing about the original text on which he was based. It is thanks to a corrigendum prepared by Dōchū for Sōshun's edition of *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn*, *Shinkan Genju hiden shōgo*, that we know the relevant information. Dōchū makes it clear that Sōshun's edition was based on a Song edition which was stored at Kōzanji. Dōchū also remarks that after comparing Sōshun's edition with its original (the Song edition) he found to his shock that Sōshun changed, mostly without reason, the characters in the original version wherever the text appeared unclear or incomprehensible to him.[1] In particular, Dōchū observes that the Song edition identified the head of the rebellion as Zhang Yizhi and that it is Sōshun who, by changing the character *yi* 易 to *jian* 柬, wrongly presented the subject of this sentence as Zhang Jianzhi. The following is a full translation of this important editorial comment by Dōchū:

[1] *Shinkan Genju hiden shōgo, T* 50: 286c12-13.

> Line nine: "Zhang Jianzhi panni" ("Zhang Jianzhi rebelled"). In the original edition, *jian* is rewritten as *yi*. 九行: 張柬之叛逆. "柬"元本作"易".
>
> Comments: Zhang Yizhi rebelled and Zhang Jianzhi suppressed him. In fact, [Zhang] Jianzhi was not the person who rebelled. [Sō]shun, not reading Tang histories and *[Zizhi] tongjian*, wrongly changed the word [in the original text] and falsely charged that [Zhang] Jianzhi committed the most heinous crime of treason. Those who do not know [the truth] might ascribe this blame to Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn. Is it not that [Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn] will be wronged? 按: 張易之叛逆, 而張柬之討之. 實柬之非反叛者. 叡未讀唐史, 通鑒, 妄改字, 誣柬之陷叛逆莫大之罪. 不識者歸責於崔致遠. 豈非枉屈耶?[2]

As Dōchū himself read the Kōzanji edition of *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn*, his testimony establishes that at least this edition had Zhang Yizhi rather than Zhang Jianzhi. In other words, The *Taishō* version was based on Sōshun's version, which was in turn based on a Song edition. The Song edition had Zhang Yizhi, Sōshun changed it to Zhang Jianzhi, and this change was then perpetuated by the *Taishō* editors. Dōchū's report of the Song edition is also verified by the Miyoshi copy:[3]


蜀神龍初張易之叛逆
藏乃內弘法力外贊皇猷妖孽既殲策勳斯及賞以
三品固辭固授遂請迴與弟俾諧榮養至二年降勑
曰朝議郎行統萬監副監康寶藏頗著行能早從班
秩其兄法藏夙參梵侶深入妙門傳無盡之燈光照
暗境揮智慧之劍降伏魔怨兇徒叛逆預識機兆誠
懇自衷每有陳奏姦回既殄功効居多雖攝化無著
理絕於酬賞而宅生有緣道存於眷顧復言就養寔
寄天倫宜加榮祿用申朝獎寶藏可游擊將軍行威
衛隆平府左果毅都尉兼令侍母不須差使主者施
行斯惟智鏡如磨戒珠無類進度協忠貞之節慈光

Figure 7. Miyoshi Copy of *Pŏpjang Hwasang Chŏn* (detail 2)

Thus, we are presented with at least three problems: first, why did Sōshun make such an emendation? A monk-scholar of Sōshun's status and erudition could not have made this significant change whimsically.

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[2] *Shinkan Genju hiden shōgo, T* 50: 288a22-26.

[3] For this copy, see Chapter 2, note 107.

Although Dōchū accused Sōshun of lacking basic knowledge in Tang history, I believe that this charge was ill-founded. The very emendation could not have been made by a person without any knowledge of Zhang Jianzhi, Zhang Yizhi, and the current political strife associated with the two names. Then, there must have been some reasons for Sōshun to make this change. Either there was then another edition that was older and/or more reliable than the Song one, which had Zhang Jianzhi instead of Zhang Yizhi, or Sōshun saw some compelling evidence that the leader of the rebellion whom Fazang help to topple was Zhang Jianzhi rather than Zhang Yizhi.

Second, although Dōchū attests to the existence of a Song edition with the name of Zhang Yizhi, can we assume that the original of Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn did have the text in this way?

The third problem is even more fundamental. Even if we can determine that Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn did give the name of Zhang Yizhi, or Zhang Jianzhi, as the leader of the rebellion in question, we still have to consider the possibility that he might have made a mistake. In other words, although the original text that he left gave the name Zhang Jianzhi (or Zhang Yizhi), he actually might have meant the other name, Zhang Yizhi (or Zhang Jianzhi). This means that although additional evidence must be considered as an important factor, we still need to check the internal logic of the text and context in order to propose a solution.

Before tackling all these issues, let us see if modern scholarship can be of any help. Modern scholars are of two minds in reading the relevant passages in *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn*. Those who take the reading of Zhang Yizhi have based themselves on Xufa, while those who opt for the reading of Zhang Jianzhi are content with the *Taishō* edition of *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn*.[4] None of them have noted the fact that Sōshun introduced this important emendation to the Song edition, nor the criticism that Dōchū leveled against Sōshun because of this. Scholars who adopt Xufa's reading merely note Fazang's political shrewdness. They do not make any attempt to explain the apparent contradiction between Fazang's involvement in a political move so detrimental to

[4] Shi Jun et al. (comps.), *Zhongguo fojiao sixiang ziliao xuanbian*, 315. Xufa's reading is also followed by Fang Litian (*Huayan jing shizi zhang jiaoshi*, 11-12), who is one of the compilers of *Zhongguo fojiao sixiang ziliao xuanbian*. See also Zhang Zunliu, "Sui Tang Wudai fojiao dashi nianbiao," 164; Zhang Qun, "Senglü yu bingshi," 67. Most Japanese scholars working on Fazang's biography either ignore or are unaware of Xufa's correction. They believe that the leader of the rebellion that Fazang helped to suppress was Zhang Jianzhi. For two important examples, see Kobayashi, "Hōzō jiden," 36; Yoshizu, *Kegon ichijō shisō no kenkyū*, 104.

Empress Wu, nor the close association that Fazang and his group had fostered with the empress.

In contrast, the scholars who accept the reading of Zhang Jianzhi have tried to bring out deeper socio-political mechanisms underlying Fazang's political aggressiveness in this crucial moment. For example, Antonino Forte, based on the passage under discussion here (especially the two sentences therein: 內弘法力, 外贊皇猷), argues that following Zhang Jianzhi's 705 *coup d'état* Fazang was exasperated with the possibility that this event might negate their "years of patient efforts spent in establishing Buddhism as the leading ideology," so he made a "true political intervention."[5] Here Forte implies that Fazang remained loyal to Empress Wu to the last moment and that Fazang did something politically unfavorable to Zhang Jianzhi. This understanding of Fazang's relationship with Empress Wu, especially in her last year, is shared by Japanese scholars such as Kaginushi Ryōkei 鍵主良敬 and Kimura Kiyotaka 木村清孝, and has been expressed most explicitly by the Chinese scholar Guo Peng 郭朋.[6]

At first glance, this reading is not without an historical basis if we take into consideration the conflict between Zhongzong and Zhang Jianzhi, which happened only one year after their successful collaboration in the 705 *coup d'état*. On July 20, 706 (Shenlong 2.6.6 [*xuyin*]), at the instigation of Empress Wu's nephew Wu Sansi, Zhongzong downgraded Zhang Jianzhi and several other chief participants in the 705 *coup d'état* to the rank of local officials. As a result, Zhang Jianzhi was demoted to vice prefect (*sima* 司馬) of Xinzhou 新州 (in present-day Guangxi). One month later, Zhang Jianzhi was exiled to an even remoter place, Longzhou 瀧州, one hundred *li* east of present-day Luoding 羅定, Guangdong. He was accused of instigating sexual scandals having to do with Zhongzong's empress Wei 韋后 (?-710), whose affair with Wu Sansi was an open secret in the capital area at the time.[7] Zhang Jianzhi, who was then already in his eighties, died of depression shortly afterwards.[8] It turned out that Zhang Jianzhi and his group were framed by Wu Sansi, who was then eager to get revenge on them for having brought down his aunt and for humiliating the whole Wu clan. After having these scandals about himself and Empress Wei spread throughout the capital, Wu Sansi trumped up a charge against Zhang Jianzhi and his group before Zhongzong, claiming that they were the source of these rumors. This infuriated Zhongzong, who obviously could not

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[5] Forte, *Jewel*, 12-13.

[6] Kaginushi and Kimura, *Hōzō*, 81; Guo Peng, *Zhongguo fojiao sixiang shi*, 337-38.

[7] *JTS* 51.2172, *XTS* 76.3486.

[8] *JTS* 7.142, *XTS* 4.108, *ZZTJ* 208.6603-05; and Zhang Jianzhi's two official biographies at *JTS* 91.2942 and *XTS* 120.4324.

tolerate those who would turn his wife into a target for obscene ridicule. Because of their disgrace at the hands of Zhongzong, it is not unreasonable to believe that in the edict Zhongzong would denounce Zhang Jianzhi and his group as "traitors." The apparently close connection between Empress Wu and Fazang may also lend support to this understanding. We can assume that Fazang, who benefited much from his patroness and her pro-Buddhist policies, must have harbored a strong resentment against Zhang Jianzhi and his group, who by toppling Empress Wu jeopardized the prosperity of Buddhism.

All these factors—Zhang Jianzhi's relationship with Empress Wu on the one hand and with Zhongzong on the other; Fazang's ties with Empress Wu; and his possible hostility against Zhang Jianzhi—have encouraged scholars to accept these passages in the *Taishō* version and to consider Fazang a sympathizer of Empress Wu even after she was forced to step down. This might have led to speculation that Fazang was instrumental in removing Zhang Jianzhi from the political arena. Can this understanding be justified? Can we assume based on context that it was actually Zhang Jianzhi rather than Zhang Yizhi who was taken as the leader of the rebellion that Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn mentions here and also the subject that was denounced in Zhongzong's edict as quoted by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn?

I fear not. In Jingyun 2 (January 24, 711-February 11, 712) Wu Sansi's conspiracy came to light and Zhang Jianzhi was rehabilitated, only four years after being disgraced. At the beginning of the Jianzhong era (February 11, 780-January 26, 784), during the reign of Dezong (r. 779-805), Zhang Jianzhi was honored by a posthumous title.[9] Because of his role in restoring the Tang dynasty, official records in and after the Tang unanimously laud Zhang Jianzhi as an upright and meritorious statesman, or even a martyr.[10] Thus, it seems certain that when Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn wrote his biography for Fazang around 904, Zhang Jianzhi must have been widely respected as a hero, rather than a criminal who had committed treason. Here, one might suggest that Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn, as

[9] *JTS* 91.2942.

[10] Suffice it here to give three examples. First, in Kaiyuan 6 (February 5, 718-January 25, 719), Xuanzong ordered that the name of Zhang Jianzhi, along with those of Cui Xuanwei and two more later officials, should be listed in the shrine of Ruizong so that they could receive worship with the late emperor (*JTS* 8.179). Second, the compilers of *XTS*, in commenting on Di Renjie 狄仁傑 (630-700), say that by promoting Zhang Jianzhi and others, Di Renjie and his group (of course including Zhang Jianzhi) made the greatest contribution to the restoration of the Tang dynasty (*XTS* 115.4221). Finally, Zhang Jianzhi was among the thirty-seven officials who were extolled by the Tang government as "Meritorious Statesmen" (*gongchen* 功臣) at the beginning of the Dazhong era (847-859) and whose pictures were enshrined in the Tang national pantheon—the Lingyan Pavilion 凌烟閣 (*XTS* 191.5513).

a Korean who was then living outside China when he wrote the biography, might not have been influenced by Chinese official ideology as fully as were his Chinese contemporaries. This might have rendered it possible for him to take Zhang Jianzhi, an attacker of the renowned "Buddhist monarch," as a wrong-doer. Although not totally impossible, this assumption does not sound likely. Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn was only twelve years old when he arrived in China. There he was raised, educated and finally served until he returned to Korea at the age of twenty-eight.[11] In addition to the unusual extent to which he was steeped in Chinese culture, we need also take into account the dominance of Chinese value systems in other East Asian countries (including Korea) in his time. It is hard to imagine that a sinified Korean such as Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn would have so drastically deviated from the Chinese standard ideology in evaluating a traditional hero.

Furthermore, a scrutiny of the context shows that it could not be Zhang Jianzhi whom Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn means here. First, while Zhang Jianzhi was disgraced and subsequently died in 706, the rebellion and its suppression both happened one year earlier, in Shenlong 1 (January 30, 705-January 18, 706).[12] Second, Zhang Jianzhi was only demoted and not put to death by Zhongzong. On the other hand, the rebels whom Fazang was believed to have helped to defeat were killed according to Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn and the imperial edict he quotes.[13] These two facts leave no room for correlating Zhang Jianzhi and his group's demotion in 706 with the suppression of the rebellion that Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn talks about here. The subject must be the Zhang brothers and their followers, who were killed in 705. This can also be corroborated by the fact that Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn refers to these rebels as *yaonie* 妖孽, which in classical Chinese usually denotes women or female devils who seduce and harm people with their sexual charm. It is rather clear that this alludes to the Zhang brothers, who were said to have served Empress Wu as concubines.[14] As a matter of fact, *yaonie* is exactly the term that Zhongzong used to refer to the two Zhang brothers in an edict, ironically, announcing the demotion of Zhang Jianzhi and four of his major allies:

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[11] See his biography at *Samguk sagi* 46.429-31.

[12] We know this since in the biography both the rebellion and its suppression are discussed before the introduction of the 706 imperial edict (the sentence, 至二年, 降敕曰, strongly supports this).

[13] Note these two expressions: *yaonie ji jian* 妖孽既殲 and *jianhui ji tian* 奸回既殄, especially *jian* 殲 and *tian* 殄, both of which mean "kill (or being killed)."

[14] As a matter of fact, at least according to later historians, Empress Wu seems to have tried to make the Zhang brothers effeminate, as they were asked to wear colorful dresses and use makeup; see their *JTS* biography (78.2706): 傅粉施朱, 衣錦繡服; cf. *ZZTJ* 206.6514.

> In the past, Empress Zetian of the Great Sagaciousness fell sick because of anxiety and overwork. Taking advantage of this, the criminal palace-attendants started to manipulate [state-]power. Because of this, [Jing] Hui 敬暉 (?-706) and others raised the army and annihilated the "bewitching evil-doers." 則天大聖皇后, 往以憂勞不豫, 兇豎弄權. 暉等因興甲兵, 剗除妖孽.[15]

Since Jing Hui and his allies are here presented as the destroyers of the "bewitching evil-doers" when Empress Wu was confined to bed, "criminal palace-attendants" (*xiongshu* 兇豎) and "bewitching evil-doers" (*yaonie*) obviously denote the Zhang brothers (they were called "criminal palace-attendants" because of their status as Empress Wu's caretakers).

Finally, a look at the political attitude of a contemporary monk also substantiates the assumption that the political group against which Fazang eventually turned was that of the Zhang Yizhi brothers, rather than that led by Zhang Jianzhi. The Buddhist monk Huifan 慧範 (a.k.a. Huifan 惠範, ?-713) was both similar to and different from Fazang. Not unlike Fazang, he was of "barbarian" (that is, either Indian or Central Asian) origin. In addition, he was also a man of exceptional power and influence in the current political and religious arenas. However, in contrast to Fazang, who was celebrated as an "eminent and virtuous monk," Huifan was depicted in Confucian historiography as a greedy, unscrupulous and politically ambitious man who associated himself with dignities and royal members, accumulated wealth, and maintained an illicit relationship with the wet nurse of Zhongzong. Later, he even conspired with Princess Taiping to murder Xuanzong. After the plot was defeated, Huifan was executed along with the chief conspirators. Confucian historians were of the opinion that Huifan's misdeeds constituted a major reason for Xuanzong's dislike of Buddhism.[16] Despite this radical difference between Huifan and Fazang, there is still reason to believe that they were colleagues who co-operated in more than one important religious project, although this project was carried out a couple of years after Empress Wu's death.[17]

The following record encourages one to speculate that Fazang also joined Huifan in removing the Zhang brothers at the turn of 705:

> Previously, the barbarian monk Huifan associated with dignities in the use of his evil and preposterous arts. He maintained a close relationship with Zhang Yizhi and his brother. Empress Wei was also on good terms with him. After [Zhang] Yizhi was killed, Empress Wei claimed that Huifan participated in the plot [against the Zhang broth-

[15] *JTS* 91.2933 (*QTW* 16.20b9-21a1).

[16] This remarkable monk is discussed in my forthcoming book, *Collusion and Collision*, esp. Chapters 1-2.

[17] *Da Song sengshi lüe, T* 54: 3.250b3-8; discussed in Chapter 6.2.1.

> ers]. Because of his merits, he was promoted to the rank of grand master of imperial entertainments with silver seal and blue ribbon and was bestowed the noble title of subprefectural Duke of Shangyong (in present-day Shanyang 山陽, Shaanxi). He was free to enter the palace and the emperor (Zhongzong) visited his home *incognito* several times. [Huan] Yanfan 桓彥範 (653-706) repeatedly remonstrated that Huifan used the "left-hand paths" to intervene inappropriately in national policies and [insisted] that he be executed. The Emperor kept ignoring his remonstrations. 先是, 胡僧慧範以妖妄遊權貴之門, 與張易之兄弟善, 韋后亦重之.及易之誅, 復稱慧範預其謀, 以功加銀青光祿大夫, 賜爵上庸縣公, 出入宮掖. 上數微行幸其舍. 彥範復表言慧範執左道以亂政, 請誅之. 上皆不聽.[18]

Now that such a powerful monk like Huifan who was originally an associate of the Zhang brothers could turn against them, it would not be so unimaginable that Fazang, despite his close relationship with Empress Wu, would have joined the plot against the two notorious brothers.

Thus, even if we assume that there was an edition of *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn* with Zhang Jianzhi instead of Zhang Yizhi, we still have to admit that Zhang Jianzhi must have been a mistake for Zhang Yizhi. In other words, even assuming that Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn had left the original text as containing Zhang Jianzhi, we still have to believe that he miswrote *yi* as *jian*. Such an error is likely given the similarity in form between the two characters *jian* 柬 and *yi* 易. It is also possible that he erred because of the geographical and temporal distance separating him from the event.

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[18] *ZZTJ* 208.6585. For Huan Yanfan's impeachment of Huifan, see *XTS* 120.4311. He was one of the five chief leaders of the 705 court coup.

APPENDIX L

LONGCHISI

This appendix is a general description of Longchisi (Dragon Pool Temple) based on all known items of relevant information. Its very name and associations make it the likely location of Fazang's snow-prayer ritual of 711. About the temple's origin, Daoxuan tells us the following. At the beginning of the Kaihuang era (February 20, 581-February 7, 601), the Buddhist monk Daopan 道判 (532-615) gathered his followers around a pond (with a very "un-Buddhist" name "Yezhu" 野豬 [Boar]) on a peak east of the Jiao Valley 交谷 of Mount Zhongnan, where they built a temple. When this temple was renovated in 587 by order of Sui Wendi it was renamed "Longchisi." An accomplished artisan and influential court official at the time, Yun Dingxing 雲定興 (?- 619+),[1] became its sponsor (*danāpati*). Another even more distinguished official at the time, Zhangsun Lan 長孫覽 (?-582+) and his wife also regularly visited Daopan at the temple.

The new name obviously alluded to a well-known Buddhist legend according to which there was a dragon-king (*longwang* 龍王) of the state of Jibin 罽賓 (Gandhāra?) who was called Aluopolou 阿羅婆樓 (Skt. Apalāla). He once flooded the whole kingdom with torrential rain, turning it into an enormous "pool" as a dwelling place for himself and his family. This dragon was later defeated and converted by Ānanda's disciple Madhyāntika, who persuaded him to drain the pool and convert it into a place suitable for Buddhist monasteries.[2]

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[1] Yun Dingxing's official biographies at *Bei shi* (79.2653) and *Sui shu* (61.1467) attest to his reputation as a sophisticated artisan. They also depict him as a man of despicable character. In order to ingratiate himself to Yangdi (r. 604-617), Yun Dingxing helped Yuwen Shu 宇文述 (?-616) persuade the emperor to poison Yang Yan 楊儼 (died ca. 609), a son by Wendi's ill-fated heir apparent Yang Yong 楊勇 (?-604) and Yun Dingxing's own daughter, one of Yang Yong's low-ranking concubines, *zhaoxun* 昭訓 (lady of clear instruction). After the collapse of the Sui, Yun Dingxing switched his loyalty to Wang Shichong 王世充 (?-621), a major rival of Li Yuan for supreme power during the Sui-Tang transition. The last event known about him was his appointment to the position of defender-in-chief (*taiwei* 太尉) by Wang Shichong on May 28, 619 (Wude 2.4.10 [*xushen*]) (*ZZTJ* 187.5852).

[2] See, for examples, *Shanjian lü piposha*, *T* 24: 2.685a6; and *Da Tang xiyu ji*, *T* 51: 3.886a-b.

Partly due to its ties with the royal family of the Sui and partly because of its scenic beauty, Longchisi became a rather attractive site for a proposed monastic cemetery. In addition to Daopan and Kongzang 空藏 (569-642), at least four other eminent monks, Huiman 慧滿 (589-642), Jingxuan 靖玄 (569-611), Huizan 慧瓚 (536-607), and Pukuang 普曠 (548-620), were buried beside the temple.[3]

The beauty of the pool within or near Longchisi is best captured by a verse that the Tang poet Meng Jiao 孟郊 (751-814) dedicated to the temple, "You Zhongnan Longchisi" 遊終南龍池寺:

飛鳥不到處	The place inaccessible even to soaring birds
僧房終南巔	Are the monks quarters on the peak of Zhongnan.
龍在水長碧	The water is permanently green because dragons live there,
雨開山更鮮	The mountains look fresher after the rains stop.
步出白日上	Walking above the white sun,
坐依清溪邊	Sitting beside the limpid stream.
地寒松桂短	Because of the cold earth the pines and laurels are stunted,
石險道路偏	The perilous cliffs make the [mountain] roads [even more] remote.
晚磬送歸客	The sounds of the evening chime saying farewell to parting guests,
數聲落遙天	The sounds multiply as they fall from the far reaches of the heavens.[4]

Meng Jiao here makes an explicit reference to the association of the pool with the legendary dragon, to whom he attributes its clarity and jade-like greenness.

The assumption that Longchisi might have been the temple which Fazang visited on this occasion is further supported by the fact that Daopan was a major disciple of Jing'ai. Although depicted by Daoxuan as a promoter of the four treatises (*silun* 四論)—(1) *Zhonglun* 中論 (Skt. *Madhyamaka śāstra*), (2) *Shiermen lun* 十二門論 (Skt. **Dvādaśanikāya śāstra*) and (3) *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論 (**Mahāprajñāpāramitā śāstra*?) by Nāgārjuna, and (4) *Bailun* 百論 (Skt. **Śata śāstra*) by Āryadeva, Jing'ai also maintained connections with the *Avataṃsaka* tradition. One of his teachers, He 和, was probably from the Jinling 金陵 Sanlun tradition, which was also deeply involved in the *Avataṃsaka*

[3] For these monks' connections with Longchisi, see their biographies at *XGSZ*, *T* 50: 28.689c15 (Kongzang), 22.618c21 (Huiman), 10.502b21 (Jingxuan), 18.575b13 (Huizan), and 11.512c1 (Pukuang). These monks are briefly discussed in Chen Jinhua, *Monks and Monarchs*, 202, 205, 199-200, 168-71, 202-03.

[4] *QTS* 375.4211 (Hua and Yu [coll. and annot.], *Meng Jiao shiji jiaozhu* 4.180). According to Hua and Yu, the poem was written in Zhenyuan 7 (February 8, 791-January 27, 792) or Zhenyuan 8 (January 28, 792-February 14, 793).

teachings.[5] Jing'ai himself was closely associated with several major *Avataṃsaka* expounders at the time, especially during his seclusion on Mount Zhongnan in the course of the Northern Zhou persecution of Buddhism.[6]

[5] These complicated relationships are discussed in my forthcoming book on Seng-can 僧璨. See Chen Jinhua, *Fame and Obscurity*.
[6] Chen Jinhua, *Monks and Monarchs*, 202-3.

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I. *Abbreviations Used in Bibliography and Footnotes*

B Chinese manuscripts from Dunhuang collected in Beijing tushuguan 北京圖書館 (currently National Library of China [Zhongguo guojia tushuguan 中國國家圖書館]), Beijing, China.

BZ *Dai Nihon bukkyō zensho* 大日本佛教全書 (Suzuki gakujutsu zaidan 鈴木學術財團, ed., 1970-1973, see Bibliography III).

DB *Dunhuang baozang* 敦煌寶藏 (Huang, comp., 1984; see Bibliography III).

DZJB *Dazang jing bubian* 大藏經補編 (Lan, comp., 1984; see Bibliography III).

GSZ *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (see Bibliography II).

GYZ *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying zhuan* 大方廣佛華嚴經感應傳 (see Bibliography II).

HJZ *Huayan jing zhuanji* 華嚴經傳記 (see Bibliography II).

JTS *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (see Bibliography II).

K *Koryŏ taejanggyŏng* 高麗大藏經 (see Bibliography III).

KSL *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 (see Bibliography II).

QTS *Quan Tang shi* 全唐詩 (see Bibliography II).

QTW *Quan Tang wen* 全唐文 (see Bibliography II).

HPC *Han'guk Pulgyo chŏnsŏ* 韓國佛教全書 (Tongguk taehakkyo pulchŏn kanhaeng wiwŏnhoe nae Han'guk Pulgyo chŏnsŏ pyŏnch'an wiwŏn, comp., 1979-1984; see Bibliography III).

P Chinese manuscripts from Dunhuang in the Pelliot Collection, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

PHC *Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn* 法藏和尚傳 (see Bibliography II).

S Chinese manuscripts from Dunhuang in the Stein Collection, British Library, London.

SGSZ *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (see Bibliography II).

SKQS *Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (see Bibliography III).

T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經 (Takakusu, et al., comps., 1924-1932; see Bibliography III).

THY *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 (see Bibliography II).

TMH *Tangdai muzhi huibian* 唐代墓志匯編 (Zhou and Zhao, comps., 1992; see Bibliography III).

XGSZ *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 (see Bibliography II).

XTS *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (see Bibliography II).

XZJ (Wan) *Xuzang jing* (卍)續藏經 (see Bibliography III).

ZD *Zhengtong daozang* 正統道藏 (see Bibliography II).

ZH *Zhonghua dazang jing (hanwen bufen)* 中華大藏經(漢文部份) (Zhonghua dazang jing bianji ju 中華大藏經編輯局, comp., 1984-1997; see Bibliography III).

ZZTJ *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 (see Bibliography II).

II. *Primary Sources*

Ayuwang jing 阿育王經 (Skt. *Aśokārāja sūtra*), 10 *juan.* Translated by Saṃghapāla, et al., in 506. *T* no. 2043, vol.50.

Ayuwang zhuan 阿育王傳 (Skt. *Aśokāvadāna*), 7 *juan.* Translated by An Faqin 安法欽 (?-306+) in 306. *T* no. 2042, vol. 50.

Baoke congbian 寶刻叢編, 20 *juan*. By Chen Si 陳思 (ca. 1200-1259+) in 1229. Edited by Lu Xinyuan 陸心源 (1834-1894). *SKQS* vol. 682.

Baoke leibian 寶刻類編, 8 *juan.* Anonymously compiled during the Song dynasty (1127-1279). *SKQS* vol. 682.

Baoyu jing See *Foshuo baoyu jing*.

Baqiongshi jinshi buzheng 八瓊室金石補正, 130 *juan*. Compiled by Lu Zengxiang 陸增祥 (1816-1882) shortly before his death in 1882 and not published until 1925. *Shike shiliao xinbian*, Series I, vols. 6-8.

Bashiba zu daoying zhuanzan 八十八祖道影傳贊, 4 *juan*. By Deqing 德清 (1546-1623) in 1615. *XZJ* no. 1584, vol. 147.

Bei Qi shu 北齊書, 50 *juan*. By Li Baiyao 李百藥 (565-648) in 636. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1972.

Bei shi 北史, 100 *juan*. By Li Yanshou 李延壽 (?-659+) in 659 on the basis of the draft left by his father Li Dashi 李大師 (?-628). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1974.

Bianzheng lun 辯正論, 8 *juan*. By Falin 法琳 (572-640). *T* no. 2110, vol. 52.

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Biyan lu 碧巖錄 See *Foguo Yuanwu chanshi Biyan lu*.

Bommō kaihon sho nichiju shō 梵網戒本疏日珠鈔, 50 *kan*. By Gyōnen 凝然 (1240-1321) in 1318. *T* no. 2247, vol.62.

Bore boluomiduo xinjing lüeshu 般若波羅蜜多心經略疏, 1 *juan*. By Fazang 法藏 (643-712) in 702. *T* no. 1712, vol. 33.

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"Bukong juansuo tuoluoni jing xu" 不空罥索陀羅尼經序. By Bolun 波崙 (?-703+) shortly after October 4, 700. *T* no. 1096, vol. 20, 409b-c (*QTW* 913.3a-4a).

Cefu yuangui 冊府元龜, 1,000 *juan*. Compiled by *Wang Qinruo* 王欽若 (?-1013+) between 1005 and 1013. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1960.

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Chang'an zhi 長安志, 20 *juan*. By Song Minqiu 宋敏求 (1019-1079), with a preface dated 1076. *SKQS*, vol. 587.

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Chodang chip (Ch. *Zutang ji*) 祖堂集, 20 *kwŏn*. By Chŏng (Ch. Jing) 靜 and Kyun (Ch. Yun) 筠 in 952. *K* no. 1503, vol. 45.

Chu sanzang ji ji 出三藏記集, 15 *juan*. Initially compiled by Sengyou 僧祐 (445-518) in 515. *T* no. 2145, vol. 55.

Da banniepan jing 大般涅槃經 (Skt. *Mahāparinirvāna sūtra*), 40 *juan.* Translated by Dharmakṣema (385-433) between December 3, 421 and sometime before 431. *T* no. 374, vol. 12.

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Da Fangguang yuanjue xiuduoluo liaoyi jing lüeshu zhu 大方廣圓覺修多羅了義經略疏注, 4 *juan*. By Zongmi 宗密 (780-841). *T* no. 1795, vol. 39.
Da Fangguangfo huayan jing 大方廣佛華嚴經 (Skt. *Avataṃsaka sūtra*), 60 *juan.* Translated by Buddhabhadra (359-429) between 418 and 421. *T* no. 278, vol. 9.
Da Fangguangfo huayan jing 大方廣佛華嚴經 (Skt. *Avataṃsaka sūtra*), 80 *juan.* Translated by Śikṣānanda (652-710) between May 2, 695 and November 6, 699. *T* no. 279, vol. 10.
Da Fangguangfo huayan jing busiyi fo jingjie fen 大方廣佛華嚴經不思議佛境界分, 1 *juan.* Translated by Devendraprajña (?-690?) and published in Yongchang 1 (January 27-December 17, 689). *T* no. 300, vol. 10.
Da Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying lüeji 大方廣佛華嚴經感應略記 (better known as *Huayan jing ganying lüeji* 華嚴經感應略記), 1 *juan*. By Zhuhong 袾宏 (1535-1615). *XZJ* no. 1508, vol. 134.
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Da Fangguangfo huayan jing shu 大方廣佛華嚴經疏, 60 *juan*. By Chengguan 澄觀 (738-839). *T* no. 1735, vol. 35.
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"Da Tang Da Jianfusi gu dade Kang Zang fashi zhi bei" 大唐大薦福寺故大德康藏法師之碑. By Yan Chaoyin 閻朝隱 (?-713?) either in the very end of 712 or at the very beginning of 713. *T* no. 2054, vol. 50, 280b-c.
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"Da Tang gu Huaizhou cishi zeng tejin Gengguo gong Wu fujun muzhi zhi ming" 大唐故懷州刺史贈特進耿國公武府君墓誌之銘. By Su Ting 蘇頲 (670-727) in 706. Zhou and Zhao, comps., *Tangdai muzhi huibian xuji*, 416-17.

"Da Tang gu Kaifu Fenguo gong Lianggong muzhiming" 大唐故開府汾國公梁公墓誌銘. By Lei Jingzhong 雷景中 (?-822+) in 822. *TMH* 2: 2102-04.

Da Tang gu sanzang Xuanzang fashi xingzhuang 大唐故三藏玄奘法師行狀, 1 *juan*. By Mingxiang 冥祥 (?-664+) in 664. *T* no. 2052, vol. 50.

"Da Tang Heensi gu dade chi shihao Fajin chanshi muzhiming bing xu" 大唐荷恩寺故大德敕謚號法津禪師墓誌銘並序. By Yao Ji 姚驥 (?-770+) in 770. *TMH* 2: 1773-74

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"Da Tang Jidusi gu dade biqiuni Huiyuan heshang Shenkong zhi ming bing xu" 大唐濟度寺故大德比丘尼惠源和尚神空之銘並序. By Yang Xiulie 楊休烈 (?-737+) in 737, *QTW* 396.19a4 (*TMH* 2: 1473).

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"Da Tang Sizhou Linhuai xian Puguangwang si bei" 大唐泗州臨淮縣普光王寺碑. By Li Yong 李邕 (678-747) sometime after 710. *QTW* 263.10a-13b.

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Da Tang xinyu 大唐新語, 13 *juan*. By Liu Su 劉肅 (fl. 820). *SKQS* vol. 1035.

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Da Tang Zhenyuan xu Kaiyuan shijiao lu 大唐貞元續開元釋教錄, 3 *juan*. By Yuanzhao 圓照 (727-809) in 794. *T* no. 2156, vol. 55.

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Dizang pusa xiang lingyan ji 地藏菩薩像靈驗記, 1 *juan*. By Changjin 常謹 (?-989+) in 989. *XZJ* no. 1615, vol. 149.

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Fayuan zhulin 法苑珠林, 100 *juan*. By Daoshi 道世 (ca. 596-668+) in 668. *T* no. 2122, vol. 53.

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Foshuo dasheng zaoxiang gongde jing 佛說大乘造像功德經 (Skt. *Tathāgatapratibimbapratiṣṭha nuśamsā*), 2 *juan.* Translated by Devendraprajña (?-690?) in 689 (?). *T* no. 694, vol. 16.

Foshuo suiqiu jide da zizai tuoluoni shenzhou jing 佛說隨求即得大自在陀羅尼神咒經 (**Mahāpratisarāvidyārājñī*), 1 *juan.* Translated by Baosiwei 寶思惟 (Manicintana?, ?-721 A.D.) in 693. *T* no. 1154, vol. 20.

Foshuo zaota gongde jing 佛説造塔功德經 See *Zaota gongde jing.*

Fozu lidai tongzai 佛祖歷代通載, 22 *juan*. By Nianchang 念常 (1282-1344+) in 1344. *T* no. 2036, vol. 49.
Fozu tongji 佛祖統紀, 54 *juan*. Compiled by Zhipan 志磐 (?-1269+) between 1258 and 1269. *T* no. 2035, vol. 49.
Gaoseng zhuan 高僧傳, 14 *juan*. Initially completed by Huijiao 慧皎 (497-554) sometime between 519 and 522 (final version probably completed ca. 530). *T* no. 2059, vol. 50.
Genben sapoduobu lüshe 根本薩婆多部律攝 (Skt. **Sarvāstivādavinayasangraha*), 14 *juan*. By Yijing 義淨 (635-713) in 700. *T* no. 1458, vol. 24.
Genben shuoyiqieyoubu pi'naiye zashi 根本說一切有部毘奈耶雜事 (Skt. **Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*), 40 *juan.* Translated by Yijing 義淨 (635-713) in 710. *T* no. 1451, vol. 24.
Genkō shakusho 元亨釋書, 30 *kan*. Completed by Kokan Shiren 虎關師錬 (1278 -1346) in 1322. *BZ* no. 470, vol. 62.
Gokyōshō tsūroki 五教章通路記, 52 *juan*. Completed by Gyōnen 凝然 (1240-1321) between 1300 and 1311. *T* no. 2339, vol. 72.
Gu Qingliang zhuan 古清涼傳, 2 *juan*. Compiled by Huixiang 慧詳 (active 660s-706) sometime between 680 and 683. *T* no. 2098, vol. 51.
Guan Wuliangshou fo jing yishu 觀無量壽佛經義疏, 3 *juan*. By Yuanzhao 元照 (1048-1116). *T* no. 1754, vol. 37.
Guang Hongming ji 廣弘明集, 30 *juan*. Compiled by Daoxuan 道宣 (596-667) in 664 and under continuous revision until at least 666. *T* no. 2103, vol. 52.
Guang Qingliang zhuan 廣清涼傳, 3 *juan*. Compiled by Yanyi 延一 (a.k.a. Great Master Miaoji 妙寂大師, fl. 1060) in 1060. *T* no. 2099, vol. 51.
Guanzhong chuangli jietan tujing bing xu 關中創立戒壇圖經並序, 1 *juan*. By Daoxuan 道宣 (596-667) in 667. *T* no. 1892, vol. 45.
"Guifeng Dinghui chanshi yaobing Qingliang guoshi shu" 圭峰定慧禪師遙稟清涼國師書. Zongmi's 宗密 (780-841) two letters (first one written shortly before November 12, 810, and the second dated November 12, 811) to Chengguan 澄觀 (738-839). *Da Fangguang yuanjue xiuduoluo liaoyi jing lüeshu*, *T* 39: 4.576c2-577c7, 577c26-578a6.
Gujin shuohai 古今說海, 142 *juan*. By Lu Ji 陸楫 (1515-1552). *SKQS* vol. 886.
Han shu 漢書, 120 *juan*. By Ban Gu 班固 (32-92) between 58 and 76. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1962.
Honchō kōsō den 本朝高僧傳, 75 *kan*. By Mangen Shiban 卍元師蠻 (1626-1710) in 1702. *BZ* no. 472, vol. 63.
Hongzan Fahua zhuan 弘贊法華傳, 10 *juan*. Compiled by Huixiang 惠詳 (?-706+) probably shortly after 706. *T* no. 2067, vol. 51.
Huayan fa putixin zhang 華嚴發菩提心章, 1 *juan*. By Fazang 法藏 (643-712). *T* no. 1878, vol. 45.
Huayan ganying yuanqi zhuan 華嚴感應緣起傳, 1 *juan*. By Hongbi 弘璧 (1598-1669). *XZJ* no. 1510, vol. 134.
Huayan jing chiyan 華嚴經持驗 See *Lichao Huayan chiyan ji*.
Huayan jing ganying lüeji 華嚴經感應略記 See *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying lüeji*.
Huayan jing tanxuan ji 華嚴經探玄記, 20 *juan*. By Fazang 法藏 (643-712) (largely completed by 690). *T* no. 1733, vol. 35.
Huayan jing wenyi gangmu 華嚴經文義綱目, 1 *juan*. By Fazang 法藏 (643-712). *T* no. 1734, vol. 35.
Huayan jing xingyuan pin shuchao 華嚴經行願品疏鈔, 6 *juan*. By Zongmi 宗密 (780-841). *XZJ* no. 200, vol. 7.
Huayan jing zhigui 華嚴經旨歸, 1 *juan*. By Fazang 法藏 (643-712). *T* no. 1871, vol. 45.
Huayan jing zhuanji 華嚴經傳記, 5 *juan*. By Fazang 法藏 (643-712) (largely completed by 690). *T* no. 2073, vol. 51.

Huayan xuantan huixuan ji 華嚴懸談會玄記, 40 *juan*. By Purui 普瑞 (active: 1254-1329). *XZJ* no. 205, vol. 12.

Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang 華嚴一乘教義分齊章, 4 *juan*. By Fazang 法藏 (643-712). *T* no. 1866, vol. 45.

Huayan yisheng shixuan men 華嚴一乘十玄門, 1 *juan*. By Zhiyan 智儼 (602-668). *T* no. 1868, vol. 45.

Huayan zuanling ji 華嚴纂靈記 See *Zuanling ji.*

Hwaŏm ilsŭng Pŏpgye to 華嚴一乘法界圖, 1 *kwŏn*. By Ŭisang 義湘 (625-702) in 668. *T* no. 1887A, vol. 45.

Ji gujin fodao lunheng 集古今佛道論衡, 4 *juan*. By Daoxuan 道宣 (596-667) in 661. *T* no. 2104, vol. 52.

Ji shenzhou sanbao gantong lu 集神州三寶感通錄, 3 *juan*. By Daoxuan 道宣 (596-667) in 664. *T* no. 2106, vol. 52.

Jifu tongzhi 畿輔通志, 120 *juan*. Completed in 1735 under the direction of Li Wei 李衛 (?-1735+), et al. *SKQS* vols. 504-506.

Jin shizi zhang Yunjian leijie 金師子章雲間類解, 1 *juan*. By Jingyuan 淨源 (1011-1088). *T* no. 1880, vol. 45.

Jin shu 晉書, 130 *juan*. Completed under the supervision of Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 (578-648) in 648. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1975.

Jin'gang bore jing jiyan ji 金剛般若經集驗記, 3 *juan*. By Meng Xianzhong 孟獻忠 (?-718+) in 718. *XZJ* no. 1606, vol. 149.

Jingde chuandeng lu 景德傳燈錄, 30 *juan*. By Daoyuan 道原 (?-1004+) ca. 1004. *T* no. 2076, vo. 51.

Jingtu lun 淨土論, 3 *juan*. By Jiacai 迦才 (fl. 627-649). *T* no. 1963, vol. 47.

Jinguangming jing 金光明經 (Skt. *Suvarṇaprabhāsa sūtra*), 4 *juan.* Translated by Dharmakṣema (385-433) sometime between 424 and 430. *T* no. 663, vol. 16.

Jinguangming zuisheng wang jing 金光明最勝王經 (Skt. *Suvarṇaprabhāsa sūtra*), 10 *juan.* Translated by Yijing 義淨 (635-713) in 703. *T* no. 665, vol.16.

Jinjiang chandeng 錦江禪燈, 20 *juan*. By Zhangxue Tongzui 丈雪通醉 (1610-93) shortly before 1693. *XZJ* no. 1566, vol. 145.

Jinshi cuibian 金石萃編, 160 *juan*. By Wang Chang 王昶 (1725-1806). Printed edition of 1805 reproduced in *Shike shiliao xinbian*, Series I, vols. 1-4.

Jinshi lu 金石錄, 30 *juan*. Published by Zhao Mingcheng 趙明誠 (1081-1129) sometime between 1119 and 1125. *SKQS* vol. 681.

Jiu Tang shu 舊唐書, 200 *juan*. Completed in 945 under the direction of Liu Xu 劉昫 (887-946). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1975.

Kairitsu denrai ki 戒律傳來記, 3 *kan*. By Buan 豐安 (764-840) in 830. *BZ* no. 478, vol. 64. *T* no. 2347, vol. 74.

Kaiyuan shijiao lu 開元釋教錄, 20 *juan*. By Zhisheng 智昇 (fl. 700-740) in 730. *T* no. 2154, vol. 55.

"Kang Zang bei" See "Da Tang Da Jianfusi gu dade Kang Zang fashi zhi bei."

Kegon engishō sanshaku 華嚴演義鈔纂釋, 38 *kan*. By Tan'ei 湛叡 (1271-1346) sometime between 1313 and 1324. *T* no. 2205, vol. 57.

Kegon ichijō kyō bunki fushū kyōshinshō 華嚴一乘教分記輔宗匡真鈔, 10 *kan*. By Hōtan Sōshun 僧濬鳳潭 (1659-1738). *T* no. 2344, vol. 73.

Kegonshū shōsho narabini immyō roku 華嚴宗章疏並因明錄, 1 *kan.* Completed by Enchō 圓超 (fl. 914-925) in 914. *T* no. 2177, vol. 55.

Kegon soshi den 華厳祖師伝, 2 *kan.* Compiled by Sōshō 宗性 (1202-1278) in 1276. Punctuated and annotated edition in Suzuki, "Kegon soshi den," 9-92.

"Ko Sunamsan Ŏm hwasang poŭn sahoe wŏnmun" 故修南山儼和尙報恩社會願文. By Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn 崔致遠 (857-904+). *HPC* 4: 644-46.

Lei shuo 類說, 60 *juan*. By Zeng Zao 曾慥 (fl. 1136-1147). *SKQS* vol. 873.

Lengqie shizi ji 楞伽師資記, 1 *juan*. By Jingjue 淨覺 (683-750?) before 716. *T* no. 2837, vol. 85.

Liao shi 遼史, 116 *juan*. Compiled under the direction of Tuotuo 脫脫 (1313-1355) between 1343 and 1344. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1974.

Lichao Huayan chiyan ji 歷朝華嚴持驗記 (also known as "Huayan jing chiyan" 華嚴經持驗), 1 *juan*. By Zhou Kefu 周可復 (fl. 1660s) ca. 1660. *XZJ* no. 1511, vol. 134.

Lidai sanbao ji 歷代三寶紀, 15 *juan*. Submitted by Fei Zhangfang 費長房 (?-598+) to the court at the very beginning of 598. *T* no. 2034, vol. 49.

Longxing [fojiao] biannian tonglun 隆興[佛教]編年通論, 30 *juan*. By Zuxiu 祖琇 (?-1164+) in 1164. *XZJ* no. 1489, vol. 130.

Luoyang qielan ji 洛陽伽藍記, 5 *juan*. By Yang Xianzhi 楊衒之 (?-547+) in 547. *T* no. 2092, vol. 51.

Lüxiang gantong zhuan 律相感通傳, 1 *juan*. By Daoxuan 道宣 (596-667) shortly before his death on October 25, 667. *T* no. 1898, vol. 45.

Maoshi caomu niaoshou chongyu shushi 毛詩草木鳥獸蟲魚疏詩, 1 *juan*. By Lu Ji 陸璣 (fl. 210-279). *SKQS* vol. 70.

Miaofa lianhua jing 妙法蓮華經 (Skt. *Saddharmapuṇḍrīka sūtra*), 7 *juan.* Translated by Kumārijīva (344-413 [var. 409]) in 406. *T* no. 262, vol. 9.

"Miaojue taji" 妙覺塔記 See "Da Yuan Huayansi chongxiu Huayan xinjiu liangjing shuzhu fanjing da jiaoshou chong Shangdu sengtong Qingliang guoshi Miaojue taji."

Milou ji 迷樓記 See *Yangdi milou ji*

Minghuang zalu 明皇雜錄, 3 *juan*. By Zheng Chuhui 鄭處誨 (*jinshi*: 834) in 855. *SKQS* vol. 1035.

Nittō shingu shōgyō mokuroku 入唐新求聖教目錄, 1 *kan*. By Ennin 圓仁 (794-864) and presented to the court in 847. *T* no. 2167, vol. 55.

Piling ji 毘陵集, 20 *juan*. By Dugu ji 獨孤及 (725-777). *SKQS* vol. 1127.

Pŏmmanggyŏng posal kyebon so sulgi 梵網經菩薩戒本述記, 4 *juan*. By Sŭngjang 勝莊 (?-713+). *XZJ* no. 565, vol. 60.

Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn 法藏和尙傳 See *Tang Tae Ch'ŏnboksa kosaju pŏn'gyŏng taedŏk Pŏpjang hwasang chŏn.*

Pŏpkye togi ch'ongsu rok 法界圖記叢髓錄, 4 *kwŏn*. By an anonymous author (a commentary on Ŭisang's *Hwaŏm ilsŭng Pŏpgye to*). *T* no. 1887B, vol. 45.

Posal kyebon so 菩薩戒本疏, 3 *kwŏn*. By Ŭichŏk 義寂 (dates unknown). *T* no. 1814, vol. 40.

Pubian guangming [yanman] qingjing chisheng ruyi baoyin xin wunengsheng da mingwang da suiqiu tuoluoni jing 普遍光明[焰鬘]清淨熾盛如意寶印心無能勝大明王大隨求陀羅尼經 (Skt. **Mahāpratisarāvidyārājñī*), 2 *juan.* Translated by Bukong 不空 (Amoghavajra, 705-774). *T* no. 1153, vol. 20.

Pusajie yishu 菩薩戒義疏, 2 *juan*. By Zhiyi 智顗 (538-597). *T* no. 1811, vol. 40.

Qianyan qianbi Guanshiyin pusa tuoluoni shenzhou jing 千眼千臂觀世音菩薩陀羅尼神咒經, 2 *juan.* Translated by Zhitong 智通 (?-653+). *T* no. 1057, vol. 20.

"Qianyan qianbi Guanshiyin pusa tuoluoni shenzhou jing xu" 千眼千臂觀世音菩薩陀羅尼神咒經序 (Skt. **Sahasrāksasahasrabāhvavalokiteśvarabodhisattva dhāranīṛiddhimantra sūtra*). By Bolun 波崙 (?-703+) shortly after 697. *T* no. 1057, vol. 20, 83b-c (*QTW* 913.4a-6a).

"Qingliang guoshi huida" 清涼國師晦答. Chengguan's 澄觀 (738-839) reply, dated October 4, 811, to Zongmi's 宗密 (780-841) letter dated November 12, 811. *Da Fangguang yuanjue xiuduoluo liaoyi jing lüeshu*, *T* 39: 4.577c9-25.

Qixin lun shu bixue ji 起信論疏筆削記, 20 *juan*. By Zixuan 子璿 (965-1038). *T* no. 1848, vol. 44.

Quan Tang shi 全唐詩, 900 *juan*. Compiled by Peng Dingqiu 彭定求 (1645-1719), et al., ca. 1707. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1960.

Quan Tang wen 全唐文 (i.e., *Qinding Quan Tang wen* 欽定全唐文), 1,000 *juan*. Compiled by Dong Hao 董誥 (1740-1818), et al., in 1814. Taibei: Hualian chubanshe 華聯出版社, 1965.

Ritsuon sōbō den 律苑僧寶傳, 15 *kan*. By Eken 慧堅 (1649-1704) in 1689. *BZ* no. 480, vol. 64.

Ru Lengqiexin xuanyi 入楞伽心玄義, 1 *juan*. By Fazang 法藏 (643-712) sometime between 704 and 705. *T* no. 1790, vol. 39.

Samguk sagi 三國史記, 50 *kwŏn*. By Kim Pusik 金富軾 (1075-1151) in 1145; coll. Yi Pyŏgdo (a.k.a. I Pyŏngdo) 李丙燾. Seoul: Ŭryu Munhwasa 邑酉文化社, 1977.

Samguk yusa 三國遺事 (ca. 1280), 5 *kwŏn*. By Iryŏn 一然 (1206-1289) ca. 1280. *T* no. 2039, vol. 49.

Sanbao ganying yaolüe lu 三寶感應要略錄, 3 *juan*. Compiled by Feizhuo 非濁 (?-1063). *T* no. 2084, vol. 51.

Sangoku buppō denzū engi 三國佛法傳通緣起, 3 *kan*. By Gyōnen 凝然 (1240-1321). *BZ* no. 467, vol. 62.

Sanguo zhi 三國志, 65 *juan*. By Chen Shou 陳壽 (233-97). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1982 (reprint of 1959).

"Sanzang shengjiao xu" 三藏聖教序, by Wu Zhao 武曌 (623/625-705) in 700. *QTW* 97.7b-8b.

"Shanding shi futu houji" 山頂石浮屠後記. By Wang Shoutai 王守泰 (?-740+) in 740. Edited and printed in Beijing tushuguan jinshi zu and Zhongguo fojiao tushu wenwuguan shijing zu, comps., *Fangshan shijing tiji huibian*, 11-12 (See III, Secondary Studies).

Shanjian lü piposha 善見律毘婆沙 (Skt. *Sudarśanavibhāsa vinaya*), 18 *juan*. Translated by Sengqiebatuoluo 僧伽跋陀羅 (Saṃghabhadra, ?-489+) in 489. *T* no. 1462, vol. 24.

Sheng'an ji 升菴集, 81 *juan*. By Yang Shen 楊慎 (1488-1559). *SKQS* vol. 1270.

"Shengxian taizi bei bing xu" 昇仙太子碑並序. By Wu Zhao 武曌 (623/625-705) ca. 700. *QTW* 98.2b-6b.

Shenseng zhuan 神僧傳, 9 *juan*. Attributed to Ming Chengzu 明成祖 (r. 1402-1424). *T* no. 2064, vol. 50.

"Shi Xiansheng muming" 施先生墓銘. By Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824). Ma Qichang, coll. and annot., *Han Changli wenji jiaozhu*, 204.

Shiermen lun zongzhi yiji 十二門論宗致義記, 2 *juan*. By Fazang 法藏 (643-712). *T* no. 1826, vol. 42.

Shihua buyi 詩話補遺, 3 *juan*. By Yang Shen 楊慎 (1488-1559). *SKQS* vol. 1481.

Shiji 史記, 130 *juan*. By Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145-86 BC) ca. 90 BC. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1959.

Shijia fangzhi 釋迦方志, 2 *juan*. By Daoxuan 道宣 (596-667) in 650. *T* no. 2088, vol. 51.

"Shike bore xinjing xu" 石刻般若心經序 See "Bore xinjing zan xu."

Shimen guijing yi 釋門歸敬儀, 2 *juan*. By Daoxuan 道宣 (596-667). *T* no. 1896, vol. 45.

Shimen zhengtong 釋門正統, 8 *juan*. By Zongjian 宗鑒 (?-1237+) in 1237. *XZJ* no. 1490, vol. 130.

Shimen zijing lu 釋門自鏡錄, 2 *juan*. By Huaixin 懷信 (probably Huixiang 慧祥 [?-706+]). *T* no. 2083, vol. 51.

Shinkan Genju hiden shōgo 新刊賢首碑傳正誤. By Mujaku Dōchū 無著道忠 (1653-1744) sometime between 1699 and 1744. *T* 50: 286c-89c.

Shishi jigu lüe 釋氏稽古略, 4 *juan*. By Juean 覺岸 (1286-1355) and published in 1355. *T* no. 2037, vol. 49.

Shishi tongjian 釋氏通鑑, 12 *juan*. By Benjue 本覺 (fl. ca.1270) sometime between 1084 and 1270. *XZJ* no. 1493, vol. 131.

Shishi yaolan 釋氏要覽, 3 *juan*. By Daocheng 道誠 (?-1019+) in 1019. *T* no. 2127, vol. 54.

Shiyimian Guanshiyin shenzhou jing 十一面觀世音神咒經 (Skt. **Ekadaśamukhāvalokiteśvarabodhisattvaṛiddhimantra sūtra*), 1 *juan.* Translated by Yeshejueduo 耶舍崛多 (Skt. Yaśogupta?) sometime between 557 and 572. *T* no. 1070, vol. 20.

Shiyimian Guanzizai pusa xin miyan niansong yigui jing 十一面觀自在菩薩心密言念誦儀軌經 (Skt. **Ekadaśamukhāvalokiteśvarabodhisattvahṛidayamantrādhyāyakalpa sūtra*), 3 *juan.* Translated by Bukong 不空 (Skt. Amoghavajra, 705-774). *T* no. 1069, vol. 20.

Shiyimian shenzhou xinjing 十一面神咒心經 (Skt. **Avalokiteśvaraikādaśamukha dhāraṇī*), 1 *juan.* Translated by Xuanzang 玄奘 (602-664) on April 27, 656. *T* no. 1071, vol. 20.

Shiyimian shenzhou xinjing yishu 十一面神咒心經義疏, 1 *juan*. By Huizhao 慧沼 (651-714). *T* no. 1802, vol. 39.

Shōdai senzai denki 招提千歲傳記, 9 *kan*. By Gichō 義澄 (?-1701+) in 1701. *BZ* no. 481, vol. 64.

Shuofu 說郛, 120 *juan*. Compiled by Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀 (1316-1369). *SKQS* vols. 876-882.

Shuoyuan 說苑, 20 *juan*. By Liu Xiang 劉向 (77BC-6BC). *SKQS* vol. 696.

Sifen lü 四分律 (Skt. *Dharmagupta vinaya*), 60 *juan.* Translated by Buddhayaśas (fl. 400) and Zhu Fonian 竺佛念 (Skt. Buddhasmṛti?, fl. 400) between 410 and 412. *T* no. 1428, vol. 22.

Sinp'yŏn chejong kyojang ch'ongnok 新編諸宗教藏總錄, 3 *kwŏn*. Compiled by Uichŏn 義天 (1055-1101) in 1089. *T* no. 2184, vol. 55.

Sita ji 寺塔記, 2 *juan*. By Duan Chengshi 段成式 (ca. 803-863). Included in *Youyang zazu* 酉陽雜俎 (see entry, below).

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